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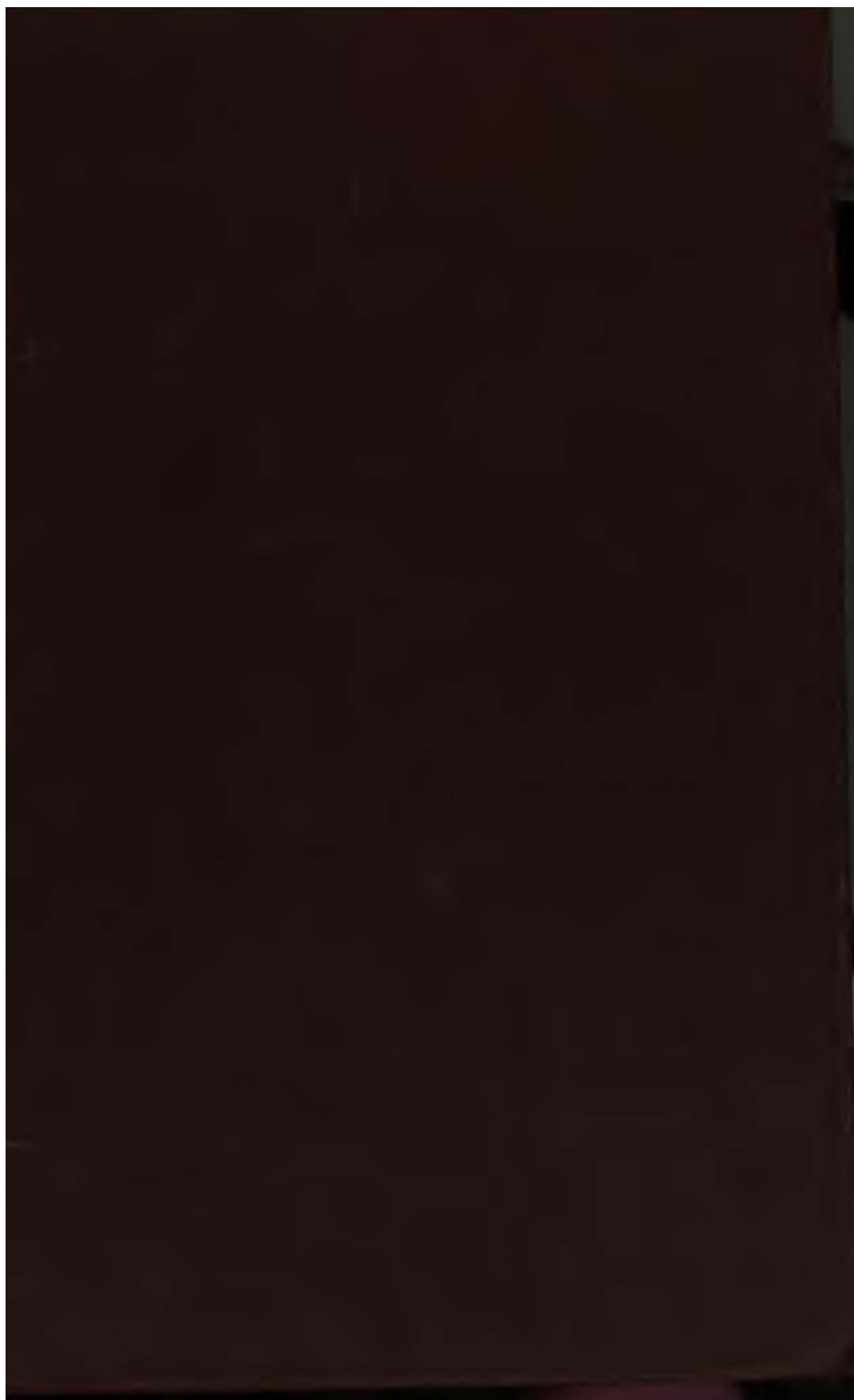
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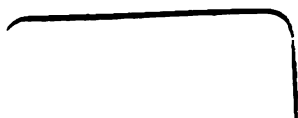


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**HISTORY OF FRANCE,**

FROM THE

**EARLIEST PERIOD TO THE PRESENT TIME.**

BY

**M. MICHELET,**

PROFESSEUR-SUPPLÉANT À LA FACULTÉ DES LETTRES, PROFESSEUR À L'ÉCOLE NORMALE,  
CHEF DE LA SECTION HISTORIQUE AUX ARCHIVES DU ROYAUME.

**VOL. I.**

TRANSLATED BY

**G. H. SMITH, FIG. S.**

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## PREFATORY NOTE.

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"A word as to these archives, as to the office which has made it the author's duty to investigate the history of our antiquities, and as to the peaceful scene of his labors and the spot which inspired them. This work of his is his life. It is the almost necessary result of the circumstances in which he has been placed; a consideration which will perhaps gain him some indulgence from the impartial reader.

"Being one of the curators of the National Archives, and one of the professors at the Normal School, he has for many years made the history of his country the grand object of his studies; and, thanks to this union of opportunities, he has been enabled to impart the facts and ideas gleaned in this rich dépot of the official acts of the Monarchy, to the young teachers training up in the Normal School, by whom they may in turn have been diffused throughout every quarter of the kingdom.

"The Record, and the Parliamentary Register Office, (*Le Trésor des Chartes*, and the *Collection des Registres du Parlement*), contain the bulk and the choice of the archives. The Parliamentary Registers fill the *Sainte Chapelle* and the *Palais de Justice*. The Record Office, and by far the most valuable portion of the Archives, (those which belong to the historical, domesnaal, and topographical, the legislative and administrative departments, occupy the three palaces of the Châteaux, Guises, and Bourbonnes—thus crowding antiquity upon antiquity, and history into history. The entrance to the royal colonnade of the palace of the Bourbonnes is guarded by a tower, of the architecture of the fourteenth century, and, on entering, you can well understand the feeling of the haughty device of their ancestors, the Robans, '*Red je ne suis, prince ne daigne Roban je suis*.'"

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cation, not relying, as the Monarchical one had done, on the authority of tests and written titles, would have nothing to do with parchments so specified. Its only test was the *Contrat Social*, as the Koran was his who burnt the Alexandrian library.

"If the Revolution had little to advance knowledge by the critical examination of ancient monuments, it was of immense benefit by concentrating all such treasures. It blew aside the dust of centuries, and emptied the contents of monasteries, castles, and other receptacles on one common floor. The Louvre was thus literally filled with papers, the very windows being blocked up by the rolls, so that the keeper of the records had to hire many rooms of the Academy. To carry on researches among those crowded repositories, candles were required at noonday. The Revolution let in light, once and for ever, into this 'excessive dark.'

"The Du Puy and the Maras of this second epoch (as regards learning only) were two deputies of the Convention, MM. Camus and Danton. The first, a true Gaul, like his predecessor Du Puy, served the republic with the same zeal that Du Puy had done the monarchy. His successor, M. Danton, was, properly speaking, the founder of the Archives; and, at this date, the Archives of France had become those of the world. His is the honor of classifying the prodigious mass. It was a glorious time for the Archives. While M. Danton was opening, for the first time, the mysterious repositories of Venice, M. Danton was receiving the spoils of the Vatican. On the other hand, the archives of Germany, Spain, and Belgium were arriving from the north and the south at the Palace of the Soubises. Two of our colleagues had gone to fetch those of Holland.

"Now, the Archives of France are no longer those of Europe. The traces of the inscriptions over the doors of our halls, as *Bulles, Deterie, &c.*, remain to remind us of our losses. However, we still have about a hundred and fifty thousand documents, (*cartons*.) Although the provinces refuse to intrust us with their archives, as do several of the offices of our ministers, they will be forced to get rid some day of the accumulating mass. The day will be ours, for we are death. All gravitates to us, and every revolution turns to our profit. We need only wait *patiens quia eternus*—in patience since we die not.

"Sooner or later, conquering and conquered come to us. We have the monarchy, safe and sound, from its alpha to its omega, the charter of Childebert by the side of the testament of Louis XVI. We have the republic in our iron chest, the keys of the Bastille, the minute of the declaration of the rights of man, the vows of the deputies, and—the great republican machine—the stamp of the assignats. Even the papacy has left us something. The pope has resumed his archives; but, by way of reprisal, we keep the litter on which he was borne to the consecration of the emperor. And, together with these bloody playthings of Providence, we have the unchangeable standard of measure, which is referred to every year—the temperature of the archives is invariable.

"As for me, when I first entered these catacombs of manuscripts, this wonderful necropolis of national monuments, I would willingly have exclaimed, like the German on entering the monastery of St. Vannes—'This is my rest for ever; here will I dwell, for I have desired it!'

"However, I was not slow to discern in the midst of the apparent silence of these galleries, a movement and a murmur which were not those of death. These papers and parchments, so long deserted, desired no better than to be restored to the light of day; yet are they not papers, but lives of men, of provinces, and of nations. First the families and the fiefs, blazoned in their dust, protested against their being forgotten. The provinces rose up, alleging that centralization had been deceived in supposing them annihilated. The ordonnances of our kings asserted that they had not been repealed by the multitude of modern laws. Had one listened to them all, as the grave-digger observed of a field of battle, not one ought to have been dead. All lived and spoke, and surrounded the author with an army speaking a hundred tongues, which were roughly silenced by the loud voice of the Republic and of the Empire.

"Softly, my dear friends, let us proceed in order, if you please. All of you have your claim on history. The individual is good, that is, as individual; the general, as general. Feudalism is in the right, the monarchy more so, and, still more, the Empire. I am yours, Godfrey—yours, Richelieu—yours, Bonaparte! The province shall revive; the ancient differences of France will be characterized by strongly-defined geographical distinctions: it shall revive, but only on condition of allowing these differences gradually to wear out, and a homogeneous whole, or country, to succeed. Revive, monarchy; revive, France! Let but one great effort at classification serve as a clue through this chaos. To systematize on this wise, although imperfectly, may serve. Though the head be badly set upon the shoulders, and the leg fit badly to the thigh, to revive is yet something.

"And, as I breathed on their dust, I saw them rise up. They raised from the sepulchre, one the hand, the other the head, as in the Last Judgment of Michel-Angelo, or in the Dance of Death. This galvanic dance, which they performed around me, I have essayed to reproduce in this work. Some, perhaps, will find it neither slightly nor true. In particular, they will be offended with the harshness of the provincial contrasts that I have represented. My reply to these critics is, that it may very well be, that they do not recognise their ancestors; since, of all people, we French are chief possessors of the gift desired by the ancient—the gift of forgetting. The songs of Roland and of Renaud, &c., have indisputably been popular; the fabliaux succeeded them; and all this was already so remote in the sixteenth century, that Joachim Du Bellay expressly says—'In our old literature, there is but the Romance of the Rose.' In Du Bellay's time, France was Rabelais; at a later period, Voltaire. Rabelais is now a sealed book to the generality; Voltaire is already less read; and so we go on changing, and forgetting ourselves.

"The France of the present day, in its oneness and identity, may very well forget that old, heterogeneous France, which I have described. The Gascon may not choose to recognise Gascony, nor the Provençal, Provence; to which I answer, that there is no longer a Provence or a Gascony, but a France. This France I now present with all the differences of its ancient and original divarication into provinces. The latter volumes of my history will show her in her unity."

# HISTORY OF FRANCE.

## BOOK THE FIRST.

### CELTS.—IBERIANS.—ROMANS.

#### CHAPTER I.

##### CELTS AND IBERIANS.

"THE Gauls," says Strabo, following the philosopher Posidonius, "are universally madly fond of war, hot in temper, and quick to fight; in all other respects simple, and void of malice. Hence, when provoked, they march multitudinously, openly, and incautiously straight against the enemy, so as to be easily out-generalled; since they may be drawn on to engage where and when one chooses, and for any cause, being ever ready for battle, even though armed only with their own natural strength and audacity. Yet are they easily persuaded to useful employments, and susceptible of culture and literary instruction. Presuming on their gigantic build and numbers, they soon collect in large multitudes, of their own free-will and accord, and at once take side with the injured party."<sup>\*</sup> Such is the first glance cast by philosophy on the most unsympathetic and perfectible of the races of man.

##### CHARACTERISTICS OF THE GAULS AND IBERIANS.

The genius of these Gauls or Celts is at first a mere restless activity, prompting to attack and conquest: it was through war that the nations of antiquity came into contact and intermingled. A warring and noisy race, they overrun the world, sword in hand, led on, it would seem, less by greed, than by a vain and uneasy desire to see, know, and busy themselves with every thing; bursting and destroying through mere inability to create. With their large, fair, soft, and succulent bodies, they are the infants of the nascent world; elastic and impulsive, but neither enduring nor persevering;†

fierce in their joys, vast in their hopes, and vain—for as yet nothing has withstood them. They would go and see for themselves what manner of man was the conqueror of Asia, that Alexander, at whose sight kings fainted through dread.\*

"What do you fear!" inquired the man of terror: "The sky falling,"† was all the answer he got. Heaven itself had little terror for them: they returned its thunders‡ with flights of arrows. Did ocean rise and invade the land, they did not refuse its challenge, but marched upon it sword in hand.§ Never to give way was their point of honor: they would often scorn to quit a house in flames.|| No people held their lives cheaper. There were of them who would undertake to die for a trifle of money or a little wine, would step upon their sleeping-places, distribute the wine or money among their friends, lie down on their shields, and offer their throat to the knife.¶

Their baquets seldom ended without a fray; the thigh of the animal on the board was the right of the bravest,\*\* and each would be he. Next to fighting, their greatest pleasure was to crowd round the stranger, seat him among them, whether he liked or not, and make him tell them tales of distant lands; for these barbarians were

\* Plut. in Alex. c. 98. Long after Alexander's death, Cassander, who had become king of Macedonia, walking one day at Delphi, and examining the statues, suddenly came upon that of Alexander, when he was so struck by it, that he fell trembling, and was seized with a giddiness.

† Εὐ πὺ ἀπὸ οὐρανόθεν αὐτοῖς πίπτειν. Strabo, l. vii. 302. These were Celts. They had been encountered and subdued by Darius, in his famous expedition against the European Scythæ, 514 years B.C. Alexander found them inhabiting the same locality on the western shores of the Euxine, one hundred and eighty years afterwards.) TRANS-

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† Aristot. de Meth. l. iii. c. 10.

§ Asian. l. xii. c. 22. Τὸ πρὸν τὸ λίπον αὐτὸ καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀπο-  
εισιστοῦν. —Aristot. Eudemus. l. iii. c. 1. Οὐ καὶ τὸν ἀπὸ τῶν  
αὐτῶν ὅλων ἀναρρίκει λαβόντες.

|| Asian. ibid.

¶ Posidon. l. xiii. ap. Athen. l. iv. c. 13. Ἄλλοι δὲ τοῖς  
θεοῖσι λαβόντες ἀγρίων ἢ γυναικῶν, οἱ δὲ αἰὲν αἰσχροῦ  
δοῖσιν τινα, καὶ σκωτίζουσιν τοὺς δέους, καὶ τοῖς ἀγρί-  
οις φέλουσι διασποράσας, ὅτι καὶ ἀναρρίκει τοὶ θεοὶ  
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\* Στοιχεῖον αἰσθητικῆς τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἀποδοῦναι δὲ τοῦ πλε-  
ονος. Strabo, l. iv. 193.

† Plutarch. in lib. v. c. 28. Τολοῦς οὐκ ἔστι ἀδύνατον αὐτὸν λυσεῖν  
—Appian. apud Periphrasem Rerum Francicarum, l. l. 461.  
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insatiably eager and curious, and *pressed* strangers, seizing them in the markets and highways, and compelling them to talk.\* They were themselves formidable and indefatigable talkers, highly figurative in their speech, pompous and ludicrously grave with their guttural tones,† and it was quite a business in their assemblies to secure the speaker from interruption; inso-much that it was the office of one man to enforce silence, which he did by proceeding with drawn sword to the party interrupting, and, at the third summons, cutting off a large piece of his dress, so as to render it unfit for further wear.‡

Another race, the Iberians, appear early in the south of Gaul, along with the Gauls, and even before them. This people, whose type and language have been preserved in the Basque mountains, were moderately endowed with natural gifts, a laborious, agricultural, mining race, attached to the soil for its products—metals and corn.§ There is nothing to show that they were primitively as warlike as they became when driven into the Pyrenees by the conquerors of the south and of the north, and finding themselves in their own despite guardians of the defiles, they were so repeatedly invaded, bruised, and hardened by war. Once Roman tyranny impelled them to an heroic despair; but generally their courage has been exemplified in resistance,|| as that of the Gauls has been in attack. The Iberians do not seem to have had the same love of distant expeditions and adventurous wars. Some of their tribes, indeed, emigrated, but unwillingly, and driven forth by more powerful nations.

The Gauls and the Iberians were a complete contrast: the latter with their rough black garments, and hair-woven boots;¶ the Gauls arrayed in showy stuffs, fond of bright and varied colors, such as compose the plaid of the modern Scottish Gael,\*\* or else almost naked, but with

their white chests and gigantic limbs laden with massive golden chains.\* The Iberians were divided into petty mountain tribes, which, according to Strabo, seldom contracted alliance, through an excess of confidence in their own strength. The Gauls, on the contrary, readily collected in large hordes, encamping in large villages, in large exposed plains, and talkers, laughers, and haranguers as they were, willingly associated with strangers, and became intimate with new faces, mingling with all and in all, dissolute through levity, and blindly and at random abandoning themselves to infamous pleasures;† (the brutality of drunkenness was rather the failing of the German stock;) in short, theirs were all the qualities and vices that result from quick sympathy. These hilarious comrades were not to be too implicitly confided in. They were early addicted to bantering, (*gaber*, as it was termed in the middle ages.) They passed their word without a thought of its being obligatory, promised, then laughed, and there an end. (*Ridendo fidem frangere*, "they broke faith with a jest."—TIT. LIV.)

The Gauls did not rest contented with driving the Iberians into the Pyrenees; but crossing that natural barrier, settled under their own name in the south and northwestern angles of the peninsula, whereas in the centre they amalgamated with the conquered, and took the names of Celtiberians and Lusitanians.‡

It was at the same epoch, (B. C. 1600–1500, or perhaps previously, that the Iberian tribes of the Sicani and the Ligori passed from Spain into Gaul and Italy; in which latter country, as in Spain, the Gauls attacked them, and crossing the Alps (B. C. 1400–1000) under the designation of *Ambra*,|| (the valiant,) confined the Ligures within the mountainous coast from the Rhone to the Arno, while they drove the Sicani as far as Calabria and Sicily.

#### PHENICIAN AND GRECIAN COLONIES.

(B. C. 1200–600.)

In both peninsulas the conquering Celts amalgamated with the inhabitants of the central

colored squares." So Virgil. (*Æneid*, l. viii. 660.) "They glitter in their striped cloaks." Elsewhere I have collected other parallel passages.

\* Diodor. Sic. l. v. "They wear bracelets and armlets, and round their necks thick rings, all of gold, and costly finger-rings, and even golden comets."

Virgil. *Æneid*, l. viii. 659.

† "Pair golden tresses grace the comely train,  
And every warrior wears a golden chain.  
Embroider'd vests their snowy limbs unfold,  
And their rich robes are all adorn'd with gold."

‡ Diodor. Sic. l. v. ap. Her. R. Fr. l. 310.—Strabo, l. iv.—Athen. l. viii. c. 8.—At a later period, traces of the licentiousness which prevailed in ancient Gaul are observable in the Irish and British Celts. Leland, t. i. p. 14, says, that the Irish considered adultery "a pardonable gallantry." O'Helloran, i. 324.—Lanfranc, St. Anselm, and Pope Adrian in his famous bull, addressed to Henry II. upbraided them with incest.—See *Cæsar* *Syl. epist.* 70. 94. 95.—St. Bernard, in Vit. S. Malch. 1102, seq. Girald. Camb. 742, 743.

§ Diodor. Sic. l. v.—Isidor. Originum, l. ix.—Plin. l. iii. c. 3.

¶ Iberian highlanders. W. de Humboldt. See Appendix § See Am. Thierry, *Hist. des Gaulois*, i. 10.

\* Diod. Sic. l. v. p. 306.—Cæsar, Bell. Gall. l. iv. c. 5. Est autem hoc Galliarum consuetudinis ut et viatores etiam invitos consensere cogant . . . et mercatores in oppidis vulgus circumstat, &c.

† Diodor. Sic. l. iv. *Καὶ αἱ τὰς φρονεῖς βαρύνοντες, καὶ παρὰ τὴν ἐχθρότητα κατὰ δὲ τὰς θυμίας βροχυλῶν, καὶ αἰνιγματικῶν καὶ τὰ πολλὰ αἰνιττόμενοι συνελοχικῶς, πολλὰ δὲ λόγων ἐν ἱπποδολαίῃς.*

‡ Diodor. Sic. l. v. *οὐκ ἔστιν αὖτε τὸ λαιπρὸν.* Strabo, l. iv. ap.

Her. R. Fr. l. 30.—I cannot quit the subject without noticing how much the ancients appear to have been struck with the rhetorical genius and noisy character of the Gauls. Lamy terms them, "a people born for vain tumults."

The public criers, trumpeters, and advocates were often Gauls. "An Insularian," says Cicero, (*Fragm. Or. contra Pisum.*) "that is, a shouter and a crier." See, also, the whole of the oration pro Fonteio. Cato says, (*in Charilio*) "I quote from memory."

"The Gauls, for the most part, assiduously cultivate two things—valor and oratorical smartness." Diodor. Sic. l. v. calls them "boasters, braggarts, and full of the strolch display."

§ Strabo, l. iv.—Cæsar, Bell. Gall. l. iii. c. 20.

¶ The Iberians must not be confounded with their neighbors, the Cantabri. The distinction between them is clearly established by M. W. de Humboldt in his admirable little work on the Basque language. See Appendix.

\* *Τοῦτο δὲ ἔστιν ἀρχαῖον.* Diodor.

¶ Diodor. Sic. l. v. "They wear dyed tunics, flowered colors of every kind, and treads, and striped cloaks, and with a buckle, and divided into numerous many-

lains, while the vanquished Iberians kept their round at either end, in Liguria and in Sicily, the Pyrenees and in Bœtica. The Italian Gauls, the *Ambra*, occupied the whole valley of the Po, and spread into the peninsula as far as the mouth of the Tiber. They were subsequently subjected by the Rascene or Etruscan empire, which was at a later period hemmed in by new Celtic emigrations between the Maera, the Tiber, and the Apennines.

Such was the aspect of the Gallic world. In Italy and in Spain, its young, soft, floating element was early altered by intermixture with the indurated; whereas in Gaul it would have been long rolled to and fro by the flux and reflux of barbarism, had not a new element from without infused into it a principle of stability, social idea.

Two people, the Greeks and the Phœnicians, were the leaders of civilization at this remote epoch of antiquity. The Tyrian Hercules was at this time sailing through every sea, buying and transporting from each country its most precious products. He did not overlook the fine arrets of the coast of Gaul, or the coral of the Lierres; and inquired into the precious mines which then cropped out upon the surface of the Pyrenees, the Cevennes, and the Alps.\* He came, and returned, and at last settled. Attacked by Abdon and Ligor, both names signify *mountain-people*, the sons of Neptune, he could have been overcome, had not Jupiter reinforced his flying arrows with a shower of tones, which still cover the plain of Crau in Provence. The victorious god founded Nemausus, Nîmes, ruled up the Rhone and the Saône, slew in his fur the robber Eumisk, and sent Vespa to the territory of the *Allobroges* (Auvergne). Before leaving, he laid down the highway which crossed the Col de Tende, and led from Italy across Gaul into Spain; and it was upon this foundation that the Romans built the *Archean* and *Dominian* ways, *carres*.

In this, as in other directions, the Phœnicians did not open a path for the Greeks, being followed by the Dorians of Rhodes, who were themselves supplanted by the Romans of Phœcia, the founders of Marseille, *n. c.* 600-587 *b. c.* This city, planted so far from Greece, was still by miracle. Landward it was surrounded by powerful Celtic and Ligurian tribes, who did not suffer it to take an inch of ground at the battle. Seaward it had to encounter the huge fleets of the Etruscans and Carthaginians, who had organized so sanguinary a monopoly coastwise, that for a stranger to trade in Sardinia was death by drowning. In every way, success crowned the Massilians. They had the gratification of seeing, without their

drawing the sword, the Etruscan navy destroyed in a single battle by the Syracusans, and then of beholding the annihilation of all the commercial states—of Etruria, Sicily, and Carthage—by Rome. Carthage, in her fall, left an immense field, which Marseille might well have coveted; but it was not for the humble ally of Rome, for a city without territory, and a people of plain and thrifty character, but more mercantile than political, and who, instead of gaining over and incorporating with themselves the barbarians in their vicinity, were ever at war with them, to aspire to such a part. However, through good conduct and perseverance, the Massilians managed to extend their establishments along the Mediterranean, from the Maritime Alps to Cape St. Martin; that is to say, as far as the early Carthaginian colonies. Monaco, Nice, Antibes, Èaube, St. Gilles, Agde, Ampurias, Denia, and some other towns, were founded by them.

While Greece began the civilization of the southern shore, northern Gaul received its own from the Celts themselves. A new Celtic tribe, the Cymry or Cumry, (*Cimmerii*?) came to join the Gauls, (*n. c.* 631-587.) The newcomers, who settled for the most part in the centre of France, on the Seine and the Loire, were, it appears, of more serious and stable character. Less indisposed to restraint, they were governed by a sacerdotal corporation—the Druids. The primitive religion of the Gauls, which yielded to the Cymric Druidism, was a natural religion, gross undoubtedly, and far from having reached that systematic form which it subsequently acquired among the Irish Gael. That of the Cymric Druids, as far as it is discernible through the barren notices of the ancients, and the much-altered traditions of the modern Welsh Cymry, had a far better moral tendency: they taught the immortality of the soul. Yet was the genius of the race too material to admit of such doctrines bearing early fruit. The Druids could not transport it out of its clannish life. The material principle, the influence of its military chieftains, co-existed with the government of the priests. Cymric Gaul was only imperfectly, Gallic Gaul not in the least, organized, and escaping the Druids, it flowed over the Rhine and the Alps, to flood the world.

\* See the interesting account of Marseille in Thierry's *Histoire*, *l. vi. c. 1*, one of the most remarkable portions of that excellent work. Further on I endeavor to show how greatly the obscure Greek colonies had in evaluating Gaul, been exaggerated.

\* Appian, *l. vi. p. 1196* and de Bell. *l. vi. c. 2*, and Diodorus, *l. vi. p. 391*, say that the Celts were Cimmerians. Ptolemy, in *Macedonia*, agrees with them. The Cimmerians, says Eusebius, *Synopsis*, *p. 373*, inhabited winter rains and dwelt, which they call *Argentea*. In the poetry of the Welsh Cymry, *Argentea* signifies a silver-crested year. W. Archæol., *p. 142*. The Cymry, aware, by the fact, that the Celts of Wales are two towns. However, several German scholars deny the identity of the Cimmerians with the Celts, and of the latter with the Cymry, referring the Cymry to the Germanic stock.

† See Appendix.

\* *Strabo*, *l. vi. c. 1*.

\* *Id.* in *l. vi. c. 1*, mentions *Carres*, in the Basque tongue denoted *W. de Humber*.

\* *Strabo*, *l. vi. c. 1*. The Carthaginians drowned all strangers whom they found coming to Sardinia, or to the Straits.

## FIRST COLLISION OF ROME AND GAUL.

(B. C. 388.)

This is the period assigned by history to the expeditions of Sigovesus and Bellovesus, nephews of Ambigat, king of the Bituriges, who led the Gauls into Germany and Italy, and who wandered with no other guidance than was afforded by watching the flight of birds. According to another tradition, they were guided by a jealous husband, an Aruns of Etruria, who, in his desire of revenge, introduced the barbarians to the juice of the grape. They found it good, and followed him to the land of the vine.\* These first emigrants, Ædui, Arverni, and Bituriges, (Gallic tribes of Burgundy, Auvergne, and Berry,) settle in Lombardy, despite the Etrusci, and take the name of *Is-Ambra*,† *Is-Ombrians*, *Insubrians*, synonymous with Gauls; being the same with that of those ancient Gauls, or *Ambra*, *Umbrians*, who had been subdued by the Etrusci. They were followed by the kindred tribes of the Auleri, Carnuti, and Cenomani, (inhabiting Mans and Chartres,) under a leader called the *Hurricane*;‡ who established themselves at the expense of the Etrusci of Venetia, and founded Brescia and Verona. Lastly, the Cynry, jealous of the conquests of the Gauls, pass the Alps in their turn; but finding the valley of the Po already occupied, they are forced to proceed as far as the Adriatic, and found Bologna and Sinigaglia, or rather, settle in those towns, which the Etrusci had already founded. The idea of the city, measured out and laid down according to religious and astronomical notions, was unknown to the Gauls, whose towns were only large open villages, such as Mediolanum, (Milan.) The Gallic world is the world of the tribe; the Etrusco-Roman world, that of the city.

Thus the tribe and the city are face to face in the listed plain of Italy. At first, the tribe has the advantage; the Etrusci are hemmed in within Etruria, properly so called, and the Gauls soon follow them thither. They cross the Apennines; and with their blue eyes, yellow mustachios, and golden collars on their fair shoulders, proceed to defile before the Cyclopean walls of the affrighted Etrusci. They appear before Clusium, and demand a territory. It was then, as is well known, that the Romans interposed to protect their ancient foes, the Etrusci, and that a panic placed Rome in the hands of the Gauls. They were much astonished, says Livy, at finding the city deserted; more astonished still at beholding at the doors of the houses the aged owners, who sat majestically, waiting death. By degrees they grew accustomed to these immoveable figures, which

had at first awed them; when one of them, in his barbarian joviality, took it into his head to stroke the beard of one of these haughty senators, who returned the caress with a blow of his stick.\* This was the signal for massacre.

The young men, who had shut themselves up in the Capitol, offered some resistance, but at last paid ransom.† This is the most probable tradition; the Romans preferred the other. Livy asserts that Camillus avenged his country by a victory, and slew the Gauls on the ruins they had made. What is more certain is, that they remained seventeen years in Latium, at Tibur, at the very gate of Rome. Livy calls Tibur, "arcem Gallicæ belli," (the stronghold of the Gallic war.) It is in this interval that were fought the heroic duels of Valerius Corvus and Manlius Torquatus with Gallic giants. The gods interfered; a sacred raven gave the victory to Valerius, and Manlius tore the collar (*torquis*) from the boaster who had defied the Romans. Hence, for a long time after, a popular image, a *Cimbric buckler*, with the likeness of a barbarian, inflating his cheeks and thrusting out his tongue,‡ used as a sign for shops.

The city was fated to prevail over the tribe, —Italy over Gaul. Driven from Latium, the Gauls continued to war, but as mercenaries in the service of Etruria. They shared, with the Etrusci and the Samnites, in those dreadful battles of Sentinum and the Vadimonian lake, which secured Rome the sovereignty of Italy, and thence of the world. In these they displayed their fruitless and brute-like audacity: fighting naked with the well-armed; dashing with loud clamor in their war-chariots against the impenetrable masses of the legions; and opposing the terrible *pilum* with wretched sabres that bent at the first stroke.§ It is the common history of all the battles of the Gauls: they never amended. Nevertheless, great efforts and the devotion of Decius were required on the side of the Romans. At length they, in their turn, penetrated to the Gauls, recovered the ransom of the Capitol, and seated a colony in the principal burgh of the Senones, whom they overcame at Sena on the Adriatic—exterminating the whole tribe, so that there should not remain a single descendant of those who could boast of having burnt Rome.||

## GREAT MIGRATION OF THE GAULS.

(B. C. 391-280.)

These reverses of the Italian Gauls may.

\* Tit. Liv. l. v. c. 41. M. Papirius, Gallo barbam suam, ut tum omnibus promissa erat, perculerunt, scipione eburneo in caput incisum, iram movisse dicitur.

† According to Polybius and Suetonius. See my Hist. Romaine, vol. i. l. i. c. 3.

‡ Aulus Gell. l. ix. c. 3.—Tit. Liv. l. vii. c. 10.

§ Tit. Liv. l. vii. "The Gauls have very long swords, without points."—Polyb. l. ii. ap. M. R. Fr. i. 167. "By their spirit at the first onset the whole Gallic race, while fresh, is most ferocious. Their swords give one fatal cut, but are then at once blunted, and bend lengthwise and flatwise."

|| A true symbol of the race of the Gaul.

¶ Flor. l. i. c. 12.

\* Tit. Liv. l. v. c. 34.—Plutarch. in Camillo.

† Is. hoc, low. Inferior.—Is-Ombria. Lower Umbria.

‡ According to the interpretation of Ann. Thierry, l. p. 43.

—Tit. Liv. v. c. 35.

§ It has been doubted by some learned men whether their oppida in Cesar's time, were any thing more than places of refuge.





than to war, and trusting in the rapidity of their flight and the remoteness of their lurking-places. All these wild mountain tribes—the Salyi, the Deciates, the Eburates, the Oxybii, the Ingauni—long escaped the Roman arms. At last, the consul Fulvius burnt their fastnesses, Bæbius forced them into the plain, and Posthumius disarmed them, leaving them scarcely iron wherewith to till their fields.” (s. c. 238–233.)

#### GALLIC INVASION OF ITALY. (B. C. 225.)

For half a century after the extermination of the Senones by Rome, the remembrance of the dreadful event was fresh in the minds of the Gauls; so that when At and Gall,\* two kings of the Boii, (now the Bolognese,) endeavored to rouse that people to seize the Roman colony of Ariminum, and summoned a band of mercenary Gauls from beyond the Alps, the Boii, rather than face a war with Rome, slew them both, and massacred their allies. But Rome, uneasy at their restlessness, irritated the Gauls, by prohibiting all trade with them, especially in arms; and the measure of their discontent was completed by the proposition of the consul Flaminius to colonize and divide among the people the territory taken from the Senones fifty years before. The Boii, whom the colony of Ariminum had taught the cost of having the Romans for neighbors, regretted not having assumed the offensive, and attempted to bring into a common league all the nations of northern Italy. The Veneti, however, a people of Slavonic origin, and inimical to the Gauls, refused to join it; the Ligurians were worn out, the Cenomani secretly sold to the Roman. The Boii and Insubres, (the Bolognese and Milanese,) left to themselves, were obliged to call in from the other side of the Alps a body of Gesates, (*Gaisda*)—men armed with *gais*, or boar-spears,—who gladly took pay with the rich Gallic tribes of Italy; money and promises luring across their leaders, Aneroæste and Concolitanus.

The Romans, kept informed of all by the Cenomani, took alarm at the league. The senate ordered that the Sibylline books should be consulted; and read therein with terror that the Gauls were twice to become masters of Rome. They sought to avert the calamity by burying alive two Gauls, a man and a woman, in the cattle market, the centre of the city; by which the Gauls might be said to have taken possession of the soil of Rome, and the oracle be either fulfilled or eluded. The alarm spread

from Rome over all Italy; not a people of which but thought themselves equally in danger of a fearful irruption of barbarians. The Gallic chiefs had taken from their temples the gold-embroidered standards, called *the immovable*; and had sworn a solemn oath, which they likewise administered to their followers, that they would not unbuckle their baldrics until they had scaled the Capitol. In their march they swept off every thing, as well cattle as even the very furniture of the houses, and they drove the husbandmen before them, chained together, at the tail of the whip. The whole population of central and southern Italy rose as one man, to arrest such a scourge; and seven hundred and seventy thousand soldiers\* held themselves ready, should it be needful, to follow the Roman eagles.

Of three Roman armies, one was to guard the passes of the Apennines leading into Etruria; but the Gauls were already in its heart, and only three days' journey from Rome. Fearful of being hemmed in between the two, the barbarians retraced their steps, slew six thousand of the pursuing army, and would have utterly destroyed it had not the second army come up. They then drew off to secure their booty, and had fallen back as far as cape Telamon, when, by a surprising chance, the third army, which was on its return from Sardinia, landed close to the camp of the Gauls, who then finding themselves between the enemy, at once faced both ways. The Gesates, in bravado, threw off their clothes, and posted themselves naked in the first rank, shield and spear in hand. For a moment, the Romans were intimidated by the strange spectacle, and by the tumultuous array of the barbarian army. “Besides innumerable horns and trumpets which they sounded incessantly, such a din of shouting suddenly arose, that not only men and instruments, but the very earth and surrounding places seemed emulously to join in the loud outcry. There was, too, something terrible in the looks and gestures of those giant frames which appeared in the foremost ranks,—naked but for their arms, and not one of which that was not tricked out in chains, collars, and bracelets of gold.” The inferiority of the weapons of the Gauls gave the Romans the advantage. The Gallic sabre only served for cutting, and was so badly tempered as to bend at the first blow.†

This victory being followed by the submission of the Boii, the legions passed the Po for the first time, and entered the territory of the Insubres, where the fiery Flaminius would have perished, had he not wiled the barbarians into a negotiation until he was reinforced. Being recalled by the senate, with whom he was no favorite, and who pronounced his nomination illegal, he resolved to conquer or die, broke the bridge behind him, and gained a signal victory;

25. Their women, who wrought in the quarries, when taken in labor, used to step aside for a short time, and, after delivery, return to their work. Strabo, lili. Diodor. Sic. iv. The Ligurians adhered strictly to their ancient customs, as, for instance, that of wearing their hair long, whence their surname of *Capillati*.—Cæsar says, in *Servius*, “They have a perfect recollection of their origin, but illiterate and bare, they have no memory for truth.” Nigidius Figulus, a contemporary of Varro's, uses the same terms.

\* Atis and Galatus, in the Greek and Latin historians. Polyb. li. See Am. Thierry, *Hist. des Gaulois*, vol. I.

\* See the passage of Polybius in the fifth book of my *History of Rome*.

† Polyb. l. li.—Am. Thierry, t. i. p. 244.

after which he opened the letters wherein the senate warned him that his defeat was foredoomed by the gods.

He was succeeded by Marcellus, a valiant soldier, who slew in single combat the brenn Viridmar, and consecrated to Jupiter Feretrius the second *spolia opima* (since Romulus.) The Insubrians were completely subdued, (B.C. 222;) and the dominion of Rome was extended over the whole of Italy as far as the Alps.

While Rome is believing the Gauls prostrate under her foot, Hannibal arrives and raises them up. The wily Carthaginian turns them to good account. He places them in the van, and compels them to pass the Tuscan marshes; the Numidians forcing them on from behind with their swords.\* They do not fight the worse for this at Thrasymene or at Cannæ. Hannibal wins those great battles with Gallic blood.† The one time that he is without them, being cut off from them in the south of Italy, he cannot stir a step. So full of life was this Italian Gaul, that after Hannibal's reverses it is up and doing under Hasdrubal, Mago, and under Hamilcar. It took thirty years' warfare (B.C. 201-170) and the treachery of the Cenomani, to consummate the ruin of the Boni and Insubres; and, at the last, the Boni rather emigrated than submitted. The remains of their hundred and twelve tribes rose in a body, and removed to the banks of the Danube, at its confluence with the Save. Rome solemnly declared that *Italy was closed to the Gauls*. This last dreadful struggle occurred while Rome was warring with Philip and Antiochus, and the Greeks flattered themselves that they were the chief thought of Rome, unconscious that it was the least part of her forces she employed against them. Two legions were enough for the discomfiture of Philip and Antiochus, while for many years in succession both consuls were despatched, with two consular armies, against the obscure hordes of the Boni and Insubres. Rome had to stifle her sinews against Gaul and Spain. A touch of her finger sufficed for the overthrow of the successors of Alexander.

Before quitting Asia, she struck down the only people capable of renewing the war there against her. The Galatæ, who had been settled for a century in Phrygia, had enriched themselves by levying tribute on all the neighboring tribes, and had amassed the spoils of Asia Minor in their haunts on Mount Olympus. One fact well characterizes the wealth and pomp of these barbarians. Public notice was given by one of their chiefs or tetrarchs that he would keep open table for any comer for a year round, and not only did he feast the crowd which flocked from the adjoining towns and districts, but he had travellers stopped and detained to partake of his hospitality.

Although the majority of the Galatæ had refused Antiochus their assistance, the prætor Manlius attacked their three tribes, (the Trocmi, Tolistoboioi, and Tectosagi,) and forced them in their mountains, by attacking them with missile weapons to which the Gauls, accustomed to fight with sabre and lance, could only oppose stones. Manlius compelled them to resign the lands which they had wrested from the allies of Rome, constrained them to renounce their life of pillage, and made them contract an alliance with Eumenes, to act as a check upon them. (B.C. 189-188.)

#### POLITICAL STATE OF GAUL. (B.C. 155.)

The Romans were not contented with subduing the Gauls in their Italian and Asiatic colonies, without penetrating into Gaul, that focus of barbaric invasions. Their allies, the Greeks of Marseilles, always at war with the neighboring Gauls and Ligurians, were the first to summon them thither. It was essential for Rome to be mistress of the western pass into Italy, which, on the side of the sea, was occupied by the Ligurians. Attacking the tribes of whom Marseilles complained, then those of whom she did not complain,‡ Rome gave the land to the Massilians, and kept the military posts; amongst others that of Aix, where Sextus founded the colony of *Aque Sextie*. Thence she turned her eyes towards Gaul.

Two vast confederations divided the land; on the one hand, the Ædui, a people whom we shall hereafter see united in the strictest bonds with the tribes of the Carnuti, the Parisii, the Senones, &c.; on the other, the Arverni and Allobroges. The former appear to be the lowlanders, the Cymry, living under a hierarchy, the party of civilization; the latter, mountaineers of Auvergne and of the Alps, are the ancient Gauls, formerly forced into the mountains by the Cymric invasion, but restored to their preponderance by their very barbarism and attachment to a clanish life.

The clans of Auvergne were at this time united under a chief or king named Bituit. These mountaineers believed themselves invincible. Bituit sent a solemn embassy to the Roman generals, to claim the liberation of one of their chiefs who had been taken prisoner; and, as part of the train, there came with it his royal kennel, consisting of enormous bull-dogs, brought at great expense from Belgium and Britain. The ambassador, superbly attired, was surrounded by a troop of young horsemen, flouting in gold and purple; and at his side was a bard, *rotte* in hand, who chanted at intervals the glory of the king, that of the Arverni, and the exploits of the ambassador.¶

The Ædui saw with pleasure the Roman invasion. The Massilians offered their media-

\* See my History of Rome, beginning of the second vol.  
† Ibid.

‡ Ibid.

\* See Ann. Thierry, ii. 164.—Tit. Liv. Epitom. l. ix.—Flor. l. iii. c. 2.

¶ Ann. Thierry, ii. 168. Appian. Punt. Germ.

tion, and obtained for them the title of *allies and friends of the Roman people*. Marseilles had introduced the Romans into the south of Gaul; the Ædui opened Celtic or Central Gaul to them, as, at a later period, the Remi did Belgic Gaul.

The enemies of Rome hurried with Gallic precipitation to meet the invader, and were conquered in detail on the banks of the Rhone. Bituit's silver car and kennel of fighting dogs stood him in little stead. Yet the Arverni alone were two hundred thousand in number; but they were daunted by the elephants of the Romans. Before the battle, Bituit, on seeing the smallness of the Roman army, in close legionary column, had exclaimed, "There are not enough there to serve my dogs for one meal."<sup>\*</sup>

Rome laid her hand on the Allobroges, and declared them her subjects; thus securing the gate of the Alps. The proconsul Domitius restored the Phœnician high-road, and named it after himself, (*Via Domitia*.) Succeeding consuls had only to push on towards the west, between Marseilles and the Arverni. (a. c. 120-118.) They made their way towards the Pyrenees, and founded, almost on the threshold of Spain, a powerful colony, *Narbo-Martius*, (Narbonne.) This was the second Roman colony out of Italy; the first had been sent to Carthage. Joined to the sea by works of immense labor, it had, in imitation of the metropolis, its capitol, its senate, its baths, and amphitheatre. It was the Gallic Rome, and the rival of Marseilles. The Romans were desirous that their influence in Gaul should no longer depend on their ancient ally.

They were peaceably establishing themselves in these countries, when an unforeseen event, immense and appalling as a second deluge, nearly swept away all, with Italy herself. That barbarian world which Rome had with such rude hand pent up in the north—existed nevertheless. Those Cymry, whom she had exterminated at Bologna and Sinigaglia, had brothers in Germany. Gauls and Germans, Cymry and Teutons, flying, it is said, before an overflow of the Baltic, turned their steps southward. (a. c. 113-101.) They had ravaged all Illyria, defeated at the gates of Italy a Roman general who had wished to bar their entrance into Noricum, and had turned the Alps by making through Helvetia, whose principal people, Umbrians or Ambrons, Tigurini (Zurich) and Tugheni (Zug) swelled their horde. The whole mass, numbering three hundred thousand fighting men, penetrated into Gaul; their families—old men, women, and children—followed in wagons. In the north of Gaul they recognised some ancient Cimbric tribes, and left, it is said, part of their booty in their charge. But, as they passed, they laid waste, burned, and crea-

ted a famine in Central Gaul. To give the torrent way, the rural population betook themselves to the towns, and were reduced to such extremity of starvation as to be compelled to eat human flesh.\* Arrived on the banks of the Rhone, the barbarians learned that the opposite side of the river was still the Roman empire, whose frontiers they had already met with in Illyria, in Thrace, and Macedonia. Struck with superstitious respect by the immensity of the great empire of the south, they said to the governor of the Province, M. Silanus, with the confiding simplicity of the German race, "that if Rome gave them lands, they would willingly fight for her." Silanus haughtily replied that Rome wanted not their services; crossed the Rhone, and was defeated. P. Cassius, the consul, who then came to the defence of the Province, was slain, Scæurus, his lieutenant, taken, and his army sent under the yoke by the Helvetii, not far from the lake of Geneva. The barbarians, emboldened, were for crossing the Alps; and their only doubt was, whether they should exterminate the Romans or reduce them to slavery. In the heat of their noisy debate, they thought of questioning their prisoner Scæurus; but maddened by his bold replies, one of them ran his sword through his body. Nevertheless, reflection followed; and they deferred crossing the Alps. It may be, the words of Scæurus were the salvation of Italy.

The Gallic Tectosagi, of Tolosa, (Toulouse,) descended from the same fathers as the Cimbri, summoned them to their aid against the Romans, whose yoke they had thrown off. The Cimbri came up too late. The consul, C. Servilius Cæpio, stormed the town, and sacked it. What with the gold and silver formerly carried off by the Tectosagi from the pillage of Delphi, the riches of the Pyrenean mines, and the wealth which was nailed up in one of its temples, or thrown into a neighboring lake in votive offering by the Gauls, Tolosa was the richest city of Gaul. Cæpio collected, it is said, a hundred and ten thousand pounds weight of gold, and fifteen hundred thousand of silver. He ordered this treasure to Marseilles; but had it waylaid and carried off by creatures of his own, who murdered its escort. All who touched this fatal prey died a miserable death, and hence the saying—"He has Tolosan gold," to express the victim of an implacable fatality.

Forthwith, Cæpio, through jealousy of a colleague, his inferior in birth, chooses to encamp and fight apart, and insults the deputies sent by the barbarians to the other consul. Boiling with rage, they solemnly vow to the gods whatsoever shall fall into their hands. Out of eighty thousand soldiers and forty thousand slaves or camp followers, only ten men are said to have escaped; of these, Cæpio was one. The barbarians religiously kept their oath. They slew

\* Paul. Oros. l. v. Fabius . . . adeo cum parvo exercitu occurrit, ut Bituitus paucitatem Romanorum vix ad escam canibus, quos in agmine habebat, sufficere posse jactaret.

\* Cæsar, Bell. Gall. l. vii. c. 77. In oppida compulsi, ac inopiâ subacti, eorum corporibus, qui citate inuites ad bellum videbantur, vitam toleraverunt.

every living being they found in either camp, collected the arms, and threw gold, silver, and even the horses, into the Rhone.\*

CIMBRIC CAMPAIGN OF MARIUS. (B. C. 102-101.)

This victory, as terrible as that of Cannæ, placed Italy within their grasp. The fortune of Rome stayed them in the Province, and directed them towards the Pyrenees. Thence, the Cimbric dispersed themselves over Spain—the other barbarians waiting for them in Gaul.

While thus losing their time and wearing themselves out in contending with the mountains and the obstinate courage of the Celtiberi, Rome, in her alarm, had recalled Marius from Africa. The man of Arpinum alone, in whom all the Italians recognised one of themselves, could reassure Italy and arm it to a man against the barbarians. This hardy soldier, almost as terrible to his own countrymen as to the enemy, and savage as the Cimbric whom he was about to oppose, was to Rome a saving god. For the four years that the barbarians were looked for, neither the people, nor even the senate, could make up their minds to nominate any other than Marius, consul. No sooner did he reach the Province, than he set about hardening the soldiers by making them undertake works of prodigious labor. He caused them to excavate the *Fossa Mariana*, which facilitated his communications with the sea, and enabled ships to avoid the mouth of the Rhone and its sand bars. At the same time he overpowered the Teutones, and secured the fidelity of the province before the barbarians put themselves in motion.

At length, the latter turned towards Italy; the only country of the west, which had yet escaped their ravages. They were forced to separate by the difficulty of finding food for so large a multitude. The Cimbric and Tigurini took the road through Helvetia and Noricum. A shorter road was to lead the Ambrons and Teutons over the heads of Marius' legions, across the Maritime Alps, right into Italy, and they were to rejoin the Cimbric on the banks of the Po.

Secure in the intrenched camp, from which he watched them—at first near Arles, then under the walls of Aquæ Sextiæ (Aix), Marius persisted in declining battle. He wished to accustom his soldiers to the sight of these barbarians, with their enormous stature, savage looks, and strange arms and garments. Their king, Teutobochus, could vault over four or even six horses, placed side by side, when led in triumph at Rome; he was taller than the trophies. Defying before the intrenchments, the barbarians defied the Romans with a thousand insults—"Have you no message for your

wives," they cried, "*we shall soon be with them.*" One day, one of these giants of the North came up to the very gates of the camp, to challenge Marius. The general returned him for answer, that if he was weary of life, he could go and hang himself; the Goth insisting, he sent out a gladiator to him. Thus he diverted the impatience of his men; while he had information of what passed in the hostile camp through the young Sertorius, who spoke their tongue, and mingled with them under favor of a Gallic dress.

To inspire his soldiers with more eager desire for battle, Marius had pitched his camp upon a hill where there was no water, but which overlooked a river. "You are men," he said to them, "you can have water for blood." A skirmish soon took place on the banks of the river. The Ambrons alone were engaged in this first trial of strength, and the Romans were at first discouraged by their war-cry of "*Ambrons, Ambrons,*" which, shouted in their bucklers, sounded like the roaring of wild beasts; nevertheless, the Romans came off victorious. However, they were repulsed from the enemy's camp by the women of the Ambrons, who, arming themselves in defence of their freedom and their children, struck from the top of their wagons without distinction of friends or enemies. The whole night long the barbarians bewailed their dead with savage howls, that repeated by the echoes of the mountains and of the river struck terror even into the breasts of the victors. Two days afterwards, Marius drew on a second engagement by means of his cavalry. The Ambro-Teutons, carried away by their courage, crossed the river, and were overwhelmed in its bed. A body of three thousand Romans took them in the rear, and decided the fate of the day. According to the most moderate computation, a hundred thousand of the barbarians were killed or taken. The valley, enched by their blood, became celebrated for its fertility. The inhabitants of the district used nothing else than the bones of the slain to enclose and prop their vines, and the name given to the plain of *Campi putridi* (the putrid fields) is still recalled by that of the village of *Pontevieux*. As for the booty, the army resigned it wholly to Marius, who, after a solemn sacrifice, burnt it in honor of the gods. A pyramid was raised to Marius, a temple to Victory, and an annual procession to the church of St. Victore, built on the site of the temple, subsisted uninterruptedly down to the period of the French Revolution. The pyramid remained to the fifteenth century, and Poutier's took as its arms the triumph of Marius, as represented on one of the bas reliefs with which it was adorned.\*

Meanwhile, the Cimbric had crossed the Norse Alps, and descended into the valley of the Adige. The soldiers of Catulus beheld them

\* Paul. Strab. l. vi. c. 16. *Artem agerique in flumen abiecit, ut equis purgatis muneret.*

\* Pline. l. vi. c. 16. *Teutobochus, quatuordecim equos transire solitus.*

\* Am. Thierry. *Hist. des Gauls*, vol. ii. p. 226.

with terror, sporting, half naked, among the snow-wreaths and ice, and sliding on their bucklers from the tops of the Alps over the precipices.\* Catulus, a mere disciplinarian, thought himself safe behind the Adige, and under the cover of a small fort, which he imagined the barbarians would waste their time in forcing. They threw in rocks, laid a whole forest upon them, and crossed. The Romans fled; and did not stop till they were covered by the Po. The Cimbri thought not of pursuing them. While waiting the arrival of the Teutons, they gave themselves up to the enjoyment of the Italian soil and sky, and suffered themselves to be conquered by the sweets of the soft and beautiful country. The wine, the bread,—all was new to these barbarians,† who melted before the southern sun, and the still more enervating influence of civilization.

Marius had time to join his colleague. He gave audience to the deputies of the Cimbri, whose object was delay—"Give us," they said, "*lands for ourselves, and for our brothers, the Teutons.*"—"Trouble not yourselves about them," answered Marius, "*they have lands, which we have given them, and which they will keep forever.*" And, as the Cimbri threatened him with the arrival of the Teutons—"They are here," he said; "*it were not kind should you part without saluting them,*" and he ordered the captives to be produced. When the Cimbri asked him the place and day that he would meet them "*to decide whose should be Italy,*" he appointed the third day from that, and a plain near Verceil.

#### DESTRUCTION OF THE CIMBRI.—JOY OF ROME.

Marius had so posted himself that the enemy had the wind, dust, and scorching rays of a July sun directly in their faces. The Cimbri had formed their infantry in an enormous square, the front ranks of which were serried together with chains of iron. Their cavalry, fifteen thousand strong, was terrible to behold, with their casques crowned with the muzzles of wild beasts, and their crests—the wings of birds.‡ The ground occupied by the barbarian camp and army was a league long. As the battle began, the wing in which Marius was, fancying the enemy's cavalry had taken flight, spurred on in pursuit, and lost itself in the dust; while the enemy's infantry, like the waves of a vast ocean, rolled on and was broken on the centre, where Catulus and Sylla commanded; and then all was an indistinguishable mass of dust. To the dust and the sun belonged the principal honor of the victory.§

\* Florus, l. iii. c. 3. Hi jam (quis crederet?) per hiemem, que altius Alpes levat, Tridentinis jugis in Italiani provocati ruina descenderant.—Plutarch, in Mar. c. 23. Τοὺς θρῆονας, τὰς αἰχμητάς τοῖς αἰσχυαῖς.

† Ibid. In Venetiâ, quo fere tractu Italia mollissima est, ipsi soli colique clementia robur elanguit. Ad hoc panis nam carnisque coctæ et dulcedine vini mitigatus, &c.

‡ Plutarch, in Mar. c. 27. Ὀπίσθω φεσπέρῳ χηρύσας . . . ἀφ' οὗ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν.

§ Florus, l. iii.—Plutarch, in Mar. c. 27. Κωϊστέρῳ ἀ-

The barbarian camp, with the women and children, was the next object. These, clad in the weeds of wo, sought a promise that their persons should be respected; and that they should live slaves to the Roman priestesses of fire.\* (The Germans worshipped the elements.) Their prayer rejected, they wrought their own deliverance. Marriage with these people was a serious thing. Their symbolical nuptial presents—the yoked oxen, the arms, the charger, sufficiently signified to the virgin that she had become the companion of her husband's danger—that the same fate awaited them in life as in death, (*sic vitendum, sic pereundum.* Tacit.) It was to his wife that the warrior brought his wounds after battle, (*ad matres et conjuges vulnera referunt, nec aut illa numerare aut exigere plagas pavent.*) She counted and sounded them without a tremor; for death was not to separate them. So, in the Scandinavian poems, Brunhild burns herself on the body of Siegfried. The first act of the wives of the Cimbri was to set their children at liberty by death; they strangled them, or cast them under the wheels of their wagons. They then hanged themselves; fastening themselves by a running knot to the horns of their oxen, and goading them on so as to ensure their being trampled to pieces. Their dead bodies were defended by the dogs of the horde, which it was found necessary to destroy with arrows.†

So vanished that terrible spectre of the North, which had filled Italy with such alarm. The word *Cymbrie* abided as a synonyme of strong and terrible. Rome, however, was unconscious of the heroic genius of these nations, which were one day to destroy her; she believed in her own eternity. All of the Cymbri who could be taken prisoners were distributed among the towns as public slaves, or devoted to gladiatorial uses.

Marius had the figure of a Gaul, thrusting out his tongue—a popular device at Rome from the days of Torquatus—carved on his buckler. He was hailed by the people as the third founder of Rome, after Romulus and Camillus; and they poured out libations in the name of Marius, as they were wont to do in honor of Bacchus or of Jupiter. He himself, intoxicated with his triumph over the barbarians of the North and of the South, over Germany and the African Indies, would drink thenceforward out of that two-handled cup alone, from which, according to tradition, Bacchus had drunk after his conquest of India.‡

Ὁ δὲ τὸν δολίον . . . ἀνέστη καὶ ἀνέβη τοῖς Πρωπαιῖς τὸ καὶ τὸν ἄλκον.

\* Paul. Oros. l. v. c. 16. Consuluerunt consulens, ut si involutis castitate virginibus sacrificium fieri videretur, vitam sibi reservarent.—Florus, l. iii. c. 3. Quam, missâ ad Marium legatione, libertatem ac sacerdotium non impetrarent.

† Plin. l. viii. c. 40. Cimbri defuncti, Cimbriæ castis, domus eorum pluvibus impositas.

‡ Valer. Max. l. viii. c. 15. ex. 7. Sallust. Bell. Jug. ad calc. "From that time he was considered the hope and strength of the state."—Vell. Patere. l. ii. c. 12. "Such a



thrown into the watering-places of the cattle : against whose diseases it was a preservative.\* The gathering of the selago (hedge-hyssop) required preparation by ablutions, and an offering of bread and wine ; the gatherer went to seek it bare-footed, and arrayed in white ; as soon as he descried the plant he stooped as if accidentally, and slipping his right hand under his left arm, plucked it without ever using the knife, and then wrapped it in a napkin, which was to be used but once.† There was a distinct ceremonial for the gathering of vervain. But the universal remedy, the panacea, as the Druids called it,‡ was the famous *mistletoe*, which they believed to be sown on the oak by a Divine hand ; and they saw in the union of the parasitic plant, with the lasting verdure of the tree, a living symbol of the doctrine of immortality. It was gathered in winter, just as it flowers, when the plant is most readily distinguishable, and when its long green branches and leaves, and yellow tufts of flowers, present the only image of life to be seen where all nature around is dead and sterile.§

The mistletoe was to be cut when the moon was six days old. It was gathered by a Druid in white robes, who mounted the tree, and, with a golden sickle, severed the root of the plant, which was caught by his fellow-Druids in a white cloak, for it was essential that it should not touch the ground.|| Two white bulls were then sacrificed, which had never borne the yoke.

The Druids foretold the future by the flight of birds, and inspection of the entrails of the beasts sacrificed. They also manufactured talismans : such as the amber beads, worn by the warriors in battle, and which are often met with in their tombs. But the choicest talisman was *the serpent's egg*.¶ Their notions respecting the egg and serpent, call to mind the cosmogonic egg of oriental mythology, as well as the metempsychosis and the eternal renovation of which the serpent was the emblem.

Female magicians, and prophetesses, were affiliated to the Druidical order, but without partaking its prerogatives. Their rule of life imposed on them fantastical and contradictory

laws. One order of priestesses could unveil the future only to their polluters ; another was devoted to perpetual virginity ; a third, although permitted to marry, was enjoined long periods of celibacy. Sometimes, these females had to assist at nocturnal sacrifices, with their naked bodies dyed black, their hair dishevelled, and abandoning themselves to transports of phrensy. The greater number of them dwelt on the wild reefs, which are scattered throughout the Armorican Archipelago. At Sena (Sein) was the celebrated oracle of the nine terrible virgins called *Senes*, from the name of their island. The privilege of consulting them was confined to seamen ; and even they must have made the voyage for the express purpose.‡ These virgins knew the future ; cured incurable ailments predicted and raised tempests.

The priestesses of Nannettes inhabited an island at the mouth of the Loire. Although married, man was forbidden to approach the dwelling. At certain prescribed periods, they visited their husbands on the continent ; when leaving their island at night-fall, in small boats which they managed themselves, they passed the night in huts prepared for their reception. As soon as day broke, tearing themselves from the arms of their husbands, they hurried to their skiffs, and rowed back to their solitudes.§ It was their bounden task every year, crowned with ivy and green garlands, to pull down and rebuild the roof of their temple, in the space between sunset and sunset ; when, if one of them chanced to let any of the sacred material fall on the ground, she was lost—her companions rushed upon her with fearful cries, tore her in pieces, and scattered her mangled body to the winds.|| The Greeks conceived that they recognised in these rites the worship of Bacchus ; and they also likened to the orgies of Samothrace, other Druidical orgies celebrated in an island off the coast of Brittany.¶ whence the sailor heard with fear on the open sea furious cries, and the clashing of barbarian cymbals.

#### DISCIPLINE AND HIERARCHY OF THE DRUIDS.

If the religion of the Druids did not institute, it at least adopted and kept up the practice of human sacrifice. The priests plunged their knives above the diaphragm of the victim, and drew their prognostics from the position in which he fell, the convulsions of his limbs, the abundance and color of his blood. At times they crucified him on stakes within the temples, or shot him to death with darts and arrows.\*\* Frequently they reared a colossus of wicker-work or hay, and, having filled it with living

\* Plin. l. xiv. c. 11.

† Ibid.

‡ *Ummat sanctum* appellantes. Plin. l. xvi. c. 44.

§ Plin. l. xvi. c. 44.—Verg. *Æn.* l. vi.

¶ Plin. l. xvi. c. 44.

\* Plin. l. xiv. c. 41. This pretended egg seems to have been nothing more than an echinote, or puffed sea-urchin.

† In summer time, says Pliny, vast numbers of serpents frequent certain caverns of Gaul, where they blend and twine together, and with their saliva, combined with the froth that comes out of their skin, produce this kind of egg. When it is perfect, they raise it and support it in the air by their hissings. This is the moment to seize it. Some one, placed in watch for the purpose, darts out, catches the egg in a napkin, leaps on a horse which is in readiness, and gallops off at full speed to escape the serpents, who follow him until he puts a river between them. The egg was to be borne away at a certain period of the moon. It was tried by plunging it into water. If it swam, although encircled by a ring of gold, it empowered its possessor to gain law suits, and secured him a free access to kings. The Druids wore it richly encased, on their necks, and sold it at extravagant prices.

\* Plin. l. xiv. c. 2. Tert. *Annal.* l. xiv.

† Galli *Senae* vocant. Melan. l. iii. c. 5.

‡ Ibid.

§ Strabo, l. iv. p. 169.

¶ Ibid.—Dionys. *Perieg.* v. 565, et seq.

\*\* Fest. *Avien.* perip. Dionys. *Perieg.*—Strabo, l. iv. p. 188.

\*\* Strabo, *ibid.*—Diod. l. v. p. 308.

an victims, a priest threw into it a lighted torch, and the whole soon disappeared in eddies of smoke.\* Undoubtedly, these offerings were often redeemed by votive offerings, by casting ingots of gold and silver into lakes, or nailing them up in the temples.† word as to the hierarchy. It comprised three distinct orders. The lowest order was that of the bards, who handed down orally the sagories of the clans, and sang upon the *rotte* exploits of the chiefs and the national traditions. Next came the priesthood, properly so called, consisting of the Ovates (or Eubages) Druids. The Ovates had the charge of ceremonials of worship, and celebrated the sacrifices. To them belonged especially the initiation of the natural sciences to religion, astronomy, divination, &c. Interpreters of the omens, no civil or religious act was complete without their ministrations.‡

The Druids (*men of the oaks*) were the ruling order of the hierarchy. In them lay power and knowledge. Theology, morality, all the higher acquisitions, were their prerogative. They were elective. Initiation into the order, which was accompanied by severe austerities, sometimes lasted twenty years; for they were to commit to memory all priestly lore, and being intrusted to writing, at least in the latter period that they became acquainted with Greek characters.¶

The solemn assembly of Druids was held once a year in the territory of the Carnuti, in a sacred grove which was deemed the centre of all Gaul; to this the people flocked from the most distant provinces. The Druids then left their robes, and gave judgment, seated in the midst of the multitude. Here, undoubtedly, was seen the Archdruid, whose office was to serve the institution in its integrity; and election, not unfrequently, gave rise to civil wars.

Now, even had Druidism not been weakened by these divisions, the solitary life to which its members of the order seem to have been devoted, must have rendered it incapable of any serious action on the people. The case was evident from that of Egypt, where the population was massed on a narrow base. The Gauls were dispersed over the forests and marshes of their wild country, and were exposed to the raids of a barbarous and warlike life. Druidism had no firm hold on so scattered and unsettled a people, and they early escaped its spell.

Thus Gaul, at the time of Cæsar's invasion,\*\*

seems to have been utterly powerless to organize itself. The old spirit of clanship and warlike feeling of independence which Druidism should have repressed, had gained new vigor; though inequality of strength, indeed, had established a sort of hierarchy among the tribes, some of which were clients of the others, as the Carnuti of the Remi, the Senones of the Ædui, &c. (Now, Chartres, Reims, Sens, Autun.)

Cities had been formed; places of refuge, as it were, in the midst of this life of war. But the tillers of the ground were wholly serfs; so that Cæsar might well say, "There are only two orders in Gaul, the Druids and the Knights (equites)." The Druids were the weakest. It was a Druid of the Ædui who called in the Romans.

#### GALLIC CAMPAIGNS OF CÆSAR. (B. C. 58-49.)

I have elsewhere spoken of Cæsar, and of the motives which decided that marvellous man to abandon Rome so long for Gaul, and exile himself that he might return master. Italy was exhausted; Spain untamable; Gaul was essential to the subjugation of the world. Fain would I have seen that fair and pale countenance,\* prematurely aged by the debaucheries of the capital—fain have seen that delicate and epileptic man,† marching in the rains of Gaul at the head of his legions, and swimming across our rivers; or else, on horseback, between the litters in which his secretaries were carried, dictating even six letters at a time, shaking Rome from the extremity of Belgium, sweeping from his path two millions of men,‡ and subduing in ten years Gaul, the Rhine, and the ocean of the north. (B. C. 58-49.)

This barbarous and bellicose chaos of Gaul, was a superb material for such a genius. The Gallic tribes were on every side calling in the stranger, Druidism was in its decline. It seems to have prevailed in the two Brittaines, and in the basins of the Seine and Loire.§ But in

Thierry. Great part of Aquitaine followed the example of Spain, and declared for Pertinax, and from Gaul Lepidus invaded Italy. But Sylla's party gained the day. Aquitaine was reduced by Pompey, who founded military colonies at Toulouse, at Biterre, Beziers, and at Narbonne; (B. C. 73.) and collected all the exiles who infested the Pyrenees into his new town of *Caracene*, a word signifying an assemblage of men from all quarters; now St. Bertrand de Comminges. The chief agent of the violence of Sylla's party in Gaul had been one Fontorius whom Cicero managed to get acquitted. See *Orat. pro Fontio*. The sufferings of Roman Gaul nearly drive the ambassadors of the Allobroges into Cæsar's conspiracy. See my *History of Rome*.

\* Port in J. Cæsar, c. 43. *Fuisse traditur colore candido.*

† Id. *ibid.* *Consultat quosque morbo his later res gerendis corpore est.*

‡ Most *Plut. parvus*. *Plin.* vii. 25. Eleven hundred and sixty-two thousand men before the civil wars. The same writer, speaking of Cæsar, says, "His genius could grasp every subject, even the sublimest, and its quickness was like fire—he could dictate four letters at a time, on important business, to his secretaries, and, if not occupied with any thing else, as many as seven."

§ The Carnutes (Chartres), a Druidical tribe, were clients of the Remi (Reims). The Senones (Sens), who had connections with the Carnutes and Parisii, had been vassals or clients of the Ædui (Autun), as perhaps the Bituriges

Cæsar, l. vi. c. 16. Strabo, l. iv. p. 139.

So at Toulouse. See p. 40.

Quærit, *operebusque* ceteris, &c. Strabo, l. iv. p. 119.

l. i. v. p. 239. Ann. Mar. l. vi. c. 9.

*Deve* (Carni). *Deve*, *Armenian*, *Deve*, (Gælic).

¶ Diod. l. v. p. 239. Strabo, l. iv. p. 137. Ann. Mar.

c. 9.

Cæsar, l. vi. c. 14.

\* On the changes that occurred in the Roman province, in the interval between Marius and Cæsar, consult Am.



the south the Arverni and all the Iberian settlers of Aquitains had, for the most part, remained faithful to their hereditary chiefs. In Celtic Gaul even, the Druids had been able to resist the old spirit of clanship only by favoring the establishment of a free population in the towns, whose chiefs or patrons were at least elective, like the Druids. Thus two factions divided the whole of the Gallic states; the hereditary, or that of the chiefs of clans; the elective, or that of the Druids and temporary chiefs of the inhabitants of the towns.\* At the head of the latter were the Ædui; the leaders of the first were the Arverni and Sequani; and here began the enmity between Burgundy (the Ædui) and Franche-Comté, (the Sequani.) The Sequani, oppressed by the Ædui, who blocked up the navigation of the Saône, and interrupted their lucrative traffic in swine,† summoned from Germany tribes, to whom Druidism was unknown, and who went under the common name of Suevi. These barbarians asked no better. They crossed the Rhine, led by an Ariovist, defeated the Ædui, and imposed a tribute on them. They treated their inviters, the Sequani, worse; depriving them of the third of their lands, according to the custom of German conquerors, and ill-treating them all the same. Reconciled by misfortune, the Ædui and Sequani then sought the aid of other foreigners. Two brothers were all-powerful among the Ædui. Dumnorix, enriched by the taxes and tolls, the monopoly of which he had secured either forcibly or in gift, had acquired popularity among the poorer inhabitants of the towns, and aspired to the sovereignty. Leaguings himself with the Helvetian Gauls, he married one of their countrywomen, and enticed that people to leave their sterile valleys for the rich plains of Gaul. The other brother, who was a Druid—a title in all probability identical with that of Divitiacus, which Cæsar gives as his proper name—sought less barbarous liberators for his country. He repaired to Rome, and implored the assistance of the senate,‡ which had called the Ædui *kindred and friends of the Roman people*. But the chief of the Suevi also appealed to the same quarter, and managed to get himself as well styled the friend of Rome. Influenced, probably, by the impending invasion of the Helvetii, the senate contracted alliance with Ariovistus.

(Berry) had also been. Cæsar, Bell. Gall. l. vi. c. 4, and *passim*.

\* Cæsar, l. i. c. 16. "The *Fergobretæ*. (Ver-go-breith, Gaelic, 'man for judgment') who is chosen annually, and has the power of life and death over his countrymen."—L. vii. c. 33. "By the laws of the Ædui, their chief magistrates could not leave the country. The law also forbade the choosing two living members of the same family magistrates, or even that two should sit at the same time in the senate."—L. v. c. 27. "Their polity was so constituted, that the multitude had not less power over their chief than he over them." And *passim*.

† Strabo, l. vi. p. 172. "Hence the Roman market has its almost supply of salted swine."

‡ Cic. de Divin. l.

For three years these mountaineers had made preparations which clearly showed that they wished to render return impossible. They burnt their twelve towns and four hundred villages, and destroyed the moveables and provisions which they could not carry along with them. The rumor ran that they intended to traverse the whole breadth of Gaul, and establish themselves in the west, in the country the Santones, (Saintes.) Beyond doubt, they hoped to enjoy a more tranquil life on the shore of the great ocean than in their rude Helvetia which formed the central battle-field of all the people of the ancient world, Gauls, Cimbri, Teutons, Suevi, and Romans. Including men and children, they numbered three hundred and seventy-eight thousand souls; and it was the difficulty of transporting so vast a multitude, which made them prefer the road through the Roman province. They found the way barred at the very beginning by Cæsar, who was posted near Geneva, and who kept them playing long enough to gain time to throw up between the lake and Mount Jura a wall sixty feet high, and nearly six miles long. They were thus compelled to plunge into the rugged valleys of the Jura, traverse the country of the Sequani, and to ascend the Saône. Coming with them as they were crossing this river, Cæsar fell on the Tigurini while they were cut from the main body, and exterminated the whole tribe. His provisions failing, owing to the will of Dumnorix and of the party who called in the Helvetii, he was constrained to retire on Bibracte, (Autun.) The Helvetii, construing this retrograde movement into flight, pursued him in their turn. Placed between enemies and disaffected allies, Cæsar extricated himself from the dilemma by a bloody victory. Once more overtaking the Helvetii in their flight to the Rhine, he forced them to surrender their arms, and to pledge themselves to return to their own country. Six thousand of them who had fled in the night, in order to escape this disgrace, were brought back by the Roman cavalry, and, to use Cæsar's own language, *treated as enemies*.\*

#### GERMAN MIGRATIONS INTO GAUL.

To have repulsed the Helvetii was not enough if the Suevi invaded Gaul. Their migrations were constant, and had already carried them hundred and twenty thousand fighting men into Gaul was about to become Germany. Cæsar affected to yield to the prayers of the Ædui and Sequani, oppressed by barbarians. The same Druid who had solicited the assistance of Rome, undertook to explore the road and guide Cæsar to Ariovistus. The chief of the Suevi, who had obtained the title of ally of the Roman people from Cæsar himself, while he

\* Cæsar, l. i. c. 28. Cæsar . . . *reductos in castrum mero habuit*.

sul, was amazed at being attacked by him. "This," said the barbarian, "is my Gaul,—my own; you have yours,—if you leave me in peace, you will be the gainers, for I will fight all your wars, without your incurring trouble or risk. Are you ignorant what manner of men the Germans are? It is now more than fourteen years since we have slept under a roof!" These words told but too deeply on the Roman army. All that had been reported of the stature and ferocity of these northern giants terrified the smaller race of the south; and nothing was to be seen in the camp but men making their wills. Caesar shamed them by saying, "If you desert me, I shall still go on; the tenth legion is enough for me." Then leading them to Besançon, he masters the city, pushes on to the camp of the barbarians, which was not far from the Rhine, forces them to give battle, although they were desirous of deferring it till the new moon, and destroys them in a desperate engagement, almost all the fugitives perishing in the river.

The Belgæ, and other Gauls of the north, judging, and not without probability, that if the Romans had expelled the Suevi, it was only to succeed them as masters of the land, formed a vast coalition; of which Caesar took advantage to enter Belgium. He had with him, as guide and interpreter, the Divitiæ of the Ædui,† (Drutiacus;) and was called in by the Senones, ancient vassals of the Ædui, and by the Remi, sovereigns of the Druidical territory of the Carnuti.‡ It is probable that these tribes, devoted to Druidism—or at least to the popular party—shook with pleasure the arrival of the friend of the Druids, and relied on opposing him to the northern Belgæ, their ferocious neighbors; just as, five centuries afterwards, the Catholic clergy of Gaul favored the invasion of the Arian Visigoths and Burgundians by the Franks.

A war in the boggy plains and virgin forests of the Seine and the Meuse would have been a sombre and discouraging prospect to any general less daring than Caesar. Like the conquerors of America, he was often obliged to clear himself a road with the hatchet, to throw bridges over marshes, and to advance with his legions sometimes on terra firma, sometimes by fording, or by swimming. Besides, the Belgæ interwove the trees of their forests together, as those of America are naturally interlaced by

creeping plants. But, with their superiority of arms, the Pizarros and Cortes waged a certain war; and what were the Peruvians compared with the hardy and choleric Bellocæ and Nervii, (Picardy, Hainault, Flanders,) who marched on Caesar a hundred thousand at a time! Through the mediation of the Divitiæ of the Ædui,\* the Bellocæ and Suessiones were brought over; but the Nervii, supported by the Atrebatæ and Veromandui, surprised the Roman army on its march along the Sambre, in the depth of their forests, and fancied themselves sure of its destruction. Caesar was obliged to seize a standard and lead his men on; and the gallant Nervii were exterminated. Their allies, the Cimbri, alarmed by the works with which the Roman general was surrounding their town, feigned to surrender, threw down part of their arms from the walls, and then made a sortie with the rest. Caesar sold fifty-three thousand of them into slavery.

No longer concealing his design of subduing Gaul, he undertook the reduction of all the coast tribes. He penetrated the forests and marshes of the Menapii and Morini, (Zeeland and Guelders, Ghent, Bruges, Boulogne;) while one of his lieutenants subdued the Unelli, Eburonices, and Lexovii, (Coutances, Evreux, Lisieux;) and another, the young Crassus, conquered Aquitaine, although the barbarians had summoned to their aid from Spain the old brothers-in-arms of Sertorius.† Caesar himself attacked the Veneti, and other tribes of our Brittany. This amphibious race inhabited neither the land nor the water. Their forts, erected on peninsulas alternately inundated and deserted by the tide, could be besieged neither by the one nor the other. The Veneti maintained a constant communication with the other Britanni, and was supplied from it. To reduce them, it was necessary to be master of the sea. Nothing checked Caesar. He built vessels, formed sailors, and taught them to secure the Breton ships by using grappling irons, and cutting their ropes. He treated hardly this hard people, but the lesser Britain could only be conquered through the greater. Caesar made up his mind to invade it.

This barbarian world of the west which he had undertaken to tame, was threefold. Gaul lay between Britain and Germany, and was in communication with both. The Cimbri were in all three countries; the Helvi and Rauri, in Germany and Gaul; the Parisi and Gallic Atrebatæ were found in Britain as well. In the

\* Caesar l. i. c. 2. *Quoniam velis congressurum intelleximus, quod nihil Germani exspectatione in armis, qui inter arma vel lectum non sitissent, vixisse possent.* Caesar professes confidence in his soldiers. c. 20. by reminding them that in the war with Sertorius they had already defeated the Germans.

† Caesar l. i. c. 20. At the siege of Genabum the Gauls observe: "If we can men of such lofty stature hope to raise so heavy a tower!"

‡ It was this latter tribe who had explored the road when Caesar previously marched against the Suevi. l. i. c. 41.

The Germans have no Druids, says Caesar; neither do they care for sacrifices. l. i. c. 21. Apparently, they were the protectors of the anti-Druidical party in Gaul.

§ Caesar, l. i. c. 2, and the beginning of l. vi.

\* We find the Divitiæ of the Ædui are supporting the Romans everywhere up to the period of the invasion of Britain. We sometimes calculated to induce the belief that Caesar was about to re-establish in Belgium the influence of the Ædui; that is of the Druidical and popular party—l. i. c. 14. *Quod si fecerit, Gallicum vinctum in apud omnes Belgas amplius staret, quod cum suis his ab eis copulis, singulis legibus, sed et sustinere consuevit.*

† Caesar l. i. c. 23. "They chose for their leaders the veterans who had served with Sertorius in all his campaigns, and who were supposed to be masters of military science."

differences which divided Gaul, the Britons seem to have been for the Druidical party, as the Germans were for that of the chiefs of the clans. Cæsar struck both parties, both internally and externally; he crossed the ocean and the Rhine.

Two great German tribes, Usipii and Teucteri, worn out in the north by the incursions of the Suevi as the Helvetii had been in the south, like them had just emigrated into Gaul. (B. C. 55.) Cæsar stopped them; and, under the pretence that he had been attacked by their young men, during parley, he fell unexpectedly upon them, and massacred them to a man. To strike the greater terror into the Germans he went in search of those terrible Suevi, whose neighbors no nation dared to be. In ten days, he threw a bridge over the Rhine not far from Cologne, despite the width and impetuosity of that immense river. After having ransacked in vain the forests of the Suevi, he repassed the Rhine, traversed the whole of Gaul, and in the same year embarked for Britain. When these prodigious marches, more astonishing than victories even, were reported at Rome, such audacity and fearful rapidity provoked one universal burst of admiration. The senate decreed a lectisternium of twenty days in thanksgiving to the gods. "Compared with Cæsar's exploits," exclaimed Cicero, "what did Marius!"\*

#### CÆSAR'S DESCENT ON BRITAIN. (B. C. 55.)

When Cæsar desired to cross into Great Britain, he could obtain no information from the Gauls respecting that sacred island. Dumnorix, the Eduan, declared that religion forbade his following Cæsar,† and sought to escape by flight; but the Roman, aware of his restless disposition, ordered that he should be brought back alive or dead, and he was slain while defending himself.

The ill-will of the Gauls had nearly proved fatal to Cæsar in this expedition. From the first, they kept him ignorant of the difficulties of landing. The tall ships used on the ocean drew a great depth of water, and could not approach the shore; so that the soldiery were obliged to cast themselves into the deep sea, and form in line in the midst of the waves. This gave considerable advantage to the barbarians, who crowded the strand; but the machines used in sieges were brought into play, and the shore was cleared by a shower of stones and darts. The equinox, however, was nigh; and it was the full of the moon, when the tides are at the highest. In one night the Roman fleet was dashed in pieces, or rendered unfit for service. The barbarians who, in the first moment of astonishment, had given hostages to Cæsar, attempted to surprise his camp;

when repulsed with vigor, they again tendered their submission, and were ordered by Cæsar to provide twice the number of hostages. But having refitted his vessels, he set sail the same night without waiting their answer. A few days more, and the winter season would have interdicted his return.

The year following, we find him almost alone and the same time in Illyria, at Treves and in Britain: there are only the spirits of our old legends who have journeyed after this fashion. On this occasion, he was led into Britain by a fugitive chief of the country who had implored his assistance; and he did not return until he had routed the Britons, after laying siege to their king Caswallawn in the marshy precinct in which he had collected his men and his cattle. He wrote to Rome that he had imposed a tribute on Britain; and sent thither a large quantity of pearls of small value collected on its coasts.\*

After this invasion of the sacred isle, Cæsar could count upon no more friends among the Gauls. The necessity of purchasing Rome at the expense of Gaul, and of satisfying the numerous adherents who had managed to protect his command for five years, had driven the conqueror to the most violent measures. According to one historian, he plundered the sacred places, and gave up towns to pillage without a shadow of excuse.† In every direction he established chiefs devoted to the Romans, and overturned the popular government. Gaul paid dearly for the union, quiet, and cultivation bestowed upon it by the Roman conquest.

A scarcity compelling Cæsar to disperse his troops, the whole country is up in arms. The Eburones massacre one legion, and beseege another, to relieve which, Cæsar, with eight thousand men, cut his way through sixty thousand Gauls. The following year, he assembles the states of Gaul at Lutetia; but the Nervii and Treviri, the Senones and Carnuti not attending, he attacks and crushes them singly. He crosses the Rhine a second time, in order to intimidate the Germans, who were about proceeding to their succor. Then, he strikes at once both the parties which divided Gaul. He awes the Senones, the Druidical and popular party (‡) by the solemn trial and execution of their chief, Acco; and overwhelms the Eburones, the barbarian party and friendly to the Germans, by chasing their intrepid Ambiorix through the forest of Ardennes, and delivering them up to the mercy of the Gallic tribes acquainted with their retreats in the woods and marshes, who with cowardly avidity joined in hunting this quarry. The legions blockaded this unfortunate people on every side, and prevented all possibility of escape.

\* Cicero de Provinciæ Consulariibus. "Marius himself did not force his way to their cities and firesides."

† Cæsar, l. v. c. 6. Quod religionibus sese diceret impediri.

\* Sueton. in J. Cæsar, c. 47. "It was reported by many that he had gone to Britain for the sake of the pearls there."

† Suetonius ob prædam quàm ob delictum. Ibid. c. 54.

GENERAL REVOLT OF GAUL. (B. C. 52.)

These barbarities united Gaul to a man against Cæsar, (B. C. 52 :) and, for the first time, the Druids and chiefs of the clans found themselves agreed. The Ædui even were, at least secretly, arrayed against their ancient friend. The signal was given from Genabum; from the Druidical territory of the Carnuti. Borne by shouts across the country from village to village,\* it reached the Arverni (formerly hostile to the Druidical and popular party, but now its friends) that very evening, a distance of one hundred and fifty miles. The Vercingetorix (general-in-chief) of the confederation was of this nation: young, brave, and ardent. His father, who had been in his time the most potent chieftain of Gaul, had been burnt as guilty of aspiring to royalty. Inheriting his vast clientship, the youth invariably declined the advances of Cæsar; and, in their assemblies, and at their religious festivals, incessantly animated his countrymen against the Romans. He summoned to arms even the serfs who cultivated the soil. He threatened the cowardly with death; less serious offences were to be visited with the loss of ears or of eyes.†

The Gallic general's plan was to attack at once the Province in the south, and in the north the quarters of the legions. Cæsar, who was in Italy, divined all, anticipated all. He passed the Alps, secured the safety of the Province, crossed the Cevennes with the snow six feet deep, and appeared suddenly among the Arverni. The Gallic chief, who had set out for the north, was compelled to return, as his countrymen thought most of defending their own homes. This was to meet Cæsar's desires. He leaves his army, under pretence of raising levies among the Allobroges, ascends, without discovery, the Rhone and the Saône by the frontiers of the Ædui, and by his arrival cheers and rallies his legions. While the Vercingetorix thinks to draw him to an engagement, by laying siege to the Æduan town of Gergovia, (Moulins.) Cæsar puts every living being to the sword in Genabum. The Gauls hurry to meet their foe, but it is to witness the taking of Noviodunum.

The Vercingetorix then forewarns his countrymen, that their only hope of safety is to starve out the Roman army; and that they can only accomplish this by burning down their own towns. They execute this cruel resolve with the utmost heroism. The Bituriges burnt down twenty of their own towns; but when they were about to set fire to the great Avericum, (Bourges,) the inhabitants fell at the feet of the Vercingetorix, and implored him not to

ruin the finest city of Gaul.\* Their precaution proved their ruin, for their city was destroyed all the same, but by Cæsar, who took it after severe fighting.

Meanwhile, the Ædui had declared against him. Their defection depriving him of cavalry, he was obliged to send for Germans in their stead; and he failed in the siege of Gergovia, the capital of the Arverni, while Labienus, his lieutenant, would have been overpowered in the north, but for a victory. (The battle was fought between Paris and Melun.) So bad was the aspect of affairs, that he fell back upon the Roman province. The army of the Gauls pursued and overtook him. They had sworn that they would never behold house, family, wives, or children, until they had twice broken through the enemy's lines.† The contest was terrible. Cæsar was forced to run the utmost personal risk, was nearly taken, and his sword remained in the hands of the enemy. However, a charge of his German cavalry struck a panic-terror into the Gauls, and decided the victory.

This impressionable race then sank into such a state of discouragement, that their chief could only reassure them by taking post, strongly intrenched, under the walls of Alesia; a town situated on the summit of a mountain, (Auxois.) Here he was soon attacked by Cæsar; when, dismissing his horsemen, he charged them to spread throughout all Gaul the intelligence, that his provisions would fail in thirty days, and to bring to his succor every one capable of bearing arms. Cæsar, indeed, did not hesitate to besiege this large army. He circumvallated the town and the Gallic camp with vast works; consisting of three ditches, each fifteen or twenty feet wide, and as many deep, a rampart twelve feet high, eight smaller fosses, with their bottom bristling with stakes, covered over with branches and leaves, and palisades of five rows of trees with their boughs interlaced. The counterpart of these works was erected at some distance from the town and camp, so as to enclose a circuit of fifteen miles; and the whole was finished in less than five weeks, and by fewer than sixty thousand men.

FINAL REDUCTION OF GAUL. (B. C. 51.)

Gaul, to a man, dashed itself vainly against these fortifications. The desperate efforts of the besiegers, suffering from extremity of famine, and those of two hundred and fifty thousand Gauls, who attacked the Romans on the other side, alike failed. The utter defeat of these, their allies, by Cæsar's horse, and consequent flight and dispersion, filled the besieged with dismay. The Vercingetorix, alone preserving his firmness of mind in the midst of the

\* Cæsar, l. vii. c. 2. Nam, ubi magis . . . incitatus, clamore per agros repugnantes significavit. hanc autem ditionem excipimus et proculius tradunt.

† Cæsar, l. vii. c. 4. Igne . . . domos; leviores de castris, cariores domos, defenso oculis, domum restitit.

\* Cæsar, l. vii. c. 13. Pulcherrimam prope totius Gallie urbem, que et primidiu et ornamento sit civitas.

† Cæsar, l. vii. c. 84. Ne ad liberum, ne ad parentem, ne ad uxorem reditum habent, qui non his per hostium agnos persequuntur.

general respect, markedly delivered himself up as the sole mover of the war. Clad in his rich armor he mounted his charger, and, wheeling round the tribunal of Cæsar, cast his sword, casque, and javelin at the foot of the Roman, without uttering a word.\*

The year following, all the tribes of Gaul assayed by a partial and desultory resistance, to wear out the strength of their unconquerable enemy. Uxellodunum (Cap-de-Nac, in Quercy) alone detained Cæsar a considerable period. The example was dangerous, for he had no time to lose in Gaul. Civil war might break out at any moment in Italy; and he was lost if he had to waste whole months before each petty fort. Therefore, to strike terror into the Gauls, he committed an atrocious act, of which, indeed, the Romans had but too frequently set the example—he ordered every prisoner's right hand to be cut off.

From this moment he changed his policy towards the Gauls, caused them to be treated with extreme lenity, and so favored them in the matters of tribute, as to excite the jealousy of the Province; disguising even its very name under the honorable name of *military pay*.† He allured their best warriors into his legions by high bounties; and even formed an entire Gallic legion, the soldiers of which bore the figure of a lark on their helmets, and which was thence named the *Alauda*.‡ Under this perfectly national emblem of early vigilance and lively gaiety, these hardy soldiers sang as they crossed the Alps, and pursued as far as Pharsalia, with their clamorous shouts of defiance, the taciturn legions of Pompey. Led by the Roman eagle, the Gallic lark took Rome for the second time, and was a sharer in the triumphs of the civil war. Gaul retained the sword which Cæsar had lost, as some consolation for her vanished liberty. The Roman soldiers had wished to tear it from the temple, where it had been hung up by the Gauls: "Let it alone," said Cæsar, with a smile; "it is sacred."§

### CHAPTER III.

#### GAUL UNDER THE EMPIRE.—DECLINE OF THE EMPIRE.—CHRISTIAN GAUL.

ALEXANDER and Cæsar have had this in common, to be loved and wept by the conquered, and to perish by the hands of their own coun-

trymen.\* Such men have no country; they belong to the world.

Cæsar had not destroyed liberty, (it had long been dead;) rather, he had compromised Roman nationality. The Romans had witnessed with shame and anguish a Gallic army under the eagles; Gallic senators sitting between Cicero and Brutus. In reality, it was the conquered who profited by the victory.† If Cæsar had lived, it is probable that all the barbarian nations would have found their way into the army and the senate. He had already taken a Spanish guard; and the Spaniard, Balbus, was one of his principal counsellors.‡

Antony attempted to copy Cæsar. He undertook to transfer the seat of the empire to Alexandria, and adopted the dress and manners of the conquered. Octavius overcame him, only by professing himself the patriot and the avenger of the insulted nationality of Italy. He expelled the Gauls from the senate, and increased the tribute of Gaul;§ where he founded a Rome—*Valentia*, (one of the mysterious names of the eternal city,) and planted many military colonies, as at Orange, Frejus, Carpentras, Aix, Apt, Vienne, &c. A number of towns became, from name and privileges, *Augustan*, as several in Cæsar's time had become *Julian*.|| Finally, in contempt of the ancient and illustrious cities of the land, he appointed the recently built town of Lyons—a colony of Vienne, and from the beginning hostile to its parent city—the seat of government. This city, so favorably situated at the confluence of the Saône and of the Rhone, almost resting on the Alps, near the Loire, and brought near the sea by the impetuosity of its current, which sweeps one there at once, surveyed Narbonnese and Celtic Gaul, and seemed like an eye of Italy open upon all the Gauls.

*ἐπεὶ οὖν, ἰσχυρῶς, καὶ τοῦ φίλου καθέλειν ἀπεδοῦσαν, ἐν τῇ αἰῶνι, ἡδὴ νύμφοις.*

\* Even supposing that Alexander was not poisoned, it cannot be denied, at least, that his death was little regretted by the Macedonians. A few years saw the extinction of his whole family.

† "The only injury done by the Romans to the nations they subdued," says St. Augustine, (*De Civit. Dei*, l. v. c. 16.) "is the blood they shed of theirs. The Roman lived obedient to the laws which he imposed upon others. All the subjects of the empire became citizens; and the poorer people, who had no land, were supported at the public expense. Vain glory apart, what benefit have they derived from so many wars? Do not their lands pay tribute? Have they any privilege of learning what others may not learn? Say, are there not in other countries senators who have not even seen Rome?"

‡ It was he who advised Cæsar to receive the senate, when it waited upon him in a body, seated. See my *Roman History*. See, also, *Suet.* c. 78.

§ He caused customs to be levied at the Straits, on ivory, amber, and glass.

|| Cæsar settled veterans of the tenth legion at Narbonne, which then took the surnames of *Julia*, *Julia Paterna*, *Colonia Ilercumanorum*. Inscript. ap. Fr. de l'Hist. du Languedoc.—Aries, *Julia Paterna Ardeat*.—Biterre, *Julia Biterrensis*. Ser. R. Fr. l. 135. Bibracte, *Julia Bibracte*, &c.—Under Augustus, Nemausus took in addition the name of *Augusta*, and assumed the title of Roman colony; as did *Alba Augusta*, a town of the Helvi, and *Augusta*, a town of the Treasanti. *Augusta Nemeturum* became the capital of the Arverni.—Noviodunum took the name of *Augusta*; Bibracte, that of *Augustodunum*, &c. Am. Thierry, ii. 221.

\* Plut. in Cæs. Dio, l. xl. ap. Ser. R. Fr. i. 513. *Εὐνὴ πικρὴ*, καὶ ὁλοῦς πόλεμος.

† Sueton. in C. J. Cæs. c. 25. In singulos annos stipendii novem menses.

‡ Cicero, ad Q. 24. Unam ex transalpinis conscriptam legione, vos contra quoque Gallico, *Alauda* enim appellabatur. &c. Cæsar afterwards made the soldiers of this legion Roman citizens.

§ Plutarch. in Cæs. *Επιτίμιον . . . ὃ βασιλευσὶν ἀνάσσει*

At Lyons, and at Aisnay, at the angle of the  
ône and Rhone, sixty Gallic cities reared  
ars to Augustus, under the eyes of his son-  
law, Drusus. Augustus took his place  
along the divinities of the country. Other  
ars were raised to him at Saintes, at Arles,  
Narbonne, &c. The old Gallic religion  
adily blended with the Roman paganism.  
Augustus had built a temple to the god, Kirk\*  
the personification of the violent wind which  
ows in the Narbonnese; and on the same altar  
ight be read in a two-fold inscription the  
mes of the Gallic and the Roman divinities,—  
ars-Camul, Diana-Arduinna, Belen-Apollo.  
ome placed Hesus and Nehalenia on the list  
her indigene gods.

Nevertheless, Druidism long resisted Roman  
fluence, and was the sanctuary of the nation-  
ity of Gaul. Augustus endeavored to mode-  
te at the least this sanguinary religion—pro-  
biting human sacrifices, and only tolerating  
ight libations of blood.†

#### INSURRECTION OF GAUL. (A. D. 21.)

Druidism must have had a share in the in-  
urrection of Gaul under Tiberius; although  
story ascribes it to the weight of taxes, aug-  
mented by usury. The leader of the revolt,  
ilius Sacrovir, was probably an Æduan; the  
Ædui being, as I have said, a Druidical tribe,  
id the name, Sacrovir, perhaps, but a transla-  
ion of Druid. The Belgæ were likewise  
awn into it by Julius Florus.‡

"In the course of the same year a rebellion  
oke out among the cities of Gaul, occasioned  
: the load of debt that oppressed the common  
ople. The principal leaders of the revolt  
ere Julius Florus and Julius Sacrovir; the  
rmer a man of weight among the Treviri, and  
e latter among the Æduans. They were  
th of illustrious birth. Their ancestors had  
served well of the Romans, and, for their  
rices, received the freedom of the city, at  
e time when that privilege was rare, and the  
ward of merit only. By these incendiaries  
eret meetings were held, the fierce and  
ring were drawn into the league, together  
ith such as languished in poverty, or, being  
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Andecavians and the people of Tours; but by  
the diligence of Acilius Aviola, who marched  
from Lyons at the head of a cohort, the insur-  
gents in the former province were reduced to  
obedience. The same commander, with a  
legionary force, detached by Visellius Varro,  
from the lower Germany, marched into the ter-  
ritory of Tours, and quelled the insurrection.  
In this expedition some of the principal chiefs  
in Gaul joined the Roman army, not with zeal  
for the cause, but pretending friendship, in  
order, with surer effect, to be traitors in the  
end. Even Sacrovir fought with the Romans:  
he was seen in the heat of the action with his  
head uncovered, in order, as he gave out, to  
signalize his courage and fidelity; but in truth,  
as was afterwards collected from the prisoners,  
to avoid being aimed at by the darts of his  
countrymen. An account of these distur-  
bances was transmitted to Tiberius. He doubted  
the intelligence, and by his indecision prolonged  
the war.

"Julius Florus, in the mean time, continued  
to exert his most vigorous efforts. A regiment  
of horse, raised formerly among the Treviri,  
but trained to the Roman discipline, happened  
to be quartered at Trèves. He tampered with  
those troops, in hopes of beginning the war by  
a general massacre of the Roman merchants.  
A small number listened to his advice, but the  
rest continued in their duty. Florus was fol-  
lowed by a rabble of debtors and a number of  
his own dependents. He marched towards the  
forest of Arden, but was intercepted by the  
legions detached by Visellius and Caius Silius  
from the two armies on the Rhine. A party of  
those troops was ordered forward under the  
command of Julius Indus, a native of Trèves,  
who was then at variance with Florus, and, for  
that reason, burned with impatience to encoun-  
ter his enemy. He gave battle to the rebels,  
and over an ill-appointed and undisciplined  
multitude gained a complete victory. Florus  
lay for some time concealed in lurking places;  
but at length, finding himself unable to elude  
the search of the Roman soldiers, and seeing  
the defiles and passes guarded on every side, he  
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"The Æduan commotions were not so easily  
quelled. The state was rich and powerful, and  
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numbers amounted to less than forty thousand,

\* *Senec. Quæst. Natur. l. v. c. 17.* *Aulus Gellius, l. ii. c. 22.*—In the *Mithr. of Pt. Gall.* *Per. R. Pt. v. 126.* *Cæsar*  
synonymously with *Boreas*.

† Most writers on Celtic antiquities are agreed that *Kirk*  
is the S. W. —Translator.

‡ *Mela l. iii. c. 2.* *Uti ab ultimis credibus transperant, in  
hæbitantibus ubi devotos altarios admittunt, druidant.*

§ *Tacit. Annal. l. iii. c. 60.* The author borrows the pas-  
sage from Tacitus which he has incorporated into his text,  
on the celebrated translation of his countryman, M. Bur-  
net. The translation given above is from Murphy's as  
is excellent version.

general despair, markedly delivered himself up as the sole mover of the war. Clad in his rich armor he mounted his charger, and, wheeling round the tribunal of Cæsar, cast his sword, casque, and javelin at the foot of the Roman, without uttering a word.\*

The year following, all the tribes of Gaul essayed by a partial and desultory resistance, to wear out the strength of their unconquerable enemy. Uxellodunum (Cap-de-Nac, in Quercy!) alone detained Cæsar a considerable period. The example was dangerous, for he had no time to lose in Gaul. Civil war might break out at any moment in Italy; and he was lost if he had to waste whole months before each petty fort. Therefore, to strike terror into the Gauls, he committed an atrocious act, of which, indeed, the Romans had but too frequently set the example—he ordered every prisoner's right hand to be cut off.

From this moment he changed his policy towards the Gauls, caused them to be treated with extreme lenity, and so favored them in the matters of tribute, as to excite the jealousy of the Province; disguising even its very name under the honorable name of *military pay*.† He allured their best warriors into his legions by high bounties; and even formed an entire Gallic legion, the soldiers of which bore the figure of a lark on their helmets, and which was thence named the *Alauda*.‡ Under this perfectly national emblem of early vigilance and lively gayety, these hardy soldiers sang as they crossed the Alps, and pursued as far as Pharsalia, with their clamorous shouts of defiance, the taciturn legions of Pompey. Led by the Roman eagle, the Gallic lark took Rome for the second time, and was a sharer in the triumphs of the civil war. Gaul retained the sword which Cæsar had lost, as some consolation for her vanished liberty. The Roman soldiers had wished to tear it from the temple, where it had been hung up by the Gauls—"Let it alone," said Cæsar, with a smile; "it is sacred."§

### CHAPTER III.

#### GAUL UNDER THE EMPIRE.—DECLINE OF THE EMPIRE.—CHRISTIAN GAUL.

ALEXANDER and Cæsar have had this in common: to be loved and wept by the conquered, and to perish by the hands of their own coun-

trymen.\* Such men have no country; they belong to the world.

Cæsar had not destroyed liberty, (it had long been dead;) rather, he had compromised Roman nationality. The Romans had witnessed with shame and anguish a Gallic army under the eagles; Gallic senators sitting between Cicero and Brutus. In reality, it was the conquered who profited by the victory.† If Cæsar had lived, it is probable that all the barbarian nations would have found their way into the army and the senate. He had already taken a Spanish guard; and the Spaniard, Balbus, was one of his principal counsellors.‡

Antony attempted to copy Cæsar. He undertook to transfer the seat of the empire to Alexandria, and adopted the dress and manners of the conquered. Octavius overcame him, only by professing himself the patriot and the avenger of the insulted nationality of Italy. He expelled the Gauls from the senate, and increased the tribute of Gaul;§ where he founded a Rome—*Valentia*, (one of the mysterious names of the eternal city,) and planted many military colonies, as at Orange, Fréjus, Carpentras, Aix, Apt, Vienne, &c. A number of towns became, from name and privileges, *Augustan*, as several in Cæsar's time had become *Julian*.|| Finally, in contempt of the ancient and illustrious cities of the land, he appointed the recently built town of Lyons—a colony of Vienne, and from the beginning hostile to its parent city—the seat of government. This city, so favorably situated at the confluence of the Saône and of the Rhone, almost resting on the Alps, near the Loire, and brought near the sea by the impetuosity of its current, which sweeps one there at once, surveyed Narbonnese and Celtic Gaul, and seemed like an eye of Italy open upon all the Gauls.

ἑτέρον, τρεῖς δὲ καὶ τῶν φίλων καθελὼν κτερόντων, οὐκ ἴσταν, ἱερὸν ἡρώμενος.

\* Even supposing that Alexander was not poisoned, it cannot be denied, at least, that his death was little regretted by the Macedonians. A few years saw the extinction of his whole family.

† "The only injury done by the Romans to the nations they subdued," says St. Augustine, (De Civit. Dei, l. v. c. 16): "is the blood they shed of theirs. The Roman lived obedient to the laws which he imposed upon others. All the subjects of the empire became citizens; and the poorer people, who had no land, were supported at the public expense. Vain glory apart, what benefit have they derived from so many wars? Do not their lands pay tribute? Have they any privilege of learning what others may not learn? Nay, are there not in other countries senators who have not even seen Rome?"

‡ It was he who advised Cæsar to receive the senate, when it waited upon him in a body, seated. See my *Roman History*. (See, also, Hist. c. 74.)

§ He caused customs to be levied at the Straits, on ivory, amber, and glass.

|| Cæsar settled veterans of the tenth legion at Narbonne, which then took the surnames of *Julia*, *Julia Paterna*, *Colonia Decumanorum*. Inscript. ap. Fr. de l'Hist. du Languedoc.—Aries, *Julia Paterna Arriate*.—Biterre, *Julia Biterrea*. Ser. R. Fr. l. 135. Bibracte, *Julia Bibracte*, &c.—Under Augustus, Nemausus took in addition the name of *Augusta*, and assumed the title of Roman colony; as did *Alba Augusta*, a town of the Helvii, and *Augusta*, a town of the Tricastini. *Augusto-Nemetum* became the capital of the Arverni.—Noviodunum took the name of *Augusta*; Bibracte, that of *Augustodunum*, &c. Am. Thierry, II. 381.

\* Plut. in Cæs. Dio, l. xl. ap. Ser. R. Fr. l. 513. Εἶπε μὲν οὕτω, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς γένους . . .

† Sueton. in C. J. Cæs. c. 25. In singulos annos stipendii nomen imposuit.

‡ Id. ibid. c. 24. Unam ex transalpinis conscriptam (legionem) vocabulo quoque Gallico, *alanda* enim appellabatur, &c. Cæsar afterwards made the soldiers of this legion Roman citizens.

§ Plutarch. in Cæs. Ἐπὶ τῶν . . . ὁ καθέμνος ἀνδρῶν

At Lyons, and at Aisnay, at the angle of the Saône and Rhone, sixty Gallic cities reared altars to Augustus, under the eyes of his son-in-law, Drusus. Augustus took his place among the divinities of the country. Other altars were raised to him at Saintes, at Arles, at Narbonne, &c. The old Gallic religion readily blended with the Roman paganism. Augustus had built a temple to the god, Kirk\*—the personification of the violent wind which blows in the Narbonnese; and on the same altar might be read in a two-fold inscription the names of the Gallic and the Roman divinities,—Mars-Camul, Diana-Arduinna, Belen-Apollo. Rome placed Hesus and Nehalania on the list of her indigenous gods.

Nevertheless, Druidism long resisted Roman influence, and was the sanctuary of the nationality of Gaul. Augustus endeavored to moderate at the least this sanguinary religion—prohibiting human sacrifices, and only tolerating slight libations of blood.†

## INSURRECTION OF GAUL. (A. D. 21.)

Druidism must have had a share in the insurrection of Gaul under Tiberius; although history ascribes it to the weight of taxes, augmented by usury. The leader of the revolt, Julius Sacrovir, was probably an Æduan; the Ædui being, as I have said, a Druidical tribe, and the name, Sacrovir, perhaps, but a translation of Druid. The Belgæ were likewise drawn into it by Julius Florus.‡

"In the course of the same year a rebellion broke out among the cities of Gaul, occasioned by the load of debt that oppressed the common people. The principal leaders of the revolt were Julius Florus and Julius Sacrovir; the former a man of weight among the Treviri, and the latter among the Æduans. They were both of illustrious birth. Their ancestors had deserved well of the Romans, and, for their services, received the freedom of the city, at the time when that privilege was rare, and the reward of merit only. By these incendiaries secret meetings were held, the fierce and daring were drawn into the league, together with such as languished in poverty; or, being conscious of their crimes, had nothing left but to grow desperate in guilt. Florus undertook to kindle the flame of rebellion in Belgia; and Sacrovir to rouse the neighboring Gauls. . . . A general spirit of revolt prevailed in every part of Gaul. Scarce a city was free from

commotion. The flame blazed out among the Andecavians and the people of Tours; but by the diligence of Acilius Aviola, who marched from Lyons at the head of a cohort, the insurgents in the former province were reduced to obedience. The same commander, with a legionary force, detached by Visellius Varro, from the lower Germany, marched into the territory of Tours, and quelled the insurrection. In this expedition some of the principal chiefs in Gaul joined the Roman army, not with zeal for the cause, but pretending friendship, in order, with surer effect, to be traitors in the end. Even Sacrovir fought with the Romans: he was seen in the heat of the action with his head uncovered, in order, as he gave out, to signalize his courage and fidelity; but in truth, as was afterwards collected from the prisoners, to avoid being aimed at by the darts of his countrymen. An account of these disturbances was transmitted to Tiberius. He doubted the intelligence, and by his indecision prolonged the war.

"Julius Florus, in the mean time, continued to exert his most vigorous efforts. A regiment of horse, raised formerly among the Treviri, but trained to the Roman discipline, happened to be quartered at Trèves. He tampered with those troops, in hopes of beginning the war by a general massacre of the Roman merchants. A small number listened to his advice, but the rest continued in their duty. Florus was followed by a rabble of debtors and a number of his own dependents. He marched towards the forest of Arden, but was intercepted by the legions detached by Visellius and Caius Silius from the two armies on the Rhine. A party of those troops was ordered forward under the command of Julius Indus, a native of Trèves, who was then at variance with Florus, and, for that reason, burned with impatience to encounter his enemy. He gave battle to the rebels, and over an ill-appointed and undisciplined multitude gained a complete victory. Florus lay for some time concealed in lurking places; but at length, finding himself unable to elude the search of the Roman soldiers, and seeing the defiles and passes guarded on every side, he died by his own sword. The people of Trèves, after this event, returned to their duty.

"The Æduan commotions were not so easily quelled. The state was rich and powerful, and the force necessary to subdue the insurrection lay at a considerable distance. Sacrovir strained every nerve to support his cause. He seized the city of Augustodunum, (Autun,) the capital of the Æduans, and took into his custody the flower of the young nobility, who resorted thither from all parts of Gaul, as to a school of science and liberal education. By detaining those pledges, he hoped to attach to his interest their parents and relations. He supplied the young men with arms, which had been prepared with secrecy by his directions. His numbers amounted to less than forty thousand,

\* *Senec. Quæst. Natur. l. v. c. 17.* *Anlus Gellius, l. ii. c. 22.* In the Mouth of Pt. Gall. *Her. R. Pt. v. 128.* *Cervinus c. 22.* *Senec. Quæst. Natur. l. v. c. 17.*

† *Senec. Quæst. Natur. l. v. c. 17.* *Anlus Gellius, l. ii. c. 22.* In the Mouth of Pt. Gall. *Her. R. Pt. v. 128.* *Cervinus c. 22.* *Senec. Quæst. Natur. l. v. c. 17.*

‡ *Senec. Quæst. Natur. l. v. c. 17.* *Anlus Gellius, l. ii. c. 22.* In the Mouth of Pt. Gall. *Her. R. Pt. v. 128.* *Cervinus c. 22.* *Senec. Quæst. Natur. l. v. c. 17.*

§ *Senec. Quæst. Natur. l. v. c. 17.* *Anlus Gellius, l. ii. c. 22.* In the Mouth of Pt. Gall. *Her. R. Pt. v. 128.* *Cervinus c. 22.* *Senec. Quæst. Natur. l. v. c. 17.*

¶ *Senec. Quæst. Natur. l. v. c. 17.* *Anlus Gellius, l. ii. c. 22.* In the Mouth of Pt. Gall. *Her. R. Pt. v. 128.* *Cervinus c. 22.* *Senec. Quæst. Natur. l. v. c. 17.*



a fifth part of which were armed after the manner of the legions: the rest carried hunting-poles, knives, and other instruments of the chase. He had, besides, pressed into his service a body of slaves reared up to the trade of gladiators, and, according to the custom of the country, clad with an entire plate of iron. In the language of Gaul they were called *CRUPELLARIANS*. Their armor was impenetrable to the stroke of the enemy, but at the same time rendered the men too unwieldy for the attack. The adjoining provinces had not taken up arms: but a number of individuals caught the infection, and joined the rebel army. Sacrovir gained a further advantage from the jealousies subsisting between the Roman generals. Each claimed to himself the conduct of the war; and the dispute continued till Varro, finding himself impaired by age, gave up the point to Silius, who was then in the vigor of his days. . . .

"Silius, in the mean time, having sent before him a body of auxiliaries, marched at the head of two legions into the territory of the Sequanians, (Franche-Comté,) a people at the extremity of Gaul, bordering on the Eduans, and confederates in the war. He laid waste the country, and proceeded, by rapid marches, to Augustodunum. . . . At the distance of twelve miles from Augustodunum, Sacrovir appeared in force. His line of battle was formed on the open plain. The gladiators, in complete armor, were stationed in his centre, his cohorts in the two wings, and his half-armed multitude in the rear. . . . The rebels were soon hemmed in by the cavalry: the front of their line gave way at the first onset of the infantry, and the wings were put to flight. The men in iron armor still kept their ranks. No impression could be made by swords and javelins. The Romans had recourse to their hatchets and pickaxes. With these, as if battering a wall, they fell upon the enormous load, and crushed both men and armor. Some attacked with clubs and pitchforks. The unwieldy and defenceless enemy lay on the ground, an inanimate mass, without an effort to rise. Sacrovir threw himself into the town of Augustodunum, but in a short time, fearing to be given up a prisoner, withdrew, with his most faithful adherents, to a villa in the neighborhood, where he put an end to his life. His followers, having first set fire to the place, turned their swords against themselves, and perished in one general carnage."

#### FAVOR SHOWN TO THE PROVINCIALS.

Augustus and Tiberius, severe rulers, and true Romans, had to some extent drawn closer the unity of the empire, compromised by Cæsar, by withholding from the provincials and barbarians all share in the government. Their successors, Caligula, Claudius, and Nero, adopted quite an opposite line of conduct. Descendants of Antony, the friend of the barbarians,

they followed the example of their grandfather, which Germanicus,\* Caligula's father, had indeed, affected to follow. Caligula, born, according to Pliny, at Trèves, and reared in the bosom of the armies of Germany and Syria, manifested an incredible contempt for Rome, a fact which serves to explain part of the follies with which the Romans reproached him, his violent and furious reign being a mockery and parody upon, all that had been held in reverence. Like the oriental monarchs, he married his sisters, and did not wait for death in order to be worshipped, but made himself a god & his lifetime. Alexander, his hero, had been satisfied with being the son of a god; but he tore the diadem from the statue of the Capitoline Jupiter and placed it on his own head. He tricked out his horse in consular ornaments. He sold piecemeal at Lyons all the heirlooms of his family, thus renouncing his ancestors and prostituting their memories, acting himself as auctioneer, puffing every article, and raising them far beyond their value—"This vase was my grandfather Antony's; Augustus won it at the battle of Actium."† He also instituted burlesque and terrible sports at the altar of Augustus; such as contests of eloquence in which the vanquished was to efface his writings with his tongue, or suffer himself to be thrown into the Rhone. There can be no doubt that these games were revived after some ancient custom. We know that the Gauls and Germans used to sacrifice their prisoners by casting them, man and horse, into rivers, and divide the future from the manner in which they were whirling round. The conquering Cimbri treated in this wise whatever they found in the camps of Cæpio and Manlius; and, even to this day, tradition points out the bridge over the Rhone, whence the bullocks were precipitated.

Caligula's companions were the most illustrious Gauls, as Valerius Asiaticus and Domitius Afer. Claudius was himself a Gaul. Born at Lyons,‡ and kept an utter stranger to public life by Augustus and Tiberius, who mistrusted his singular absence of mind, he had grown at

\* "It is even said, that barbarous nations, both such as were at variance among themselves, and those that were at war with us, all agreed to a cessation of arms, as if they had been all in mourning for some very near and common friend; that some petty kings shaved their beards upon it, and their wives' heads, in token of their extreme sorrow; and that the king of kings (the king of Parthia) forbore to exercise of hunting and feasting with his nobles, which among the Parthians, is equivalent to a cessation of all business in a time of public mourning with us." Suet. c. Calig. c. 5.

† One day Caligula asked of a Gaul, who was silently staring at him, "What do you see in me?" "A gaudy dæd." Caligula replied, "What was the reply. The emperor did not punish him; he was only a shoemaker. *Ido Cæsar*." Hist. ap. Suet. R. Fr. i. 524.

‡ Dio Cassius, l. lxx. 656.

§ He signalized his journey to Gaul in a more honorable manner, by building a lighthouse for the navigation between Gaul and Britain, traces of which have been supposed to remain.

|| Sueton. in Claud. c. 2. Senec. de Morte Claudii, ep. 4. Suet. R. Fr. i. 667.

in solitude and the cultivation of letters, when, against his will, the soldiery proclaimed him king. Never did prince more shock the Romans, or show himself more foreign from their tastes and habits. His uncouth stuttering, his preference of the Greek language, his constant quoting of Homer, every thing he did provoked their laughter; so that he left the freedmen by whom he was surrounded to govern. It might very well be—whatever Tacitus may say to the contrary—that these slaves, who were so carefully educated in the palaces of the Roman nobles, were worthier to rule than their masters. The reign of Claudius was a kind of reaction of slavery, since slaves governed in their turn, and public affairs were not a whit the worse for it. Caesar's plans were followed out: the port of Ostia was deepened, the circumference of Rome enlarged, the draining of Lake Fucinus undertaken, the aqueduct of Caligula continued, the Britons subdued in sixteen days, and their king pardoned, while in contrast with the tyrannical authority of the Roman nobles who ruled the provinces as prætors or proconsuls, stood the procurators of the prince, men of no family, but whose responsibility was therefore the more certain, and whose excesses could be the more easily repressed.

Such was the government in the hands of freedmen under Claudius, by so much the less national as it was the more *human*. He himself made no secret of his predilection for the provincials. He wrote the history of the conquered races, of the Etrusci, of Tyre, and of Carthage; thus repairing the long injustice of Rome, and founded a chair in the Museum of Alexandria for the annual reading of these works of his. Unable to save these nations, he endeavored to preserve their memory. His own deserved better treatment. Whatever may have been his carelessness, his weakness, or even his brutishness in his latter years, history will pardon much to him who declared himself the protector of the slave, forbade his master to kill him, and endeavored to hinder his being exposed to die of famine, when worn out by years of disease, on the island of the Tiber.

According to Suetonius, had his life been prolonged, Claudius would have admitted the whole of the west to the privilege of Roman citizenship, the Greeks, Spaniards, Britons, Gauls, and rest of all the *Ætoliæ*, which latter people he recommended to the senate, after the example of Cæsar. The oration which he pronounced on this occasion, (c. 18.) and which is still preserved at Lyons on tablets of bronze, is the

first authentic monument of our national history, the patent of our admission into this vast initiation of the world.\*

At the same time, he strove to suppress the sanguinary worship of the Druids, who, proscribed in Gaul, had been compelled to take refuge in Britain. He went in person to pursue them in this latter asylum. His lieutenants erected the countries which form the basin of the Thames into a Roman province, and left in the West a strong military colony, at *Camulodunum*, (Colchester.) The march of the legions was constantly to the west. They overthrew the altars, destroyed the antique forests: until, in Nero's time, Druidism was shut up within the little island of Mona,† (Anglesey.) Thither it was tracked by Suetonius Paulinus. In vain the sacred virgins hurried to the shore like furies, in mourning habits, with dishevelled hair, and brandishing torches.‡ He forced the passage, slaughtered every living being that fell into his hands—Druids, priestesses, and warriors, and burst his way through those forests, so often the witnesses of bloody sacrifice. (c. 61.)

Meanwhile, the Britons rose in the rear of the Roman army, headed by their queen, the famous Boadicea, whom intolerable outrages animated to vengeance. They had exterminated the veterans of *Camulodunum*, and the entire infantry of a legion. Suetonius retraced his steps, and coolly got together his forces, abandoning the defence of the towns, and giving up the allies of Rome to the blind rage of the barbarians, who massacred seventy thousand souls; but he crushed them in a pitched battle, slaying to the very horses. After him, Cerialis and Frontinus followed up the conquest of the north, and, under Domitian, Agricola, the father-in-law of Tacitus, completed the reduction, and began the civilization of Britain. (c. 84.)

Nero was favorable to Gaul, and projected the junction of the Mediterranean with the Atlantic by a canal, which was to unite the Moselle with the Saône.§ He relieved Lyons, which was ravaged by fire in his reign, and which, in the civil wars preceding his fall, remained faithful to him. The prime mover of this revolution was the Aquitanian, Vindex: at the time, prætor of Gaul. This man, "full of daring for every thing great," excited Galba to revolt in Spain, and gained over Vitellius, commander of the German legions. But the two armies engaging in a murderous battle before they could be apprized of this agreement, Vindex slew himself in despair. Gaul sided with Vitellius, the German legions with which he conquered Otho and took Rome, mainly com-

\* Tacit. *Annals* l. 12. c. 20.

† Tacit. *Annals* l. 14. c. 17. (Diod. l. 3.)

‡ Tacitus writes that the Druids were slain on *Ætoliæ*, Carthage, *Ætoliæ*, &c. Tacit. *Annals* l. 12. c. 22.

§ It being the custom of Rome to expose their living slaves, when they desisted of the *crucifixio*, on the island of *Ætoliæ*, he ordered that all who should be so exposed, and that no slave should be considered free, and that whoever put a slave to death, as preferable to this mode of exposing him, should be held guilty of murder. Tacit. *Annals* l. 12. c. 22.

\* See Tacit. *Annals* l. 14. c. 24. and my History of Rome.

† Tacit. *Annals* l. 14. c. 29.

‡ Tacit. *Annals* l. 14. c. 30. *Intertransmissis feminis, in medium forum, quæ vestes ferat, cruentis depectis, facies præteritæ. Druidæque circum processu draco sublati, ad celum manibus insidentes.*

§ Tacit. *Annals* l. 14. c. 43.

¶ Tacit. *Annals* l. 14. c. 43. *Hæc, vix, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100.*

sisted of Germans, Batavians, and Gauls : \* no wonder, then, that she saw with pain the triumph of Vespasian. A Batavian chief, named Civilis, one-eyed like Hannibal and Sertorius, like them too a hater of Rome, and who had sworn, in consequence of some outrage by the Romans, that he would not cut his beard or his hair until revenged, seized the opportunity. He cut in pieces the soldiers of Vitellius, and in an instant the Batavians and Belgæ declared for him. He was encouraged by the famous Velleda, whom all the Germanians revered as inspired by the gods, or rather as if she were indeed a divinity. To her were sent all prisoners, and the Romans besought her to arbitrate between them and Civilis. The Druids of Gaul too, so long victims of persecution, issued from their retreats, and showed themselves to the people. A report having reached them that the Capitol had been burnt in the civil war, they proclaimed that with this pledge of eternity the Roman empire had perished, and was to be succeeded by that of Gaul.†

#### RECIPROCAL ACTION OF GAUL AND ROME.

Such, however, was the force of the bond which united these nations with Rome, that the enemy of the Romans thought it safest at first to attack the troops of Vitellius in the name of Vespasian. Julius Sabinus, the chief of the Gauls, gave himself out to be the son of the conqueror of Gaul, and styled himself Cæsar. Thus, far from requiring a Roman army to destroy a party so inconsistent with itself, the Gauls who had remained faithful were sufficient. The old jealousy of the Sequani revived against the Ædui, and they defied Sabinus. All know the devotion of his wife, the virtuous Eponina. She buried herself with him in the cave where he had taken refuge. Children were born to, and reared by them there. After ten years' concealment, they were finally discovered; and she knelt to Vespasian, surrounded by the hapless beings who then first saw the open light of day.‡ The cruel policy of the emperor was inexorable.

In Belgium and Batavia the war was more serious, but the first soon submitted; the last held out in its marshes. Cerealis, the Roman general, twice surprised, and twice conqueror, concluded the war by gaining over Velleda and Civilis, who pretended that he had not taken up arms against Rome originally, but only against Vitellius and for Vespasian.

The result of this war was to show how Roman Gaul had already become. No province, indeed, had received impressions from the con-

queror\* with more promptitude or readiness. At first sight, the two countries, the two people, had seemed less to become acquainted than to renew their knowledge of each other. The Romans frequented the school of Marseilles that petty Greece,† more sober and more modest than its prototype,‡ and which lay at their door. The Gauls crossed the Alps in crowds; not only with Cæsar, under the eagles of the legions, but as physicians§ and rhetoricians. Here was already desery the genius of the school of Montpellier, of Bordeaux, Aix, Toulouse, &c., with its positive and practical tendency: the philosophers were few. These Gauls of the south, it is too early to speak of those of the north,) bustling and intriguing, just as we see them at the present day, could not fail to succeed both as fine speakers and pantomimists: the Roman Roscius was a Southern Gaul. Nevertheless, they were not unsuccessful in more serious branches. It was a Gaul, Trogus Pompeius, who wrote the first Universal History; and romance is the creation of another Gaul, Petronius Arbiter.¶ Rivals, too, rose among them to Rome's greatest poets: witness Varro Atacinus, from the neighborhood of Carcassonne,\*\* and Cornelius Gallus, Virgil's friend,†† a native of Fréjus. At the same time burst forth the true genius of France, the oratorical. From a

\* Strabo, l. iv. "Rome subdued the Gauls with not more ease than the Spaniards."—See the speech of Cæsar, ap. Tacit. Annal. b. c. 14. "Review all our wars, you will find none more quickly ended than that of Gaul, hence, constant and firm peace."—Hirtius ad Cæs. l. vi. c. 49. "Cæsar easily kept Gaul, worn out by so many wars, tranquil and docile."—Dio Cass. l. lvi. ap. Rec. R. l. i. 520. "Augustus forbade the senators to leave Italy without receiving permission from him—a custom still kept at no senator can travel, except into Sicily or the Narzac nose."

\* Strabo, l. iv. ap. Rec. R. Fr. i. 9. "This town had made the Gauls such *Philhellènes*, that they even drew up the contracts in Greek. *Ἕλληνας ἔχοντες* Εἰλαίον."—*Ἕλληνας*, and even now it attracts the Romans rather in preference to Athens."—The towns paid sophists and professors out of the public revenue: thus Juvenal says "Thine now talks of being a rhetorician."—Martial, l. v. epig. 57. "congratulates himself on his poetry being read even the women and children of Venice."—The most celebrated schools were those of Marseilles, Autun, Toulon, Lyons, and Bordeaux. Greek continued to be taught as late longer than in any of the rest.

† Strabo, l. viii. "Among the inhabitants of Marseilles, dowry exceeds a hundred pieces of gold; no more than five pieces are allowed to be spent upon a dress, and the use for jewelry and the slightest proofs of the simplicity and prudence of the Marseillots."—Tacit. Vit. Agric. c. 4. "His own love for his daughter in guarded him against the seductions of pleasure; and this happy temperment was ascribed to the salutary age which he had enjoyed of pursuing his studies at Marseilles, that seat of learning, where the ornaments of Greece were happily blended with the sober manners of provincial economy."—A proverb occurs in Athenæus, l. viii. c. 2, which appears contradictory of these assertions. "Ἰσθὶς ἡ Μαρκεῖα."

‡ Pausanias mentions three, of great celebrity, in the first century. One of them gave a million towards the repair of the fortifications of his native place.

§ Lucan, l. viii. c. 2. "Trogus says that his ancestors sprung from the Volant."

¶ Born near Marseilles. Salon. Apollinar. Carmen ix. "The following remarkable epigram is from the pen of this Varro."

Martius I. I. anus timido perit, at Cato parva  
Pompeius natus. C. Cædinius esse deus.  
I. I. anus has a terrible bomb, Cato a post one, Pompey none  
Is there a God!

\*\* Var. Elog. 10.

\* Tacit. Histor. l. i. c. 57. 61. b. c. 69.

† Tacit. Histor. l. i. c. 54. "Falsum nigræ signum celestis orationis, et possessionis, et rum horumstrum Transalpina gentis, et patris, suppetit tunc Vnde Druidæ exstant."

‡ Herodotus, vii. 92. "These 100 ears I have brought forth and made you a Gaul, that there might be more of us to supply you."—Dio Cass. l. lvi.

h. Gallic eloquence became a power, and eyed Rome herself. The Romans sought Gauls as their instructors, even in their tongue. A Gaul, Gniphō, (M. Antonius,) the leading rhetorician of the capital, indoned at his birth, a slave at Alexandria, reedman, and then stripped of his gains by la, he but gave himself up the more to the t of his genius. The career of political eloquence was closed to a wretched Gaul, a freedman; and the only means he had of displaying talent was by declaiming publicly on mar-days. He established his professional chair in the very house of Julius Cæsar;\* and there med the eloquence of the two great orators the day—Cæsar and Cicero.†

The triumph of Cæsar, which opened Rome to the Gauls, enabled them to speak on their account, and to enter into the career of itics. Under Tiberius, Montanus rises to first rank of orators, both as regards freedom of speech and genius. Caligula, who med himself on his eloquence, had two eloquent Gauls among his intimates. One of them, Ierius Asiaticus, a native of Vienne, and, according to Tacitus, an honest man, at last conred against him, and fell a victim, under iudius, to the arts of Messalina, as suspected ambitiously courting popularity in Gaul.‡ e other, Domitius Afer, of Nîmes, and consul under Caligula, was eloquent, but corrupt, and an indiscriminate public accuser: he d of indignation. The capricious emulation Caligula had nearly proved as fatal to him, that of Nero was to Lucan; for the emperor, ing one day in the senate, pronounced a ored oration, in which he hoped he had surased himself, showing cause why that body ould condemn Domitius to death. The Gaul rayed no confusion, and seemed less struck his own danger than by the emperor's eloquence. He confessed himself convicted, deared that he could not dare to open his mouth er such a speech, and raised a statue to Caligula.§ The emperor was satisfied to spare life, only requiring his silence.

From its origin the ancients recognised the dency of Gallic art to the impetuous, exaggerated, and tragic; a tendency especially servable in its first essays. The Gaul, Zedorus, who delighted in carving small figures d vases with the most minute delicacy, cted a colossal figure of the Gallic Mercury the city of the Arvernus. Nero, who loved a vast and prodigious, summoned him to me, to execute a statue of him a hundred d twenty feet high, which was placed at the ft of the Capitol, and was visible from the

Alban Mount.\* Thus a Gallic hand impressed on art that impulse towards the gigantic and ambition of the infinite, which at a later day launched forth the vaulted roofs of our cathedrals.

Equal to Italy in art and literature, Gaul was not slow to exercise a more direct influence on the destinies of the empire. Under Cæsar and Claudius, she had given senators to Rome; under Caligula, a consul. Vindex, the Aquitanian, dethroned Nero, throned Galba; Bec, (Antonius Primus,) the Toulousan,† the friend of Martial, and himself a poet, gave the empire to Vespasian; Agricola, the Provençal, subdued Britain for Domitian; finally, the best emperor Rome ever had sprang from a family of Nîmes—the pious Antoninus, successor of the two Spaniards, Trajan and Hadrian, and father, by adoption, of the Spaniard,‡ Marcus Aurelius.§ The impress of the sophist, apparent in each of these philosophical and rhetorical emperors, was derived as much at least from their connection with Gaul, as their predilection for Greece. Hadrian's special friend was Favorinus, the sophist of Arles, and preceptor of Aulus-Gellius; that singular being, who wrote a book against Epictetus, a eulogium on ugliness, and a panegyric on the quartan fever.||

A Gaul by birth,¶ Syrian on the maternal and African on the paternal side, Caracalla is the type of that discordant mixture of races and ideas, presented at this period by the empire; the impetuosity of the north, the ferocity of the south, and the fantasticalness of oriental superstitions uniting, in one and the same man, to form a monster—a chimera. After the philosophical and sophistical epoch of the Antonines, the grand Eastern idea which had filled the minds of Cæsar and of Antony—the accursed dream which drove so many emperors mad, was revived; and Caligula, and Nero, and Commodus, were all possessed, in the decrepitude of the world, with youthful thoughts of Alexander and Hercules. Caligula, Commodus, and Caracalla seem actually to have believed themselves incarnations of these two heroes; like the Fatemite caliphs and the modern lamas of Thibet, worshipping themselves as gods. This idea, so ridiculous to Greek and Western habits of thought, created no surprise in the Eastern subjects of the empire, Egyptians and Syrians: if emperors become gods after their death, they might very well be so in their lifetime.

In the first century of the empire, Gaul had made emperors; in the second, she had sup-

\* Mention in *Nervus*, c. 31.—*Plin.* l. xxiiv. c. 7.

† *Plin.* in Vitell. c. 18. "When a boy he had the name of *Becus*, which signifies a cock's bill."—*Bel* (American.) *By* (Ymir) (God (Ætlic).) *Am* (Thierry) l. iii. 417.

‡ At least their families were originally from Spain.

§ See the correspondence of Hadrian with his master, *Fronto*.

|| Philostratus, in *Apollon. Thyras.* l. v. c. 4.—*Dio. Cass.* l. lxxii.

¶ "Born at Lyons."—*Aurell. Victor. Epitome*, c. 61.—*Dio. Cass. excerpt. ad ann. J. C. 69.*

*Part. de illustr. Grammat.* c. 7. In domo divi Julii, iuxta portum.

Id. *ibid.*

*Ther. Annal.* l. xi. c. 1. Quando gentes Vienne, mulier et velle prosequantibus subitaneis, turbare gentes acceperunt habere.

*Dio. Cass.* l. lxx.

plied emperors herself; in the third, she aimed at separating herself from the empire, then crumbling to pieces, and at forming a Gallo-Roman monarchy. The generals who in the time of Gallienus assumed the purple in Gaul, and governed with glory, appear to have been almost all superior men. Posthumus, the first of these, was surnamed the restorer of Gaul.\* He had formed his army in great part of Gallic and Frankish troops,† and was slain by his soldiers for refusing them the plunder of Mentz, which had revolted against him.‡ Elsewhere I give the history of his successors: of Victorinus and Victoria, the Mother of Legions; of the armorer, Marius; and, finally, of Tetricus, whom Aurelian had the glory of dragging behind his triumphal car, together with the queen of Palmyra.§ Although Gaul was the theatre of these events, they belong less to the history of the country than to that of the armies which occupied it.

Most of these provincial emperors—*tyrants*, as they were called—were great men. Their successors, who re-established the unity of the empire, the Aurelians and Probes—were greater still. Yet the empire mouldered away in their hands. This is not attributable to the barbarians, the invasion of the Cimbri under the Republic had been more formidable than those under the Empire. Neither are the vices of the princes to be blamed for it: the most guilty of them as men, were not the most odious as rulers. Often did the provinces breathe freely under those cruel princes, who shed in seas the blood of the great of Rome. The government of Tiberius was prudent and economical; that of Claudius, mild and indulgent.

\* Zosim. l. i. c. 1. P. Onos. l. vi. "He assumed the purple to the great advantage of the republic." Trebell. Pollio, ad ann. 240. Posthumus is described with a strong hand on all the succeeding barbarians. . . . He was intensely beloved in Gaul from his having driven out the German hordes, and restored the Roman empire to its pristine security. . . . Being willingly proclaimed emperor by the army, and by the people generally, he reigned six years' time to the satisfaction of all, on a medal of his appears the words, RESTITUTOR GALLIÆ. See R. Fr. l. 53.

† Aurel. Victor, c. 33. Trebell. Pollio, ad ann. 290. On an medals of Posthumus appears the Centaurs or Franks.

‡ Eutrop. l. vi. c. 1. P. Onos. l. vi. c. 1. Aurel. Victor, c. 43.

§ See also Zosim. in Michaud's Biographie Universelle.

In the letter of M. Sereus, Thersus, contrary to his expectations, after having been counted over the infamies of the Gauls, Aurel. Victor, c. 30. "Amidst these acts of violence, the performers, in their turn, were abandoned to their fate." Id. l. vi. c. 30. When, through a general earthquake, the payment of debts, whose families had been ruined, their credit destroyed, and every prospect of honest industry cut off, Thersus intreated with reasonable request. He was paid out of one hundred thousand great sesterces, and the Gauls, for three years free from impost, and upon that the borrower for the security of the state, and to encourage trade, to double the value. By this means the public credit was revived." Id. l. vi. c. 17.

To some governors of provinces, who advised him to lend the law to his subjects, he answered, "It is the part of a good shepherd to be not to fly his sheep." Sueton. in Tiber. c. 19. "By the emperor he assumed the exercise of the sovereign, that is, a long time, with great variety of conduct, though good, and thus a due regard to the public good. At first he was disposed to prevent all management. . . . It was necessary that any person under prosecution was kept in his interest to be acquitted, he would suddenly make his appearance in court, and from the ground benches,

Nero himself was regretted by the people; as his tomb was long kept constantly crowned with fresh flowers.\* While Vespasian was on the throne, a pretender, who assumed the name of Nero, met with enthusiastic support in Greece and Asia; and the recommendation of Heliogabalus to the purple, was his being believed the grandson of Septimius Severus, and son of Caracalla.

The provinces were not subjected under the emperors, as under the republic, to a yearly change of governor: an innovation ascribed by Dion to Augustus, and attributed by Suetonius to the negligence of Tiberius, though Josephus expressly asserts his motive to have been "the relief of the people." And, in truth, by continuing in a province, a governor not only acquired a knowledge of its wants, but at length contracted ties of affection and of humanity there, to the amelioration of tyranny. No longer, as in the days of the republic, did contractors flock thither, eager to fill their purses in order to return to the pleasures of the capital. It was the difference intimated in the fable of the fox who declines the offer of the hedge-hog to free him from his tormentors, the flies: "others will come famished," said he, "these are gorged and glutted."

The procurators—men of low birth, the creatures of the prince and responsible to him—had his vigilance to fear: to enrich themselves was to tempt the cruelty of a master, whose avarice only required an excuse for severity.

This master judged both great and little: for the emperors administered justice themselves

or the praetor's seat, would remind the judges of the law their oath, and the nature of the charge brought before them. He likewise took upon him the correction of the public manners, where any abuse had been countenanced, either by neglect of duty in the magistrates, or the prevalence of custom." Id. ibid. c. 33. "He reduced the expense of public sports and diversions for the entertainment of the people, by diminishing the allowance to stage players for their services, and abridging the number of gladiators at those occasions. . . . He moved in the senate, that a new sumptuary law should be enacted, and that the market should be subjected to such regulations as should appear proper to the house. . . . And, to encourage frugality in the public, by his own example, he would often, at his entertainments on solemn occasions have at his table viands which had been served up the day before, and were by custom, and the habit of a feast, declaring, 'It has all the same good bits that the whole had.'" Id. ibid. c. 21. "Nor did he exert exertion in the people, with public spectacles and games." Id. ibid. c. 47. "Above all things, he was careful to secure the public quiet against the attempts of those who were restless, and such as were devoted to the government." . . . He abolished everywhere the privileged and places of refuge." Id. ibid. c. 37.

\* There were, however, some, who for a long time decked his tomb with spring and summer flowers. Trebell. Pollio, ad ann. 240. "He placed his image upon the Roman dress, and upon state robes, another while published proclamations in his name, as if he was yet alive, and would shortly come to Rome again, with a vengeance, to all his enemies. A young man, king of the Parthians, when he sent ambassadors to the senate to renew the alliance, learnt that not only the Romans, earnestly requested that the honor should be paid to the memory of Nero, and to conclude when twenty years after, at which time I was a young man, some person of obscure birth gave himself out for Nero, he met with so favorable a reception from the Parthians, that he was powerfully supported by that nation, and it was with much difficulty that they surrendered him." Suet. in Nero, c. 57.

Tacitus we read of an accused person who, arising from popular prejudices, demands to be tried by Tiberius, as superior to prepossessions of any kind; he was influenced, too, by the notion that one judge can discern the truth better than many.\* Both under Tiberius and under Claudius, we find the convicted escaping by appeal to the emperor.† Claudius, anxious to terminate a business in which his own interest was implicated, declares that he will himself act as judge, in order that he may show by his sentence, in his own cause, how uprightly he would act in that of another;‡ undoubtedly, no one would have dared to give judgment to the detriment of the emperor.

Domitian administered justice assiduously and intelligently, and often reversed the sentences of the centumviri, who were supposed to be obnoxious to intrigue.§ Hadrian was in the habit of consulting on cases submitted to his judgment, not his friends, but the juriconsults|| Even that rude soldier, Septimius Severus, did not conceive himself exempt from this duty; but in the quiet of his villa, gave sentence, and willingly descended into the minutest details of the matters submitted to him. The assiduousness of Julian in discharging his judicial functions has also been noticed.¶ This alliance of the emperors for civil justice greatly unbalanced the evils of the empire, by intruding oppressive magistrates with a salutary error, and remedying in detail a mass of general abuses.

Even under the worst emperors, the civil law was steadily extended and improved. The ju-

risconsult Nerva, grandfather of the emperor of that name, (a disciple of the republican Laabeo—the friend of Brutus, and the founder of the Stoic school of jurisprudence,) was the adviser of Tiberius.\* Papinian and Ulpian flourished in the times of Caracalla and of Helio-gabalus; just as Demoulin, l'Hopital, and Brisson did, in those of Henri II., Charles IX., and Henri III. By affining more and more with natural equity, and consequently with the common sense of nations, the civil law became the strongest bond of the empire, and the compensation of political tyranny.

#### SLAVERY; THE CANCER OF THE EMPIRE.

Tyranny, the tyranny of the princes, and the tyranny of the magistrates—different in kind and far more burdensome—was not the principal cause of the ruin of the empire. The real evil which undermined it proceeded neither from the government nor the administration. Had it been simply of an administrative nature, so many good and great emperors would have found a remedy for it. But it was a social evil; and its source was not to be dried up by less than an entire renovation of the social system. Slavery was this evil. The other ills of the empire—most of them at least, as the all-devouring taxation and constantly increasing demands of the military government—were only, as we shall see, a consequence; a direct or indirect effect. Nor was slavery a result of the imperial government. It appears everywhere among the people of antiquity. We read of it as existing in Gaul before the Roman conquest; and if it strikes us as being more terrible and disastrous under the empire, it is because we are better acquainted with the Roman than with previous epochs. And the ancient system being founded on war, on the conquest of man, (industry is the conquest of nature,) the system necessarily went on from war to war, from proscription to proscription, and from servitude to servitude, till it ended in a fearful diminution of the population. There were people of antiquity which, like the savage tribe of America, might boast of having eaten up fifty nations.

In my Roman history I have already shown how the class of small cultivators, having gradually disappeared, the large proprietors who succeeded them supplied their place with slaves, who quickly perished through the rigorous labor exacted of them, and disappeared in their turn. Draughted for the most part out of the civilized nations of antiquity, Greeks, Syrians, and Carthaginians, they had cultivated the arts for the behoof of their masters. The new slaves by whom they were replaced†—Thra-

\* In the case of Pison, accused of having poisoned Germanicus, Tacitus states that "application was made to the emperor, that the cause might be heard before himself, as request was perfectly agreeable to the accused party, so was not to learn that the senate and the people were judged against him. Tiberius, he knew, was firm enough against popular clamor. . . . Besides this, the truth, he thought, would be better investigated before a single judge, than in a mixed assembly, where intrigue and party violence too often prevailed. . . . Tiberius consented to hear, the presence of a few select friends, the heads of the senate, with the answers of the defendant, and then referred the whole to the consideration of the senate." *Annal.* c. 10.

† "The first men in Rome willingly came forward against Marcus Messallinus Cotta. . . . He knew how to baffle his enemies. He removed the cause by appeal to the emperor." *Annal.* l. vi. c. 5. "Vulcatius Tullianus and Marcellus, senators, and Calpurnius, a Roman knight, by appealing to the emperor, avoided instant condemnation." *Id.* l. iii. c. 30. "Two influential informers, Domitius Afer and Publius Iudellus, having combined to ruin Quintilius Varus, the senate stopped the progress of the mischief by forcing the cause to stand over till the emperor's return, examination being the only refuge of the unhappy." *Ibid.* iv. c. 66.

‡ *Id.* in Claud. c. xv. Alium interpellatum ab adversario de propria lite, negotiorumque cognitionis rem, sed et non iure esse, agere causam comitatus apud se coram, utroque negotiorum deturum qualem equis iudex in suo negotio futurus esset.

§ "In the administration of justice he was diligent and humane, and frequently sat in the Forum out of court, to cancel the judgments of the Centumviral court, which had been procured through flattery or interest." *Id.* in Dom. c. 14.

|| *Quinto Iudicavit. Adrianus in consilio habuit non solum bonos sedum et jurisconsultos Spartanos.*

\* *Ann. Marcellin.* l. xii. c. 10.—Lambinus, *Urat. Front.* 108, 91.—*d. Greg. de Naz.* *Urat.* iv.

\* *Tacit. Annal.* l. vi. c. 36. "Cereius Nerva was the constant companion of the prince, a man distinguished by his knowledge of laws, both human and divine."

† The following inscription was found at Antioch:—

cians, Germans, and Scythians—could at the most only rudely imitate the models left by their predecessors. Objects, the fabrication of which required any industry, soon becoming imitations of imitations, grew ruder and ruder; and as the workmen who could achieve them became fewer and fewer, their price was constantly on the rise. The salaries of those dependent on the state ought to have been raised in the same proportion; and what marvel that the poor soldier who had to pay fifty sous\* of our money for the pound of meat, and twenty-two francs for the commonest shoes manufactured, was bent on seeking any alleviation of his wretchedness, and ready to make revolutions in order to attain it. There has been much denunciation of the violence and rapacity of the soldiers who, for increase of pay, made and unmade emperors; and the cruel exactions of Severus and Caracalla, and the princes who drained the country to maintain the soldiery, have been severely blamed. But has attention been directed to the excessive price of the necessities which the soldier had to provide out of very moderate pay! The insurgent legions say in Tacitus—"Our blood and our lives are valued at ten asses a day. Out of this we must pay for our dress, our arms, our tents; must pay for our furloughs, and buy off the tyranny of the centurion."†

It was worse still when Diocletian created another army—that of civil functionaries! Till his time there existed a military power and a judicial power, which have been too often confounded. He created, or at least completed, the administrative power. This highly necessary institution was, nevertheless, at the beginning, an intolerable charge on the already ruined empire. Ancient society, very different from ours, was not incessantly reproducing riches by industrial means. Always consuming, but, since the destruction of the industrious

classes by slavery, no longer producing, the land was constantly required to yield more, while its cultivators daily dwindled in number and in skill.

A more terrible picture has never been drawn than that left us by Lactantius, of this murderous strife between the hungry treasury, and the worn-out people, who could suffer and die, but not pay: "So numerous were the receivers, in comparison with the payers, and so enormous the weight of taxation, that the laborer broke down, the plains became deserts, and woods grew where the plough had been. . . . It were impossible to number the officials who were rained upon every province and town—*Magistri, Rationales*, clerks to the prefecture. Condemnations, proscriptions, and exactions were all they knew; exactions, not frequent, but perpetual, and accompanied by intolerable outrages. . . . But the public distress, the universal mourning was when the scourge of the census came, and its takers, scattering themselves in every direction, produced a general confusion, that I can only liken to the misery of a hostile invasion, or of a town abandoned to the soldiery. The fields were measured to the very clods; the trees counted; each vine-plant numbered. Cattle were registered as well as men. The crack of the lash, and cry of the tortured filled the air. The faithful slave was tortured for evidence against his master, the wife to depose against her husband, the son against his sire. For lack of evidence, the torture was applied to extort one's own witness against one's self, and when nature gave way, they wrote down what one had never uttered. Neither old age nor sickness was exempted; the sick and the infirm were alike summoned. In taking ages, they added to the years of children, and subtracted from those of the elderly. Grief and consternation filled the land. Not satisfied with the returns of the first enumerators, they then sent a succession of others, who each swelled the valuation—as a proof of service done; and so the imposts went on increasing. Yet the number of cattle fell off, and the people died. Nevertheless, the survivors had to pay the taxes of the dead."‡

Who suffered for these numerous insults and vexations, endured by freemen!—the slaves, the dependent colonists or laborers, whose condition daily became more akin to slavery. On them the proprietors heaped all the insults and exactions with which they were overwhelmed by the imperial agents; and they had been wrought to the highest pitch of misery and de-

D. M.  
PÆRI SEPTENTRI  
ONIS ANNOR XII QUI  
ANTIPOLI IN THEATRO  
BIDUO SALTAVIT ET PLA  
CUIT.

"To the mines of the boy Septentrio, aged 12, who appeared twice on the stage of Antibes, danced, and pleased." This poor child was evidently one of those slaves who were educated with a view to their fetching high terms from managers, and who fell victims to the severity of their training. I know nothing more tragic than the brevity of this inscription, or which makes one more sensible of the hardness of the Roman world. "Appeared twice on the stage of Antibes, danced, and pleased."—Not a regret. Is not this a well fulfilled fate! No mention of parents; the slave had no family. It is singular that he should have had a monument. The Romans, indeed, often raised them to their broken playthings. Nero built a monument "to the manes of a crystal vase."

\* See Moreau de Jonnes, *Tableau du prix moyen des Denrées d'après l'état de Diocletien* retrouvé à Surrentum. —A pair of *calige* (the commonest kind of covering for the foot, cost 22fr. 50c.; beef and mutton were 2fr. 50c. a pound; pork, 3fr. 60c. the pound; wine of the poorest quality, 1fr. 80c. the litre; a fat goose, 45fr.; a hare, 33fr.; a fowl, 13fr.; a hundred of oysters, 22fr., &c.

† Tacit. *Annal.* i. 17. The emperors were at last obliged to clothe and feed their troops. See Lamprid. in *Alex. Sev.* lili.

‡ Lactant. de M. Persecut. c. 7. 23. Adm. major esse cepit numerus accipientium quam dantium. . . . Fili ad-versus parentes suspendebantur, &c.—A sort of warfare was established between the treasury and the people, between torture and the obstinacy of silence. Ammian. Marc. says, (in *Comment. Cod. Theod.* l. xi. tit. 7. kg. 3a.) "that man among them would blush for himself, who could not show the marks of stripes received for eluding the payment of taxes."

(Modern travellers state exactly the same thing of the Egyptian fellahs.)—TRANSLATOR.

ur at the time Lactantius traced the forego- picture. Then all the *serfs* of Gaul flew to ns, under the name of *Bagaudæ*.<sup>6</sup> They at e became masters of all the rural districts, nt several towns, and committed more ravas- than the barbarians could have done. There a tradition that the two leaders whom they elected, Ælianus and Amandus, were Chris- ns; and there is no improbability in suppos- g that this struggle for the natural rights of in, was in some degree instigated by the doc- ne of Christian equality. These undiscin- ed multitudes were overwhelmed by the peror Maximian, whose victory seems to ve been commemorated by the column of asy, in Burgundy.† But the *Bagaudæ* are entioned long afterwards by Eumenius in one his Panegyrics;‡ and Idatius speaks in sev- l places of the *Bagaudæ* of Spain.§ Their sfortunes are particularly deplored by Sal- in: "Stripped of their all by bloody judges, ey had lost the rights of Roman freedom, ve lost the name of Romans. We upbraid em with their misfortune, and reproach them th the name that we have forced upon them. ow have they become *Bagaudæ* save through r tyranny, the perversity of the judges, and air proscriptions and rapine!"¶ There can be no doubt that the Menapian, rrausius, (born in the neighborhood of Ant- rp.) was supported by the fugitive remnant e *Bagaudæ*, in his usurpation of Britain. e had been commissioned to intercept at sea o Frank pirates, who were constantly cross- g over into Britain; and he did so, but it was their return voyage, for the sake of their oty. On this being discovered by Maximian, eared his standard in Britain, declared him- lf independent, and was for seven years mas- r of the province and of the straits.¶

The accession of Constantine (A. D. 306, July 25th) and of Christianity, was an era of joy and hope. Constantine Chlorus,\* born, like his father, in Britain, was the child and nurs- ling of Britain and of Gaul. At his father's death, he reduced the numbers obnoxious to the poll-tax in the latter country, from five-and- twenty to eighteen thousand;‡ and the army with which he subdued Maxentius must have been for the most part levied there.

The laws of Constantine are those of a party chief, who offers himself to the empire as a liberator and savior. "Far, far from the people," he exclaims, "be the rapacious hands of the tax-gatherer.‡ All who have suffered from their extortions, should apprise thereof the pre- sidents of the provinces. And, if these screen the wretches, we permit all to lay their com- plaints before the counts of the provinces, or before the prætorian præfect, if he is in the neighborhood, in order that, duly informed of such robberies, we may punish the perpetrators as they deserve."

This language reanimated the empire. The sight of the triumphant cross alone was al- ready balm to the heart. Vague and immense hopes sprang up at this sign of universal equal- ity; and all believed that the end of their woes had come.

However, Christianity could do nothing for the material sufferings of society; which were as feebly remedied by the Christian emperors as by their predecessors. The result of every attempt at amelioration was but to show the certain powerlessness of the law, which could only revolve in the same fruitless circle. At one time, alarmed at the rapid depopulation of the country, it would attempt to ameliorate the fate of the laborer, and protect him against the proprietor;§ and then the latter protested that

\* Prosper Aquit in Chronicle. "Almost all the slaves of entered into the Bagaudan conspiracy."—Ducange, s. q. de Bagaudæ. Et Paul. Crisp. l. vii. c. 15. Eutrop. 9. Hieronymus in Chronicle Euseb. "Dorsetian shared imperial dignity with Hercules Maximian, who having shed the rural population that rose up under the name *Bagaudæ* had purified Gaul."—Victor Scot. "A band rustics and robbers, whom the inhabitants call *Bagaudæ* sing even up in Gaul." &c.—Pomponius, the Greek trans- lator of Eutropius, says: "The bones of Gaul having re- ceived the conspirators took the name of Bagaudæ; signify- ing masters of the country."—Eusebius interprets *Bagaudæ* to mean, but says: "Since Aurelius Victor states it to be a British word, it may it not derive from *bagat* or *bagad*, which with the Armenians and Welsh and therefore with ancient Gauls signifies a troop and assembly of men."—Cathol. cum Armen. *Bagat*, assembly, a mob, a flock." The first edition of Salvianus (1530) has *Bagaudæ* or *Bagaudæ*. We find *Bagaudæ* in the list of *Castro Ambrus. num* &c.—*Bartholomæus* Idatius in *Chron.* in Dorsetianus. "Some strangely call the Par- as *Bagaudæ* as if they were descendants of the Bagus."—Turner says: "*Bagat*, in Irish is warlike; in Erse fighting *Bagat*, in Welsh is multitude."—Maur des- cends near Paris, was called the *Château de la Bagaudæ* or *Vit* &c. *Rebeldes*.

† Millin. Voyage dans le Midi de la France, l. l.

‡ Eumenius de Schol. innotuit.

§ In the reigns of Rechila and Theodoric.

¶ Salvian. The very just of provid. is: *Iniquitatis numen et ipsi sermone. Quibus enim rebus alius Bagaudæ facti et ipsi iniquitatis nomine &c.*

¶ Scot. Aurel. Victor. in *Comar* ap. Ser. B. Fr. l. 566. —*Idrop.* l. ii. ch. 375.

\* Schepelin thinks not. See his Dissertation, *Constantinus Magnus non fuit Britannus*. Bile. 1741, in 4to.

† Eumenius Panegyric ap. Ser. B. Fr. l. 730. Great part of Autun was uncultivated.

‡ *Crescent jam nunc rapaces officialium manus. . . Lex Constantini in Cod. Theod. l. i. tit. 7. leg. 1.* "Wherever, of any place, order, or degree, has good proof of injustice done by any of my judges, counts, friends, or palatines, let him come boldly and securely to me. I will hear whatever he has to say, and if he substantiate his accusation, I will punish the wretch who has heretofore deceived me into belief of his integrity, and will honor and reward his accuser and convictor."—*Ex Leg. Constantini in Cod. Theod. l. i. tit. 1. leg. 40.* "If wards, widows, or other unprotected persons, shall beseech a hearing from our severity, especially if they dread any person in power, the defendants against them must submit the case to us."—*Ex Leg. Constantini l. i. tit. 1. leg. 40.* "We remit all arrears from the sixth assessment to the eleventh just made, as well to the curse as to the actual holder of the property assessed, so that we remit to all under the name of arrears, whatever has remained unpaid during the last twenty years, whether due in kind or in money. Of these twenty years, the public granary, the chest of the most honorable prefecture, nay, both our treasuries, must expect nothing."—*Constantini in Cod. Theod. l. i. tit. 20. leg. 16.* "You have remitted us the arrears of five years," says Eumenius to Constantine. See Ammianus Marcellinus in *Comar. Cod. Theod. l. i. tit. 20. leg. 16.*

§ "If any tenant has a greater rent exacted of him by his lord than he has been in the habit of paying, or than has been formerly paid let him appeal to the judge, and bring his proof, so that he who is convicted of having de- manded more than he had been accustomed to receive



At another, it delivered him up to slavery,\* try to root out the wretch died or fled, as if he were dead. As early as the beginning of the evil had begun, which every thing, even the land, in order to keep up the state, exempted from taxes, who should occupy deserted lands in the provinces, or in allied lands, securing them the right of inheritance. He was followed in this by Valerian. Probus was forced to deliver men and cattle for the army, and ordered the replanting of lands destroyed by Domitian. Constantine Chlorus transported Germans into the solitudes of the East, and of the district of Languedoc, and the population fell off both in the East and West. Some citizens ceased to work, therefore, were squeezed for the famished and pitiless curiales and the municipal magistrates for any deficiency. The spectacle of a whole people in a state of fearful code must be read

in repeating such offences. The latter at least he is proved to have exacted more than. in Cod. Justinian. l. xi. tit. 49. and harboring another's tenant, most faithful owner. . . . Tenants attempting to escape like slaves, and compelled to do so, freemen, as slaves." Ex Lege Constant. l. v. leg. 96. l. 1.—"If any tenant, transferred to it, shall have left it for more than one year for that period, no claim him or his immediate owner." Cod. in Cod. Theod. l. v. tit. 10. leg. 1a, and deny hearing to men of this class their lands or patrons, those eyes of episcopate, in which princes have formerly appeared. "Are, et Honor. in Cod. Justinian. ver. harbors or detains another's tenants' weight of gold in him whose entitled through the right of their culture the runaway with all his goods d. et Valent. in Cod. Just. l. v. tit. 51.

in the law terminate by its identifying slave. "The tenant is transferred to the master. Theod. et Arc. in Cod. Justinian. l. v. tenant follows the law of his birth condition, apparently free born, he is not, in which he is born." Cod. Justinian. creating himself, or seeking to desert to, is to be held in the light of a fugitive. tit. 37. See, also, the Code de droit, conceives their condition to have worse than that of slaves, since he could not be enfranchised.

no unmarried man can inherit of a father the property of his kindred, except for the sake of a family."

natum, in Vopisc. Arsitur Gallienus et iuxta Germanici captiva prebentur. Vopisc. ad ann. 291.—Eutrop. Sueton. in Domit. c. 7. Constant. "As at thy nod, august restored by remitter to all his rights the neglected lands of the Servian, by thy victories, unconquered Conquest lands of the Ambiani, Bellouaceni, me, smile under the labors of the

by which the empire essays to retain the citizen in the city, that crushes him while crumbling under his feet. The unfortunate curiales, the last who in the general poverty possessed a patrimony,\* are declared the slaves, the serfs of the commonweal. They have the honor of governing the city, and of apportioning its assessment at their own risk and peril: having to make good all deficiency.† They have the honor of supplying the emperor with his *aureus coronarium*, (coronary gold.)‡ They are the most noble senate of the city, the very illustrious order of the curia.§ However, so insensible are they to their happiness, that they are constantly seeking to escape from it. Daily is the legislator obliged to have recourse to new precautions, in order to close and barricade the curia—a strange magistracy which the law is constrained to keep constantly in sight, and bind to their curule chair. It prohibits their absenting themselves,|| their living in the country,¶ becoming soldiers,\*\* or priests: and they can only enter orders on condition of making over their property to some one who will be curial in their stead. The law treats transgressors in the latter respect with little ceremony—"Whereas certain worthless and idle persons have deserted their duties as citizens, &c., we shall not hold them free until they shall despoil their patrimony. Is it fitting that souls intent on divine contemplation, should retain attachment for their worldly goods!"††

The wretched curial has not even the hope of escaping servitude by death. The law pursues his sons. His office is hereditary. The

\* At the least, twenty-seven *jugera*.

† Neither could they dispose of their property without a warrant. "He must apply to the judge and explain, *veritas*, the causes of his involvement." Cod. Theod. l. v. tit. 33. A curial, without family, could only will away the fourth part of his property; the remainder went to the curia.

‡ Crowns of gold were anciently presented to victors as Roman generals by the allies whom their victories had served. The Italian cities imitated the custom. These crowns were suspended in the temple of Jupiter. Cassius who had no fewer than two thousand eight hundred and twenty-two of these costly offerings, set the example of melting them down. At length a present of money became the substitute, and what was at first a free will gift, was rigidly exacted on every conceivable occasion of public rejoicing. — Translated.

§ However, the law is good and generous, for it closes the curia neither against Jews nor bastards. "This is no rule on the subject which must always be kept filled up." Cod. Theod. l. v. tit. 1.—Spiras, &c. l. Generaliter 3. § 2. P. l. l. tit. 2.

|| Cod. Theod. l. v. tit. 31. "He must not absent himself without having *intimated his wish to the judge*—in making judicial deservise, and obtained his leave."

¶ Ibid. l. vi. tit. 1. "All curiales are to be securely admonished not to quit or desert the towns for the country, well knowing that their town property is amenable to the treasury, and that they have nothing to do with the country, for the sake of which they have acted *impudently* in violating their native place."

\*\* L. *Severitatis* 30. Cod. Theod. l. vi. tit. 4. "Whoever has dared to turn soldier is to be forced back to his primitive condition"—This provision disarmed all the proprietors.

†† *Quidam* agnovit sectatores, desertis civitatum muneribus, captant solitudines ac secretis. . . . L. *quidam* 63. Cod. Theod. l. v. tit. 1.—*Non enim consilio, non contemptis patrimoniis, liberamus. Quippe animos divina observatione devinctos non decet patrimoniis desideria occupari.* L. *curiales*, 104. *ibid.*

requires him to marry, and to beget and victims for it. Dejection took possession of his souls; and a deadly inertia seized the social body. The people lay down on the ground in weariness and despair, as the sword of burden lies down under blows, and retires. Vainly did the emperors endeavor to offer immunities and exemptions to the laborer to his abandoned field.\* Nothing could do that; and the desert increased.

At the beginning of the fifth century, the province of Campania the *Happy*, the most fertile province of the whole empire, three hundred and thirty thousand acres lying untilled,† their panic at the sight of this desolation, emperors had recourse to a desperate expedient. They ventured to pronounce the loss of liberty. Gratian exhorted the provinces to assemble in assemblies.‡ Honorius endeavored to seize those of Gaul; § and besought, prayed, and threatened, fined those who would not attend. All was in vain; there was no arousing the people grown torpid under the weight of miseries. They had fixed their views elsewhere; and cared not for an emperor as powerful for good as for evil. They desired but to die; or at least social death and the invasion of the barbarians. || "They call for the enemy,"

Deserted farms are to be made over to the decuriones of the neighborhood, free of taxes for three years." Cod. Justin. l. xi. t. 56, lex 1.

By the indulgence of Honorius, we have remitted the tax for a certain portion of Campania, as being waste land. We order allowance to be made for three hundred and thousand and forty two acres, which, from the accounts of the surveyors and from ancient records, are known lying waste in Campania, and the records to be burnt, of date." Arc et Honor in Cod. Theod. l. xi. tit. 36.

By a law passed A. D. 392, it was enacted that, "Whether the provinces hold one general assembly, or each province its own, no magistrate whatever is to interfere with or interrupt the discussions required by the public interest." Cod. Theod. l. xi. t. 12. See Raynouard, *Recueil des Capitulaires* en France, l. 192.

The principal provisions of the law of 419 are as follows: I. It is to be held yearly. II. It is to be convened on the first of August. III. It is to consist of the honorables, the proprietors, and the magistrates of each province. IV. The magistrates of Novempopulania and Aquitaine are to be assisted by their deputies. Those of distant provinces may, as they see fit, send deputies. V. Absent magistrates are to be fined five pounds of gold. VI. The duty of the assembly is to take prudent measures with regard to the public interests. Ibid. p. 199.

Justinian in Panegyric. Julianus. "Lands, sold by dispossessed from the barbarians, were seized by shameless robbers, the plea of judgment in their favor. Freedmen were forced to shocking cruelties, and no one was safe from the law, so that the barbarians were longed for, and the best people coveted captivity."—P. Oros. "There are no who prefer poverty with freedom among the barbarians, to the slavery of taxation at home."—Salvian, de l. v. "They had rather nominal captivity with us, than nominal liberty with captivity. The name of a citizen, once highly prized, is now repudiated, like a captive under the yoke of the enemy, bearing the misfortune of their existence of necessity, not of will, but of force, but suffering under the extreme of cold."

They fear the enemy less than the tax gatherer, and it is that they fly to the first to avoid the last, and the one unanimous wish of the Roman populace, was that they should live with the barbarians. Not only the brethren decline to fly from them to us, but they fly to us to them, and, indeed, their marvel would be, that a impoverished tribunes do not follow their example, it is not far being aware that they are denied the possibility of removing their families and small dwell-

ings. . . . Our countrymen who happen to be among the barbarians, so far from wishing to return, would rather leave us to join them. The wonder is, that all the poor do not the same. They are only hindered by the impossibility of carrying their little huts with them."

#### THE OLD AND THE NEW ERAS.

The barbarians arrive. The ancient social system is condemned. The long work of conquest, slavery, and depopulation touches its term. Must we conclude, then, that all this has been wrought in vain, and that devouring Rome leaves nothing in this land of Gaul, which she is about to evacuate! What remains of her, is every thing. She leaves them organization, government. She has founded the city; before her, Gaul had only villages, or, at the most, towns. These theatres, circuses, aqueducts, roads, which we still admire, are the lasting symbol of civilization established by the Romans, the justification of their conquest of Gaul. And such is the power of the organization so introduced, that even when life shall appear to desert it, and its destruction by the barbarians inevitable, they will submit to its yoke. Despite themselves, they must dwell under the everlasting roofs which mock their efforts at destruction: they will bow the head, and, victors as they are, receive laws from vanquished Rome. The great name of empire—the idea of equality under a monarch—so opposed to the aristocratical principle of Germany, has been bequeathed by Rome to this our country. The barbarian kings will take advantage of it. Cultivated by the Church, and received into the popular mind, it will move onward with Charlemagne and St. Louis, until it will gradually lead us to the annihilation of aristocracy, and to the equality and equity of modern times.

Such is the work of civil order. But by its side was planted another conservator of peace, by which it was harbored and saved during the tempest of barbarian invasion. By the side of the Roman magistracy, which is about to be overshadowed and to leave society in danger, religion everywhere stations another protector which shall not fail it. The Roman title of *defensor civitatis* is everywhere devolved on the bishops. The ecclesiastical dioceses are divided on the model of the imperial. The imperial universality is destroyed, but there appears the catholic universality. Dimly and uncertainly, the day of Roman primacy and of St. Peter begins to dawn.\* The world will be maintain-

ings. Rome who leave their fields and huts, under the pressure of taxation, fly to the lands of those who are richer than they, and become their laborers."—See, also, in Paterus, the story of a Greek who sought refuge with Attila.

\* At the beginning of the fifth century, Innocent I. advanced some timid propositions, appealing to reason and the decisions of a synod. Epist. 1. "When important causes arise, they should be referred, after the bishop has delivered judgment, to the apostolic see, as authorized by a synod,

ed and regulated by the Church; her nascent hierarchy is the frame by which every thing is ranged or modelled. To her are owing external order and the economy of social life; the latter, in particular, the work of the monks. The rule of St. Benedict sets the first example to the ancient world of labor by the hands of freemen.\* For the first time the citizen, humbled by the ruin of the city, lowers his looks to the earth which he had despised. He bethinks himself of the labor, ordained in the beginning of the world, by the sentence pronounced on Adam. This great innovation of free and voluntary labor is to be the basis of modern existence.

The idea of free personality, faintly perceptible in the warlike barbarism of the Gallic clans, but more clearly seen in the Druidical doctrine of the immortality of the soul, expands into the full light of day in the fifth century. Pelagius the Briton,† lays down the law of the Celtic philosophy, the law followed by the Irish Erigenes, the Breton Abelard, and the Breton Descartes. The steps which led to this great event can only be explained by tracing the history of Gallic Christianity.

When Gaul, introduced by Rome into the great community of nations, took her part in the general life of the world, it might be feared

that she would forget herself and become wholly Greek or Italian; and, in fact, Gaul would have been vainly looked for in her towns. With those Greek temples and Roman basilicas, how could her individuality subsist? However, out of the towns, and, especially, towards the north, in those vast countries in which towns became more infrequent, nationality was still to be found. Druidism, proscribed, had taken refuge in the country and with the people. To please the Gauls, Pescennius Niger is said to have revived ancient mysterious rites; which, undoubtedly, were those of Druidism.\* It was a Druidess who promised the empire to Diocletian.† Another, when Alexander Severus was preparing again to attack the Druidical island, Britain, threw herself in his way, and called to him in the Gallic tongue—"Go, but hope no victory, nor trust in thy soldiers."‡ Thus the national language and religion had not perished, but slumbered under Roman culture until the advent of Christianity.

When the latter appeared in the world, and substituted the God-man for the God-nature, and replaced the poor sensual enthusiasm with which the ancient worship had wearied humanity by the serious joys of the soul and transports of martyrdom, the new belief was received by each nation according to the bent of its own peculiar genius. Gaul embraced it as something once prized, and now recovered. The influence of Druidism still fermented the land, and belief in the immortality of the soul was no novelty in Gaul. The Druids appear, too, to have inculcated the notion of a mediator. So that the Gallic nations rushed into the arms of Christianity, and in no country did martyrs more abound. The Asiatic Greek, St. Pothinus, (ποθινος, the desired) the disciple of the most mystical of the apostles, founded the mystic church of Lyons, the religious metropolis of the Gauls; and the catacombs, and the height

and required by holy use and wont."—Epist. 29. "The fathers have decreed, not prompted by themselves, but by God, that no business should be esteemed settled, even as regards distant and widely remote provinces, until it shall have been submitted to this see."—The meaning of the celebrated text, *Petræca, &c.*, was much disputed. Neither St. Augustine nor St. Jerome interpreted it in favor of the bishopric of Rome. Augustin. de Divers. Sermon. 109. Id. in Evang. Joan. tract. 124. Hieronym. in Amos vi. 12. Id. adv. Jovin. l. 1. But St. Hilary, St. Gregory of Nyssa, St. Ambrose, St. Chrysostom, &c., recognise the rights of St. Peter and his successors. In proportion as we advance into the fifth century, we see the opposition disappear, and the popes and their partisans speak in a loftier tone. Concil. Ephes. ann. 431, actio iii. "To no one is it doubtful that Peter is the chief and head of the apostles, the pillar of faith, the foundation stone of the catholic church; who to this time and forever, lives and gives judgment in the person of his successors."—Leonis I. Epist. 10. "The Lord has provided for the maintenance of his holy religion by sending forth the truth for the salvation of all, through the apostolic trumpet; and has chiefly assigned that duty to the blessed Peter."—St. also, Epist. 12. "At last Leo the Great assumed the title of *Head of the Church Universal*."—Leonis I. Epist. 103, 97.

\* Regis St. Bened. c. 48. *Omnipotens inimica est animæ.* "Idleness is the enemy of the soul; therefore, the brethren must occupy themselves at certain hours in manual labor, as others in holy reading." After specifying the hours of work, it continues: "And if the poverty of the spot necessitate, or harvesting the produce keep the brethren constantly occupied, let them not be afflicted therewith, since they are veritably monks if they live by the labor of their hands, as our fathers and the apostles did."

Thus, to the Asiatics of the East, offering up their solitary prayers from the heart of the Thebaid, to the Stylites, alone on their columns, and to the wandering Egyptian, who rejected the law, and abandoned themselves to all the vagaries of an unbounded mysticism, there succeeded in the West those communities, attached to the soil by labor. The independence of the Asiatic communities was replaced by a regular and inviolable organization, the rule of which was no longer a string of admonitions, but a code. Liberty had been lost in the East in the quietude of mysticism; in the West she displayed herself, and, to redeem herself, submitted to a new law, to obedience, and to labor.

† Born according to some, in our Brittany, but according to others, in Great Britain. This, however, does not affect the question. It is enough that he was of Celtic origin.

\* Athanasius Spartianus, in Pescenn. Nigro. "Pescennius authorized, with general approval, the celebration of certain sacred rites which, in Gaul, are held in honor of the most chaste."

† Vopisc. in Numeriano. "While among the Tungri in Gaul, abiding in a hermit's, and contracting with a Druidess for his daily meals, she said to him, 'Diocletian, thou art too close, too miserly; to which, the tale goes, Diocletian answered, 'I will be liberal when I shall be emperor,' to which her rejoinder is said to have been, 'Jest not, Diocletian, for emperor thou wilt be, when thou shalt have slain a wild boar.'"*Apoc.*—Id. in Diocletiano. "Diocletian related that Aurelian once consulted some Druidesses, to know whether his descendants would enjoy the empire, and that the answer was, that no name would be more illustrious in the republic than theirs."

‡ El. Lampid. in Alex. Sever. *Mulier Druidæ cunctis exclamavit Gallicæ sermone, "Vadas, nec victoriam speras, nec milite tuo credas."*

§ It is to this period, about a. d. 177, and in the reign of Marcus Aurelius, that writers assign the earliest persecutions and martyrdoms which took place in Gaul. *Saluste.* Sever. Hist. Sacra, ap. Ser. R. Fr. l. 373. "Under Aurelius, the fifth persecution took place, and martyrdom was then first witnessed in Gaul."—Forty six martyrs died along with St. Pothinus. Gregor. Turonens. de Glor. Martyr. l. i. c. 40.—Under Severus, a. d. 202 St. Irenæus, at first bishop of Vienne, and then successor of St. Pothinus, suffered martyrdom together with nine thousand, others say eighteen thousand of each sex and all ages. Half a century after him, St. Martialus and his companions had founded seven

the blood of the eighteen thousand  
se therein, are still shown there. Of  
tyrs, the most celebrated was a wo-  
ve, St. Blandina.

nity made slower progress in the  
cially in the rural districts. Even  
th century, St. Martin found whole  
s there to be converted, and temples  
erthrown.\* This ardent missionary  
a god to the people; and the Span-  
nus, who had conquered Gaul with  
of Britons, thought himself insecure  
had won him over. The empress  
on him at table; and, in her vena-  
to holy man, picked up and ate the  
at he let fall. Virgins, whose con-  
d visited, kissed and licked the spots  
hands had touched. Miracles marked  
of his progress. But what will for-  
ve his memory in honor, is his un-  
forts to save the heretics whom Maxi-  
willing to sacrifice to the sanguinary  
bishops.† For this, he hesitated at  
aud, but lied, cheated, and even com-  
his reputation for sanctity: an heroi-  
ty which is the sign by which we  
now him for a saint.

St. Martin we must rank the arch-  
Milan, St. Ambrose, born at Trèves,  
we may therefore account a Gaul.  
htiness with which this intrepid priest  
church to Theodosius, after the  
of Theodosionica, is well known.  
The church was not less distinguish-  
edge than by zeal and charity; and  
d into religious controversy the same  
t which she shed her blood for Chris-  
Greece and the East, whence Chris-  
tenth forth, endeavored to bring it back  
les, if I may so speak, and to induce  
n to their own bosom. On one hand,  
ica and Manicheans tried to amalga-  
Parasim; claiming a share in the  
nt of the world for Ahriman or Satan,  
ng to make Christ compound with the  
of evil. On the other, the Platonists

proclaimed the world to be the work of an in-  
ferior god; and their disciples, the Arians,  
saw in the Son a being dependent on the Fa-  
ther. The Manicheans would have made Chris-  
tianity altogether an eastern religion: the  
Arians, pure philosophy; and both were equal-  
ly attacked by the fathers of the Gallic church.  
In the third century, St. Irenæus wrote his  
work against the Gnostics, entitled *On the  
Unity of the Government of the World*. In the  
fourth, St. Hilary of Poitiers heroically de-  
fended the consubstantiality of the Son and the  
Father, was exiled as Athanasius was, and  
languished many years in Phrygia; while  
Athanasius took refuge at Trèves with St.  
Maximin, bishop of that city, and native of  
Poitiers likewise. St. Jerome wants terms in  
which to express his admiration of St. Hilary.  
He finds in him Hellenic grace, and "the lofti-  
ness of the Gallic buskin." He calls him "the  
Rhône of Latinity." Elsewhere, he says,  
"The Christian Church has grown up and  
flourished under the shadow of two trees, St.  
Hilary and St. Cyprian." (Gaul and Africa.)

Up to this period, the Gallic follows the  
movement of the Universal Church, and is part  
thereof. The question raised by Manicheism  
is that of God and the world; Arianism con-  
cerns Christ, the Man-God. Polemics have  
yet to treat of man himself; and then Gaul  
will speak in her own name. At the very  
time that she gives Rome the emperor Avitus,  
(a native of Auvergne,) and that Auvergne  
under the Perreols and Apollinarii,\* seems de-  
sirous of forming an independent power between  
the Goths, already established in the south,  
and the Franks, who are about to precipitate  
themselves from the north—at this very time  
Gaul claims an independent existence in the  
sphere of thought. By the mouth of Pelagius  
she adjures the great name of human Liberty,  
which the West is no more to forget.

Why is there evil in the world?—with this  
question begins the controversy.† Eastern  
Manicheism replies, *Evil is a god*; that is to  
say, an unknown principle. This is no answer:  
it is advancing one's own ignorance as an ex-  
planation. Christianity replies, Evil arises out  
of human liberty: not by the fault of men, but  
of one man, Adam, whom God punishes in his  
posterity.

This solution only partially satisfied the lo-  
gicians of the Alexandrian school, and was the  
cause of much suffering to the great Origen;  
who, seeing no means of escaping from the in-  
nate corruption of humanity, went through a  
kind of voluntary martyrdom by self-mutilation.  
To mutilate the flesh is easier than to extir-

ries. Pseudo N. Martin, ap. Greg. Tur. l. i. c. 24.  
of Illeus there were sent as bishops to preach  
anus to Tours, Trophimus to Arles, Paulus to  
sterninus to Toulouse, Domysius to the Paris,  
in the Arvern. Martial, bishop elect, to the Le-  
Pape Zeninus claims the primacy for Arles  
Cyprian Gall.

temples? I incline to think that temples devoted  
al religions, and to local superstitions, are here  
Romans who penetrated into the north could  
of a time have inspired the natives with much  
of their gods. Pulp. Rev. vita N. Martin. See

ap. Rev. B. Fr. l. 373. See also Greg. de Tours,  
N. Ambrose, who happened to be at Trèves at  
me, gave him his support. Ambros. epist. 24.  
he had founded a convent at Milan, of which  
e shortly after became bishop. The difficulty  
lancor had to prevail upon him to accept the  
mon. It was the same with St. Martin, with  
gen and almost violence had to be used to in-  
accept the bishopric of Tours. Pulp. Rev. loco  
no consideration in the fate of two men, equally  
l by their ardent and courageous charity, are

\* See Appendix.

† Euseb. Hist. Eccl. v. 37. ap. Gieseler's Kirchenges-  
chichte, v. 129. "The question, 'Where is evil?' is  
much discussed by the heretics."—Tertullian de Præscr.  
Hæret. c. 7. ibid. "The same subjects are revolved by heret-  
ics and philosophers, the same complexities bandied to and  
fro: 'Whence comes evil, and why comes it? and whence  
is man, and how produced?'"

pate the passions. Shrinking from the belief that they who have not committed are answerable for the sin—unwilling to accuse God, fearing to find Him the author of evil, and thus to lapse into Manicheism—he preferred the supposition that souls had sinned in a previous state of existence, and that men were fallen angels.\* If each man were responsible for himself, and the author of his own fall, it would follow that he must be his own expiation, his own redeemer, and soar up to God through virtue. "Let Christ have become God," said the disciple of Origen, the audacious Theodore of Mopsuesta, "I envy him not: what he has become, I also can become by the strength of my nature."†

This doctrine, impressed as it is with Greek heroism and stoical energy, was readily accepted by the West, where, undoubtedly, it would in time have arisen of itself. The Celtic genius, which is that of individuality, is closely affined to the Greek. Both the Church of Lyons and that of Ireland were founded by Greeks; and the Scotch and Irish clergy long spoke no other tongue. John Scotus, or Hibernicus, revived the doctrines of the school of Alexandria in the time of Charles the Bald; but the history of the Celtic Church will be pursued in another place.

The man who, in the name of that Church, proclaimed the independence of human morality, is only known to us by his Greek name of Pelagius, the Armenian—that is, the man from the sea-shore.‡ Whether he were layman or monk is uncertain; but the irreproachableness of his life is uncontested. His opponent, St. Jerome, in drawing the portrait of this champion of liberty, represents him as a giant, giving him the stature, strength, and shoulders of Milo of Crotona.§ He spoke with labor, and yet with power.|| Compelled by the in-

vasion of the barbarians to take refuge in East, he promulgated his doctrines there, was attacked by his former friends, St. Jen and St. Augustin: and, in point of fact, Pelagius, by denying original sin,\* argued against the necessity for redemption, and struck at root of Christianity.† So that St. Augustin who, till then, had his whole life supported liberty against Manichean fatalism, devoted remainder of his years to subjecting the power of human liberty to Divine grace so vehemently as to run the risk of crushing it together; and, in his writings against Pelagius the African doctor founded that mystic fatalism so often revived in the middle ages, especially in Germany, where it was proclaimed by the Terehalk, Tauler, and numerous others, until finally prevailed through Luther.

It was not without reason that the great bishop of Hippo, the head of the Christian Church, opposed Pelagius with such violence. To reduce Christianity to philosophy was to strip it of the future, and to strike it dead. What would the dry rationalism of the Pelagians have availed, at the approach of the barbaric invasion? It was not with this theory of liberty that the conquerors of empire were to be humanized; but by proving to them the dependence of man and all-powerfulness of God. The whole power both of the religion and poetry of Christianity, was not more than was required to subdue and soften these unbridled barbarians; the Roman world instinctively felt that place of refuge would be the ample bosom of religion—its hope, and sole asylum, when empire, which had boasted itself eternal, came in its turn a conquered nation.

Thus Pelagianism, at first favorably received even by the pope of Rome, soon gave way to the doctrine of grace. Vainly did it make concessions, and assume in Provence the soft form of semi-Pelagianism, and endeavor to reconcile human liberty with Divine grace.

\* S. Hieronym. ad Pamach. "He says in his treatise, *De anima*, that souls are confined in this body, as in a dungeon, and that they dwell among rational creatures in the heavens before man was made in Paradise." St. Jerome then reproaches him "with so allegorizing Paradise as totally to deprive it of historical truth, understanding by trees angels by rivers celestial virtues, and destroying the whole keeping and character of Paradise by a figurative interpretation." Thus, by giving another explanation of the origin of evil, Origen renders the doctrine of original sin useless, and subverts its history. He denies its necessity first then its reality. He also held that the demons—angels who had fallen like men—would repent and amend, and be happy with the saints, et cum sanctis ultimis temporis regnabunt. Thus this doctrine, thoroughly stoical in character, endeavored to establish an exact proportion between the sin and the punishment, but the terrible question remained on its entry, for it still remained to be explained how evil had begun in a former life.

† Augustin. l. vi. *De Doctr. Præf. Auct. Her. Pelagianæ*. "He was called and Morgan, more, sex in the Celtic tongue." He was a disciple of the Origenist Rufinus, who translated Origen into Latin. Anastasius Episc. ad Cosirol. c. 372. and, as is shown in his defence, a vehement invective against St. Jerome. Thus Pelagius repeats the inheritance of Origen.

§ S. Hieronym. *Præf. l. in Jeron. In qua Milonia hinc et inde transiens*. "The dumb Rufinus howls through the desert of African Pelagius large and bulky, who does more by barking than by baying."

|| St. Augustin. l. xii. *dis. 1. De Præf. Auct. Her. Pelag.*

\* "There can be no hereditary sin, argued Pelagius, is will alone that constitutes sin—*Quæ voluntas est, cæcum voluntatis est necessitas est*." St. Augustin replies, *peccatum non est, si voluntas vitium potest*." Aug. l. vi. *De Pecc. Orig. 14*. "Then for he continues, man is without sin, just as Theodore of Mopsuesta—"It is not whether man should be without sin." Undoubtedly should. If he should he can. If it is commanded, he is bid, De Perfectione Justit. a Hemon. Origen, likewise, asked for perfection—"liberty, aided by the law and truth." Ibid. vii. 47.

† Origen, who also had denied original sin, conceived incarnation to be no allegory, at least, he was repugnant to that. Ibid. 49. V. Paphyphus in Apoc. per Origen. St. Augustin saw clearly the necessity of this conception. See the treatise, *De Natura et Grætia*, c. 3, p. 126.

‡ The first who attempted this difficult reconciliation was the monk John Cassian, a disciple of St. Chrysostom and who parted with the pope to recall the latter to his. He asserted that the first movement towards spring from the will, and that grace then came to rally and support it. He did not, with St. Augustin, believe grace to be free and preventing, but only efficacious. (C. v. c. 3. *Quædam hæc sunt in nobis coram quædam voluntatis impulsio, et in nobis eam contestam, atque fortis et inobediens sumus*.) And he cites the text of Apostle, "for to will is present with me, but how to perform that which is good I find not." He dedicated to

Despite the sanctity of the Breton Faustus,\* despite the renown of the bishops of Arles, and the glory of that illustrious monastery of Lerins, which gave the Church a dozen archbishops, twelve bishops, and more than a hundred martyrs, mysticism triumphed. The approach of the barbarians hushed all disputes; the philosophic chairs were deserted, and the schoolmen silent. Faith, simplicity, and patience were what the world then needed; but the seed was sown—to ripen in its season.

#### CHAPTER IV.

RECAPITULATION.—DIFFERENT SYSTEMS.—INFLUENCE OF THE NATIVE AND OF FOREIGN RACES.—CELTIC AND LATIN SOURCES OF THE FRENCH LANGUAGE.—DESTINY OF THE CELTIC RACE.

THE religious philosophy of Pelagius is the type of the Helleno-Celtic genius; the distinctive character of which is founded in the independent, the free personality, of later philosophical writers. The German element, so different in its nature, will be seen struggling with it, and so constraining it to positivism, to positivism and being out of that is without it. The middle ages, for the struggle, is the middle of the victory.

The first of the Pelagian system, as we have seen, was the Helleno-Celtic genius, the distinctive character of which is founded in the independent, the free personality, of later philosophical writers. The German element, so different in its nature, will be seen struggling with it, and so constraining it to positivism, to positivism and being out of that is without it. The middle ages, for the struggle, is the middle of the victory.

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But, before bringing the Germans on the soil of Gaul, and assisting at this new interfusion of race, I must retrace my steps in order to estimate with precision, how far the different races previously settled there may have modified the primitive genius of the country, and inquire what share these races had in producing the collective result, what was the position of each in the community, and ascertain how much there remained of the indigenous element in the midst of so many foreign ones.

The *origines* of France have been explained on different systems.

Some deny foreign influence; and will not have France owe any thing to the language, literature, or laws of the conquerors. What do I say?—why, if it depended upon them, all mankind would find their originals in ours. *Le Brabant*, and his disciple, *Latour d'Auvergne*, the first grenadier of the republic, derive every language from the Bas-Breton. Intrepid and patriotic critics, the liberation of France does not content them, unless they subject to it the whole of the rest of the world. Historians and logists are less daring. Nevertheless, the abbe Le Bossu will not allow the conquest of Clovis to have been a conquest; and Grosley affirms our common law to be anterior to *Cæsar*.

Others, less chimerical, perhaps, but as exclusive and attached to a system, deduce every thing from tradition, and the different importations of commerce or of conquest. In their opinion, our French tongue is a corruption of the Latin, our law, a corruption of the Roman or German law, and our traditions, a simple echo of the foreigners. They give one half of France to Germany, the other to the Romans; and leave her nothing to claim in her own right. Apparently, these great Celtic nations, so much bruted by antiquity, were of no account as a race as to be distributed by nature, and to have disappeared without leaving a trace. Great, which armed two hundred thousand men against *Cæsar*, and which, under the empire, appears still so populous, has wholly disappeared, dissolved by intermixture with some Roman legions, or the bands of *Clovis*. All our northern French are the offspring of the Germans, although their language contains so little German; and Gaul has perished utterly, like the *Alantides*. All the Celts are gone, and if any remain, they will not escape the arrows of modern criticism. Pictou does not suffer them to rest in the tomb, but fastens furiously upon them like a true Saxon, as Englishmen on Ireland. He contends that they had nothing of their own, not a particle of original genius, that all the gentlemen are descended from the Goths, or Saxons, or Scythians; it is all the same to him; and, in his whimsical furor, desires the re-establishment of professorships of Celtic, "to teach us to laugh at the Celts."

The time is gone by for choosing between the two systems, and for declaring one's self the

exclusive partisan of native genius or of external influences. History and good sense are repugnant to both. That the French are no longer Gauls, is obvious: vain would be the search among us for those large, white, soft frames, those infant giants, who burnt Rome as a pastime. On the other hand, the French is widely distinct from both the Roman and German genius; neither of which serve to throw any light upon it.

We have no wish to reject incontestable facts. It is indisputable that our country is largely indebted to foreign influence. All the races of the world have contributed to dower this Pandora of ours.

The original basis\*—where all has entered and all been received—is the race of the Gael, young, soft, mobile, clamorous, sensual, and fickle, prompt to learn, quick to reject, and greedy of novelty. Here we have the primitive, and the perfectible element.

Such children require stern preceptors, and they will have them both from the South and the North. Their mobility will be fixed, their softness become hardened and strengthened, reason will be added to their instinct, and rectification to their impulsiveness.

In the South, appear the Iberians of Liguria and the Pyrenees, with all the harshness and craft of the mountaineer character; then, the Phœnician colonies; and after a long interval, the Saracens. The mercantile genius of the Semitic nations strikes root early in the south of France. In the middle ages, the Jews are altogether domiciled there;† and at the epoch of the Albigenese, Eastern doctrines had easily obtained a footing.

From the North, sweep down in good time the obstinate Cymry, the ancestors of our Bretons and of the Welsh. They have no mind to pass over the earth and be forgotten. Their progress must be marked by monuments. They rear the needles of Loc Maria Ker, and trace the lines of Carnac: rude and mute memorials, futile attempts to hand down traditions which

posterity will be unable to understand. Their Druidism points to immortality, but is incapable of establishing order even in the present life. It only reveals the germ of morality which exists in savage man, as the mistletoe, shining through the snow, testifies to the life that lies dormant in winter's embrace. The genius of war is still in the ascendant. The Belg descend from the North, and the whirlwind sweeps over Gaul, Germany, Greece, and Asia Minor. The Gauls follow, and Gaul overflows the world. It is the exuberant sap of life running out in every direction. The Gallo-Belgæ have the warlike temperament and prolific power of the modern Belg of Belgium and of Ireland; but in their history the social powerlessness of the latter countries is already visible. Gaul is as weak to acquire as to organize. The natural and warlike society of clanship prevails over the elective and sacerdotal society of Druidism. Founded on the principle of a true or a fictitious relationship, the clan is the rudest of associations, its bond flesh and blood clanship centres in a chief, a man.\*

But there is need of a society in which man shall no longer devote himself to man, but to an idea; and, firstly, to the idea of civil order. The Roman *agrimensores* will follow the legions to measure, survey, and lay out according to the true cardinal points as prescribed by their antique rites, the colonies of Aix, of Narbonne, and of Lyons. The city enters into Gaul; Gaul enters into the city. The great Cæsar, after having disarmed Gaul by fifty battles and the death of some millions of men, opens to it the ranks of the legions, and, throwing down every barrier, introduces it into Rome and the senate. Then, our Gallo-Romans become orators, rhetoricians, jurists; and may be seen surpassing their masters, and teaching Latin to Rome herself. There, they learn in their turn, civil equality under a military chief—learn the lesson already taught them by their levelling genius. Fear not their ever forgetting it.

However, Gaul will not know herself until the Greek spirit shall have aroused her. Antoninus the Pious, is from Nîmes. Rome has said—the city. Stoic Greece says, through the Antonines—the city of the world. Christian Greece says, likewise, but better still, through Saints Pothinus and Irenæus, who, from Smyrna and Patmos, bear to Lyons the word of Christ; mystic word, word of love.

\* Dr. Prichard (*On the Celtic Nations*) has satisfactorily demonstrated the oriental origin of the native Celt, as well from etymological proofs as from similarity of physical conformation and strong resemblance of superstitions, manners, customs, and observances. The connection of the Sclavonian, German, and Pelagian races with the ancient Asiatic nations, may be established by historical testimony; and the relation between the languages of those races and the Celtic, is such as to identify them as branches of the same original stock.

Legend conjectures that the Greek *Galactoi* 'milky-white men' was first used to distinguish the whites generally from the negro races, as the native Americans style themselves the red men in contradistinction to the Anglo-Americans; and that when the most ancient Celtic had become unknown, it was given as the origin of the name, Celtic, having been derived from the primitive language of the first settlers of the country. He adds, "It is worthy of observation, that 'to be' has been by good antiquaries translated the language of white men. *Galacta* signifies whitened, and comes from *geal*, white. The singularity of this word to the term Celtic is striking: from it, in all probability, came the Roman *Gallus*." —TRANSLATOR.

† The true they were often ill treated there, but less so than elsewhere. They were allowed schools in Montpellier, and in many other towns of Languedoc and Provence.

\* Independently of this common bond, we shall find men devoting themselves to this man who supports them, and whom they love. In this feeling originated the "devotees" of the Gauls and Aquitanians. Cæsar, *Bell. Gall.* l. iii. c. 22. "*Devoti*, whom they call *soldarii*. . . . nor has there ever been an instance of any one refusing to die when he, to whose friendship he had devoted himself, was slain." —Athenæus, l. vi. c. 13. "They say that the king of the Scythians (a Celtic race) has a guard of six hundred picked men, who are called *soldarii* by the Gauls, or, as we should say in Greek, *εὐχόμενοι*, (men who have vowed to live and die with their lords.)" *Zeldi*, or *Saldi*, signifies a horse in the Basque tongue.

high offers worn-out man rest and sleep in God, as Christ himself, at his last supper, rested his head on the bosom of the disciple whom he loved. But in the Cymric genius, in our hard west, there is a feeling repugnant to mysticism, and which hardens itself against the mild and winning word, refusing to lose itself in the somnolence of the moral God, presented it by Christianity, just as it rejected the dominion of the old Nature of the ancient religions. The origin of this stubborn protest of the *I*, is Pelagius, heir to the Greek Origen.

If these reasoners triumphed, they would find liberty before society was settled. Religion and the Church, which have to remodel the world, require more docile auxiliaries. The criminals are needed. Whatever miseries their reason may inflict, they will soon end the Church. From the second generation, they others; a touch, and they are overcome, and all remain in their state of enchantment a thousand years. "How the head, mild Sicambers,"\* the stubborn Celt would not have bowed.

These barbarians, who seemed instruments of universal destruction, become, whether wittingly or not, the docile instruments of the Church, who will employ their young arms in forging the band of steel which is to unite modern society. The German hammer of Thor and Charles Martel will ring upon, subdue, and discipline the rebellious genius of the Celt.

Such has been the accumulation of races in Gaul—race upon race, people upon people, Gauls, Cymry, Belgæ from one quarter, Iberians, from other quarters, again, Greeks, and Romans—the catalogue is closed by the Germans. This said, have we said—France? No, there, all remains to be said. France has risen herself out of these elements, while in other unions might have been the result. I and sugar consist of the same chemical elements. But the elements given, all is not even; there remains the mystery of a special peculiar nature to be accounted for. And which the more ought this fact to be insisted on, when the question is of a living and active union, such as a national union, susceptible of internal development and self-medication? Now, this development and these creative modifications, through which our unity is undergoing constant change, are the great matter of French history.

Let us not give too much importance either to the primitive element of the Celtic groups, or to the additions from without. The Celts are contradicted to the result, there can be no doubt; so have Rome, Greece, and the Germans. But who has united, fused, converted these elements—who has transmuted, transmuted, and made a single body of them—who has eliminated out of them our France? France itself, by that internal travail and mysterious

production, compounded of necessity and of liberty, which it is the province of history to explain. The primitive acorn is poor compared with the gigantic oak which springs from it: let then the living oak which has cultivated, made, and is making itself, lift its head with pride.

And first: are we to refer the primitive civilization of Gaul to the Greeks? The influence of Marseilles has plainly been exaggerated. It might enrich the Celtic tongue with some Greek words;† the Gauls, having no letters of their own, might borrow the Greek characters for important matters.‡ But the Hellenic genius had too much contempt for the barbarians, to gain real influence over them. Few in number, traversing the country with distrust, and only for commercial purposes, the Greeks differed too widely from the Gauls both in race and language, and were too superior to them for fellowship. They stood in the same relation to them that the Anglo-Americans do to their savage neighbors, who are driven further into the wild, and are gradually disappearing, without sharing the benefits of a state of civilization so far beyond their capacity, but into which it was sought to have initiated them all at once.

It was late when Greece, through philosophy and religion, exerted an influence upon Gaul. She asked Pelagius; but only in giving a logical expression to a feeling already existent in the national genius. Then came the barbarians; and it took ages for resuscitated Gaul to remember Greece.

The influence of Rome is more direct; and has left stronger traces in manners, law, and language. It is still popularly believed that our language is wholly Latin; yet, is not this a strange exaggeration?

To believe the Romans, their language prevailed in Gaul, as throughout the empire.‡ The conquered were assumed to have lost their language with their gods. The Romans did not choose to know that there existed any other language than their own; their magistrates answered the Greeks in Latin,§ and, in Latin,

\* M. Champollion-Figeac has recognized some even in Breton. The tradition of the migration of Elyses and Pelagius, and under a somewhat shape in Marseilles. Not only the Gauls, even the Church of Lyons observed the Celtic liturgy, Greek Church. It appears that the Celtic mission, prior to the Roman conquest, present a striking resemblance to the Mass of the Council of Clermont, Council of Angoulême, Council of Lyons. At this seems to me sufficient to prove that the Celtic genius has been much too deeply marked by Greek influences. I think, rather to believe in a primitive identity between the two races than in the strong effect of the Roman conquest on.

† See the quotation from Strabo, p. 54.

‡ St. Augustine, De Civ. Dei, l. vi, c. 2. "The imperious city, when not only to impose her yoke on the conquered nations, but to give them her language, was."

§ Val. Max., l. vi, c. 2. "An idea may be formed of the anxiety of the ancient magistrates to preserve their own dignity, and that of the Roman people from the fact that, among other signs of gross civility, they were most strict in never answering Greek pleaders except in Latin. Nay, even denying them the advantage of debate from their own plastic tongue, they compelled them to speak through an interpreter, not only in our city, but even in Greece and

\* Mille Sicambres. See the following chapter.



says the Digest, the prætors must expound the laws.\*

Thus the Romans, hearing only their own tongue from the tribunal, the prætorium, and the basilica, fancied they had extirpated the languages of the conquered. However, many facts exist to teach us what to think of this pretended universality of the Latin tongue. The rebel Lycians, having sent a countryman of theirs, but a citizen of Rome, to sue for pardon, it turned out that he was utterly ignorant of the language of the city.† Claudius found that he had given the government of Greece, a most distinguished office, to an individual unacquainted with Latin;‡ and since Strabo observes, that the tribes of Bætica, and most of those of Southern Gaul, had adopted the Latin tongue,§ the circumstance could not have been common, or he would not have taken the trouble to remark it. "I learned Latin," says St. Augustine, "without fear or flogging, in the midst of the caresses, smiles, and sports of my nurses,"|| just the plan followed with Montaigne, and on which he congratulates himself. But the acquisition of the language must have generally been a harder task, or St. Augustine would not have introduced the subject.

If Martial congratulates himself that all the world at Vienne had his book in their hands,¶ if St. Jerome addresses the ladies of Gaul, St. Hilary and St. Avitus, their sisters, and Sulpicius Severus his mother-in-law, in Latin; and if Sidonius recommends the reading of St. Augustine to women,\*\* all this only proves what no one doubts—namely, that the higher ranks of the south of Gaul, particularly of Roman colonies, as of Lyons, Vienne, or Narbonne, spoke Latin by choice.

As to the mass of the people, and I say this

of the northern Gauls particularly, one can hardly suppose that the Romans invaded Gaul in sufficiently large numbers to induce it to abandon the national speech. According to the judicious rules laid down by M. Abel Remusat, it appears that a foreign tongue generally mingles with an indigenous one, in proportion to the number of those who introduce it into the country; and we may add, that in the particular case in question, the Romans, confined to the towns, or to the quarters of the legions, can have had but little communication with the slaves who were the tillers of the soil, the half-servile husbandmen who were scattered in the country. Even among the inhabitants of the towns and the persons of distinction—and in the language of those false Romans, who arrived at the dignities of the empire—we find traces of the national idiom. The Provençal Cornelius Gallus, a consul and prætor, used the Gallic word *casnar* to signify *asseruator puella*, (a girl's suitor,) and Quintilian objects it to him.° Antonius Primus, that Toulousean, whose victory gained the empire for Vespasian, was originally named *Bec*,† a Gallic word found in all the Celtic dialects, as well as in French. In 230, by a decree of Septimius Severus, fiefdoms of trust are to be received, not only when executed in Latin and Greek, but in the *Gallic tongue* as well.‡ It has previously been related that a Druidess addressed Alexander Severus in Gaelic; and, in 473, Sidonius Apollinaris, bishop of Clermont, thanks his brother-in-law, the powerful Ecdicius, for having induced the nobility of the Arverni to discontinue the rude Celtic.§

What, it will be inquired, was the vulgar tongue of the Gauls? Are there any grounds

Asia, in the view of spreading through the world a profound respect for the speech of Rome."

(Gibbon says, "So sensible were the Romans of the influence of language over national manners, that it was their most serious care to extend, with the progress of their arms, the use of the Latin tongue.")—TRANSLATOR.

\* L. Deveret, D. I. xli. l. i. Deveret a prætoribus Latine interpreti debent. Tiberius apologized to the senate for using the Greek word monopoly. "Adeo ut monopolium nominibus prætoris vnam postulavit quod sibi verbo peregrino utendum esset." "When, too, a decree was about to pass the senate, in which the Greek word *ἐπιβλῆσαι* had been inserted, he recommended its being changed." Suet. in Tib. c. 71.

† Dio Cass. l. ix. ed. Reymar, p. 955.

‡ Suet. in Claud. c. 16. Splendidum virum, Græciæque provinciæ principem, verum Latinæ sermonis ignorantem.

§ What Sidonius says is, that "he Claudius, not only struck out of the list of judges, but likewise deprived of his freedom of Rome, a man of great distinction, and of the first rank in Greece, only because he was ignorant of the Latin language;" so that while the reference perfectly bears out the author's line of reasoning, he has accidentally misinterpreted the passage. Suetonius does not say that Claudius had given the individual in question the government of Greece; nor do the words, "Græciæ provinciæ principem" mean "governor of Greece;" but simply, "a man of the first rank in Greece."—TRANSLATOR.

|| Strab. l. vi. ed. Oron. p. 292. l. iv. p. 254.

¶ Confess. l. i. c. 14.

° Martial. l. vi. epigr. 87.

\*\* Sid. Apoll. l. ii. ep. 9. Requefiet, Glossaire de la langue Romane, 1804. See on this subject, in particular, learned work of M. Raynouard, t. i.

\* Institut. Orat. l. i. c. 5, init.

† Suet. in Vitell. c. 14. ed. Reimar.

‡ Digest. l. xlviii. tit. l. From the eighth century, the union of the Gallic and Latin tongues seems to have given rise to the Romance language. In the ninth century, a Spaniard could make himself understood by an Italian (Acts 88. Ord. 8. Ben. ser. iii. P. 2. p. 254.) It was the Romance *rascio* language that was referred to when the Council of Ancyra prohibited young girls from singing hymns in mingled Latin and Romance; while, on the contrary, those of Tours, Reims, and Metz, (813, 847,) order the prayers and homilies to be translated into it. And finally, it was in this language that was couched the famous oath, taken by Lewis the German to Charles the Bald, which is the earliest monument of our national tongue. There is no doubt that the proportion in which either language contributed to its formation, differed according to the locality. About 960, an Italian could write "our vernacular language approximates to the Latin." (Martene, Vet. Ser. l. 254.) which explains why the vulgar Provençal tongue was common to parts of Spain and Italy; but there is nothing to show that it was the same with the vulgar tongue of central and northern Gaul. Gregory of Tours, (i. viii.) describing the entrance of Gontran into Orleans, clearly distinguishes between the Latin and the common tongue. In 955, we find a bishop preaching in the Gallic tongue. (Gallic. Concil. Hardouin, v. 731.) The monk of St. Gall gives *retreia*, (for *lovers*, greyhounds,) as a Gallic word. "We read in the life of St. Columba (Acts 88. sec. ii. p. 17.) a little wild animal, which men vulgarly call *agoutin*," (*leurreuil*, squirrel.) It is curious to observe our French language thus gradually dawning in a despised jargon.

§ "For that the nobility, casting off the scales of the Celtic tongue, cultivate the graces of oratory, and even of the muses." Sidon. Apollin. Epist. 3. lib. iii. ep. Ser. 2. P. l. 790.

\* thinking it to have been analogous to the Welsh and Breton, the Irish and Scotch dialects! There is reason to believe so. The *anc. Ber. Alp. bardd, derwid, (Druid,) argel, (argl.) trimarkia, (three horsemen,)\** and numerous names of places, mentioned by classic writers, are found unchanged in those dialects to the present day.

These examples are enough to render it probable that the Celtic tongues have been perverted, and to prove the analogy of the ancient allie dialects with those spoken by the modern populations of Wales and Brittany, Scotland and Ireland. They who are aware of the marvellous pertinacity of these people, their attachment to their ancient traditions, and hatred to the foreigner, will not consider our proofs strong.

A remarkable peculiarity of these languages, their striking analogy with Greek and Latin, the first verse of the *Æneid*, and the "*let there be light*," (both in Latin and in Greek), are really Welsh and Irish.<sup>†</sup> These analogies might be accounted for by the influence of the sciences, if they bore only on scientific or ætological terms; but they are equally met with in those which concern the manners or reminiscences of local existence.<sup>‡</sup> They are so met with in nations which have experienced in a very unequal degree the influence of the sciences, and that of the Church, in nations almost without communication with each other, and placed in very different geographical and political situations; for instance, your continental Britons and the ancient Irish

[illegible]

As a result of the above, the following is suggested as a possible explanation for the results obtained in the present study. The results of the present study suggest that the use of a single, non-validated, questionnaire may not be sufficient to assess the prevalence of the risk factors for the development of the disease. The use of a validated questionnaire, such as the one used in the present study, may be more appropriate for the assessment of the prevalence of the risk factors for the development of the disease.

[illegible]

2. Another group of people had been left behind in the boat, and a third group had been left behind in the boat. The boat was full of people, and the water was very high. The boat was full of people, and the water was very high. The boat was full of people, and the water was very high.

A language so analogous with the *Latin*, must have furnished ours with a considerable number of words, which, from their Latinized appearance, have been ascribed to the learned tongue, to the language of the law and of the Church, rather than to the obscure and despised idioms of the conquered races. The French language has preferred boasting of her connections with the noble Roman tongue to claiming kindred with her less brilliant sisters. Nevertheless, to prove the Latin origin of a word, it must be proved that the same word is not still more closely allied with Celtic dialects ;\* and, perhaps, the latter original should be preferred, when there is reason to doubt between the two, since apparently the Gauls were more numerous in Gaul than their Roman conquerors. I would admit of hesitation when the French word is found in Latin and Breton only, since, rigorously speaking, the Breton and the French may have received it from the Latin. But when the same word occurs in Welsh, the brother dialect of the Breton, it is very probable that it is indigenous, and that the French has received it from the old Celtic root ; a probability, heightened almost into certainty, when the word exists likewise in the Gaelic dialects of the highlands of Scotland, and of Ireland. A French word, found in these distant countries, now so isolated from France, must be due to a period in which Gaul, Great Britain, and Ireland were still sisters, in which there was between them identity of race, religion, and language, and in which the union of the Celtic world was still unbroken.

It follows from the preceding that the Roman element is not every thing, and that by far, in our language, and language being the faithful representation of the genius of a race, the expression of its character, and revelation of its inmost life, its *Word*—if I may use the term—

\* in the following examples

[illegible][illegible]

if the Celtic element has abided in our tongue, it must have left traces in other directions,\* and must have survived in manners as in language, in action as in thought.

I have spoken elsewhere of the Celtic tenacity; and beg leave to return to the subject, and to dwell on the obstinacy, characteristic of these nations. France will be better understood, by strongly defining its starting point. The mixed Celts, who are called French, may be partially illustrated by the pure Celts, Bretons and Welsh, Scotch and Irish. Let me be permitted to pause, and to raise a stone at the cross-way where these kindred races are about to separate by such opposite roads, to follow so different a destiny; for I should be pained did I not take a solemn farewell of these people, from whom the Germanic invasion will isolate our France. While undergoing the long and painful initiations of the Germanic invasion and of feudalism, she will proceed from serfhood to liberty, and from shame to glory—the old Celtic races, seated on their native rocks, and in the solitude of their isles, will remain faithful to the poetic independence of barbarous life, until surprised in their fastnesses by the tyranny of the stranger. Centuries have elapsed since England has surprised and struck them down; and her blows incessantly rain upon them as the wave dashes on the promontory of Brittany or of Cornwall. The sad and patient Judæa, who counted her years by her captivities, was not more rudely stricken by Asia. But there is such a virtue in the Celtic genius, such a tenacity of life in this people, that they subsist under outrage, and preserve their manners and their language.

They are a race of stone;† immovable as their rude Druidical monuments, which they still revere.‡ The delight of the Scotch mountaineers is to pile rock on rock, and rear a petty dolmen in imitation of the ancient.§ The native of Gallicia, at his yearly emigration, casts a stone, and the heap|| is the measure of his life. The Highlanders say as a token of friendship, "I will add a stone to your cairn;"¶ and but last century they restored the tomb of Ossian, thrown down by English impiety: "In Glenammon stood Clach Ossian, a block seven

feet high and two broad, which, coming in the line of the military road, Marshal Wade overturned it by machinery, when the remains of the bard and hero were found, accompanied with twelve arrow-heads. So great respect had the Highlanders for this rude, but impressive monument, that they burned with indignation at the ruthless deed. All they could do they did; the relics of Ossian were carefully collected, and borne off by a large party of Highlanders, to a place where they were thought secure from further disturbance. The stone is said still to remain with four smaller, surrounded by an enclosure, and retains its appellation of *Cairn na Huseoig*, or Cairn of the Lark, apparently from the sweet singing of the bard."\*

The Duke of Atholl, as descendant of the kings of the Isle of Man, sits to this day with his face turned towards the east,† on the mound of Tynwald. Not long since, the churches were used as courts of justice in Ireland.‡ The trace of the worship of fire is found everywhere in the language, the beliefs, and the traditions§ of these people; and, as regards our Brittany, I shall adduce at the beginning of my third book, a number of proofs of the tenacity of the Breton genius.

It would seem, that a race which remained unchangeable when all was changing around it, must have gained the ascendancy by its pertinacity alone, and have moulded the world to take the impress of its own character. The contrary has happened. The more isolated this race has been, the more it has preserved its primitive originality, the more it has sunk and decayed, since for a people to continue in their original condition, apart from all foreign influence, and rejecting all foreign ideas, is to remain weak and imperfect. This is the isolation which has constituted at once the greatness and the weakness of the Jewish nation. It has had but one idea, has given it to the nations, but has borrowed hardly any thing from

\* *Premises*, as I have already explained and insisted, that the primitive terms are little in comparison with the various developments they have acquired from the spontaneous labor of human liberty.

† As is the soil so the race. The idea of deliverance, says Turner, *Hist. of the Anglo-Saxons*, i. 313, delighted the Cymry in their wild land of Wales, in their paradise of stones. *Story Wales*, to use the expression of Taliesin.

‡ J. Logan, *The Scottish Gael, or Celtic Manners*, as preserved among the Highlanders, 1831, vol. ii. p. 334. "It has been fully noted, that none who ever meddled with the Druids' stones prospered in this world."

§ Logan, *ibid.* "CLACH CLID FHR, is lifting a large stone two hundred pounds or more from the ground, and placing it on the top of another about four feet high. A youth that can do this is forthwith reckoned a man, whence the name of the amusement, and may then wear a bonnet."

|| W. von Humboldt, *Recherches sur la Langue des Basques*,  
Lugan, ii. 371.

\* *Id.* ii. 373.

† *Id.* i. 205. See, also, the third book of this History.

‡ In 1720, government purchased from the late Duke of Atholl, the whole of his remaining rights, titles, revenue and patronage, in his Lordship of Man, for 430,000*l.*

No act of the Imperial Parliament extends to the Isle of Man, except it contain an express provision to that effect. The legislature of the island consists of two Chambers, the Council and the House of Keys. The latter originates laws, which, if they pass the Council, are laid before the Sovereign, whose assent is seldom refused. To give a law validity, it must be promulgated by the Lieutenant-Governor, who does so, seated in great state, seated on the top of an ancient tumulus called the Tynwald mound, round which are collected, at the same time, the Council, the Keys, the officers of government, and, generally, a numerous concourse of the people. Hence its laws are commonly called *Acts of Tynwald*. See, *Isle of Man, in Enc. Brit.—Transylv.*

§ *Id.* ii. 255. "Where zeal for Christianity did not lead to the destruction of cities and their continuation as places of meeting, they continued to be used as courts, especially by the northern nations, until very late times."

One of the latest instances of this appropriation of the standing stones occurs in 1830, when Alexander Stewart, lord of Biddnach, held a court at those of the Rath of Kingusie.

§ See Appendix.



provised, the land was long left half cultivated and in pasture.\*

Whatever has been the result, it is honorable to our Celts to have established in the west the law of equality. That feeling of personal right, that vigorous assumption of the *I*, which we have already remarked in Pelagius and in religious philosophy, is still more apparent here; and in great part lets us into the secret of the destiny of the Celtic races. While the Germanic families converted moveable into immoveable property, handed it down in perpetuity, and successively added to it by inheritance, the Celtic families went on dividing, subdividing, and weakening themselves—a weakness chiefly owing to the law of equality and of equitable division. As this law of precocious equity has been the ruin of these races, let it be their glory also, and secure to them at least the pity and respect of the nations to whom they so early showed so fine an ideal.

This tendency to equality, this levelling disposition, which kept men aloof from each other in matters of right and law, needed the balance of a close and lively sympathy which would attach man to man, though isolated and independent through the equity of the law, by voluntary bonds; and this is what at last took place in France, and accounts for its greatness. By this we are become a nation, while the pure Celts have remained in a state of clanship. The petty society of the clan, formed by the rude bond of a real or fictitious relationship,† was incapacitated from receiving any thing from without, or connecting itself with any thing foreign. The ten thousand men who constituted the clan Campbell were all cousins of the chief,‡ all named Campbells, and were

so little desirous of knowing or being more, as scarcely to recollect that they were Scotch. The small and dry nucleus of the clan has ever proved unfit for purposes of aggregation. Flints serve badly for building, as they do not readily take the mortar;\* whereas Roman brick so affects it, that to this day cement and brick unite in forming in the Roman monuments one compact and indestructible block.

On becoming Christians, one would suppose that the Celtic nations would have been softened into union and fellow feeling. This was not the case. The Celtic Church partook of the nature of the clan. At first, fervent and ardent, it seemed about to take the west by storm. The Pelagian doctrines were eagerly received in Provence, though welcomed but to die there. Later still, while the Germans invade the land from the east, the Celtic Church moves on the west, on Ireland; where intrepid and ardent missionaries land, fired with poetic fervor, and vain of their logical skill. Nothing was ever more wildly imaginative than the barbarous Odysseys of these holy adventurers, these bird-like travellers, who alight in flocks upon Gaul, both before and after St. Columbanus. The impetus is immense; the result small. Vainly do the glowing sparks fall upon this world, drenched with the deluge of German barbarism. St. Columbanus, says his contemporary biographer, was about to cross the Rhine, to convert the Suevi, when a dream stayed him. What the Celts omit, the Germans will accomplish of themselves; and St. Boniface, the Anglo-Saxon, will convert those whom St. Columbanus has disdained. The latter saint passes into Italy; but it is to give battle to the Pope. The Celtic Church separates from the Church Universal, rejects unity and co-operation, and refuses to lose herself humbly in European catholicity. But the Culdees of Ireland and of Scotland, who permitted themselves marriage, and were independent, even while living under the rule of their order, which associated them in small ecclesiastical clans of twelve members each, have to give way before the influence of the Anglo-Saxon monks, disciplined by the Roman missions.

The Celtic Church will perish, as the Celtic State has already. The tribes of Britain, indeed, endeavored, when the Romans abandoned their island, to form a kind of republic.‡ The

\* According to Turner's History of the Anglo-Saxons, i. 223, it was the custom of gavel-kind which delivered Great Britain into the hands of the Saxons, by the incessant subdivision of the possessions of the chiefs into small tyrannies. He cites two remarkable instances from two lives of the Saints.

† It is well known that in Brittany the title of uncle is given to the cousin who is superior by one degree; a custom evidently tending to draw the ties of kindred tighter. Generally speaking, the spirit of clanship has been stronger in Brittany than is supposed, although less dominant among the Celts than the Gauls. See in the Second Part, a note upon Lavigne's important article, *FORGER LES FAC-TEURS*, in the *Glossaire du Dictionnaire*.

‡ But the consequence of these customs was not without its pride and independence. "Stronger than the birds were the vassals," is an old Celtic saying (Liber, i. 192). "The right of primogeniture among the Celts," it was, however, obliged to give way to superiority in military abilities. The anecdote of the young chief of Clunmoron is well known. On his return, he took possession of his estate, observing the profuse quantities of cattle that had been slaughtered to celebrate his arrival, he very indignantly remarked that a few hens might have answered the purpose. This exposure to the feelings of his people were fatal. "We will have nothing to do with a bunch of," said the indignant clansmen, and armed they raised one of his brothers to the dignity. Still they did the Highlanders value the quadrupeds of their commanders, that in the deposition of one whom they considered unworthy, they risked the evil of a deadly feud. On this occasion, the *Triclers*, among whom young Clunmoron had been fostered, took arms to revenge his disgrace; but they were, after a desperate battle, defeated with great slaughter, and the unhappy hen chief dashed on the field."

\* A Breton proverb: "A hundred countries, a hundred way; a hundred parishes, a hundred churches."

Kant bod, kant kis,  
Kant porrez, kant tis.

A Welsh proverb: "Two Welshmen, and a fight."

† See the following book.

‡ We learn from Gildas, p. 8, that the Saxons had a prophecy, according to which they were to ravage Britain for a hundred and fifty years and keep possession of it a hundred and fifty. May not the last clause be an interpolation of the Welsh?

\* A serpent with chains  
Towering and plundering  
With armed wings  
From Germany, &c."

Talrein, p. 94, and Turner, i. p. 312.



is perhaps more apparent than real.\* As for Cornwall, so long the Peru of England, who saw in her only her mines, her fate has been to lose even to her language:†—"There are only four or five of us who speak the language of the country, said an old man in 1776, and they are all old folk like me, from sixty to eighty years of age: not one of the young people know a word of it."

Singular fate of the Celtic world! Of its two great divisions, one, although the least unfortunate, is perishing, wearing away, or at all events losing its language, costume, and character—I allude to the Highlanders of Scotland and the people of Wales, Cornwall, and Brittany.‡ Here we find the serious and moral element of the race, which seems dying of sadness and soon to be extinguished. The other, filled with inexhaustibleness of life, multiplies and increases despite of every thing: it will be felt that I speak of Ireland.

Ireland! poor elder child of the Celtic race, so far from France, her sister, who cannot stretch out her arm to protect her across the waves—the *isle of Saints*,§ the *emerald of the*

\* The Tudors placed the Welsh dragon in the arms of England, as the Stuarts afterwards adorned them with the gloomy Scotch thistle; but the fierce leopards have not admitted either on a footing of equality any more than the Irish harp.

† Memoirs of the London Society of Antiquaries, ii. 305. Thierry, *Conq. de l'Angleterre*, iv. 241.

‡ The paper referred to by the author is in the *fifth* volume of the Transactions of the London Antiquarian Society; being a letter from Daines Barrington, read March 21st, 1776, in continuation of some remarks of his "On the Expiration of the Cornish Language," published in the third volume of the Society's Transactions. Appended to this letter, is a letter written in Cornish and English 'deposited with the Society' sent to him from an aged Cornish fisherman; of which the following is part:—"My age is three score and five, I learnt Cornish when I was a boy, I have been to sea with my father and five other men in the boat, And have not heard a word of English spoken in the boat. For a week together, I never saw a Cornish book, I learned Cornish going to sea with old men, There is not more than four or five in our town, Can talk Cornish now, Old people four-score years old, Cornish is all forgot with young people."

§ This letter is dated Mousehole, July 3d, 1776. It is written in lines of various length, the Cornish above, the English under. The punctuation of the foregoing copy shows the length of each line.—TRANSLATOR.

¶ See the *Cumbræ Briton*, having for motto, KYMRY IT, KYMRY KYMRY. Many laws were passed prohibiting the Irish from speaking their native tongue, and the Welsh as well, about the year 1700. In the principal Welsh grammar schools, particularly in North Wales, Welsh, far from meeting encouragement, has been for many years discontinued by severe penalties. The boys there speak it incorrectly, are unacquainted with its grammar, and unable to write it. *Cumbræ Briton*, 1821. But it appears that the Celtic tongues have taken refuge in literature. In 1711, there existed seventy works printed in Welsh, their number is supposed now to exceed 10,000. *Logan*, ii. 38.—The Celtic dress has undergone no less persecution than the language. In 1585 an act of parliament forbade the natives to assemble in the Irish dress. However, the Irish appear to have given it up in the middle of the seventeenth century with as reluctance as the Scotch Highlanders. It is stated in a Scotch paper of 1750, that a Highlander was acquitted as the individual he killed wore a Tartan dress.

¶ The various enactments against the use of the Highland dress were preceded by a bill introduced into parliament by the Duke of Montrose, in 1582, and the perpetration of the language and dress of the Scotch Gael is one of the main objects of the Celtic Society.—TACETUM.

¶ Gardicus Cambrensis, *Topograph. Hiberniæ*, m. c. 29, reproached the Irish as the only people in the world who did not cement the Church of Christ with blood. "All the saints of this country," he says, "are confessors, but no

sea, all-fertile Ireland, whose men grow in grass, to the terror of England, in whose ears daily shouted—"they are another million"—land of poets, of bold thinkers, of John Ennises, of Berkeley, of Toland, land of Mac-land of O'Connell\*—land of the brilliant spear and lightning sword, which, in the sending of the world, still preserves the power of power. The English may laugh when they hear in some obscure corner of their towns the Irish who improvising the *coronach* over the corpse of a husband—*pleurer à l'Irlandaise*, (to use Irish),† is with them a by-word of scorn. Woe to poor Ireland, and may France weep as well, as she beholds at Paris, over the gate of the Val-de-Grâce which receives your sons, that harp which asks for succor. Let us weep at our inability to give back the blood which they have shed for us. In vain, in less than two centuries, we have four hundred thousand Irish† in our armies. We must witness the suffering of Ireland, without uttering a word. In that manner have we long neglected and forgotten our ancient allies, the Scotch—and the Scotch mountaineer will soon have disappeared from the face of the earth.‡ The Highlands are

myrtyr, which can scarce be paralleled by any other Celtic nation. There has not been found those who cement the foundations of the rising Church with blood. Then, playing on the words of the Psalmist, he exclaims—"There is none that doeth good, no, not one." To which, Maurice, Archbishop of Cashel, replied—"I am true our country boasts of numbers of holy men and warriors, who have enlightened not only Ireland, but all Europe; but we have ever held petty and learning in too much reverence, to injure, much less destroy the promoters of civilisation. Perhaps now, sir," added he, "that your master holds monarchy in his hands, we shall be enabled to add more to our catalogue of saints." The good Archbishop alludes to the murder of Thomas à Becket. O'Halloran, *letter to the Hist. of Ireland*, (Dublin, 1772, p. 121, 183).

\* Since Mirabeau's time, no assembly, I think, has witnessed a finer burst of eloquence than O'Connell's unmediated speech on the 5th of February, 1833.

† Logan, ii. 32. It is an extempore composition, consisting of the virtues and respectability of the dead. At the end of each stanza, a chorus of women and girls swell the notes into a loud, plaintive cry. The last 12 notes, parts, before the last howl, expressive of a dead body, and reproach it for having died, notwithstanding he had a good wife and a milk cow, several fine calves and a competency of potatoes. *Ibid.* 3-3. The lament the coronach appears to have given place to the playful leopards, among the Highlanders.

‡ See in *orig.* (The passage of Logan which the author has introduced into his text, is as follows:—"This wild and barbarous digression has been termed 'the howl,' and gave rise to the expression among the English of 'weeping Irish.'"—TACETUM.

¶ O'Halloran, i. 95, 376. Louis XIV. wrote several letters with his own hand, to press the claims of the Irish Charles II. See, particularly, the letter dated Sept. 2, 1690. O'Halloran states, that, according to the registers of the War Office, 450,000 Irish enlisted under the Penn banners between 1691 and 1745 inclusive. Perhaps a more accurate estimate should include all the Irish who entered the army up to 1750.

¶ The Scotch mountaineers are now compelled to emigrate by want. The land is everywhere converted into pasture. Regiment can hardly be raised there. The patriot may sound: no warriors will reply to it.

The entire passage of Logan, which M. Michoud has condensed into the above note, is as follows:—"The Highland proprietors have of late turned their almost exclusive attention to sheep farming, and have followed the object with so much zeal, that whole districts have been depopulated, that they might be turned into extensive pastures. How far this may be ultimately of advantage!

y unpeopled. The conversion of small fings into large farms, which ruined Rome, destroyed Scotland.\* Estates may be found sixty-six square miles in extent, others twenty as long and three broad ;† so that the Highlander will soon only exist in history and in Walter Scott. When the tartan and claymore

are seen passing, the inhabitants of Edinburgh run to their doors to gaze at the unusual sight. The Highlander expatriates himself and disappears ; and the haggpipe awakens the mountains with but one air\*—

"Cha till, cha till, cha till, ein talle."

We return, we return, we return, no more.

## BOOK THE SECOND.

### THE GERMANS.

#### CHAPTER I.

##### GERMANIC WORLD.—INVASION.—MEROVINGIANS.

BEHIND the old Celtic, Iberian, and Roman rope, so precisely defined by its peninsulas and islands, lay stretched out another world—Germanic and Slavonic world of the north qually, though differently, vast and vague, with its boundaries left indeterminate by war, determined by political revolutions. nevertheless, this indecisive character is ever king in Russia, Poland, and in Germany itself. On our side, the frontiers of the German gauge and population run down into Lorraine and Belgium. Eastward, the Slavonic frontier of Germany has been upon the Elbe, then the Oder, and then,—as unsettled as this cautious stream which so often changes its course. Through Prussia and Silesia, at once Russian and Slavonic, Germany dips towards the boundless world of barbarism. Northward, the sea is hardly a better defined boundary. The sands of Pomerania are the continuation of the bottom of the Baltic ; and there, under the level of the water towns and villages like those threatened to be swallowed up the sea in Holland, Pomerania is but the tide-field of the two elements.

The land is undefined, its inhabitants unsettled. Such at least is the picture given by Tac-

itus in his *De Moribus Germanorum*. He speaks of marshes and forests of greater or smaller extent, as they are cleared and retreat before man, or grow denser in the spots which he has abandoned ; of scattered habitations, and of scanty cultivation, transferred each year to a virgin soil. The forests were alternated with *marches*, vast openings, an indeterminate and common territory, which yielded a path for migrations, the scene of the first attempts at cultivation, and where a few huts would be collected together as caprice dictated. "Their dwellings," says Tacitus, "are not contiguous ; here, they will stop near a spring, there, near a clump of trees." To determine the limits of the *march*, is the all-important office of the forest council—but the limits are not very accurately drawn. "What size," it is asked, "can the husbandman make his plot in the *march* ? As far as he can hurl his hammer." The hammer of Thor is the sign of property, and the instrument of this peaceful conquest over nature.

However, it must not be inferred from these changes of abode, and this desultory mode of cultivation, that they were a nomadic people. They display none of that spirit of adventure which has equally led ancient Celt and modern Tartar over Europe and Asia.

Specific causes are usually assigned for the first migrations of the great Germanic swarm : thus, the Umbri were forced towards the south by an irruption of the ocean, and in the course of their flight hurried numerous nations along with them. War and famine, and a craving for a more genial soil, as is evident from Tacitus, often forced tribe after tribe upon each other ; but when they found a spot to their liking and with natural defences, they settled down there. The Frisians, who have for so many ages remained faithful both to the soil and the customs of their ancestors, are a case in point.

Notwithstanding the lively colors with which Tacitus has delighted to adorn them, the manners of the early inhabitants of Germany do not appear to have differed from those of most

settlers it is not easy to foresee, but its policy is certainly very objectionable. To force so great a number of inhabitants to migrate, and thus deprive the country he serves of a large proportion of the best part of the country is surely a serious national evil. Arguments can only be raised in case of need, in those places where it is not to be seen the number of the military force. The policy may sound through the desert of a but no eager warriors will answer the summons, the nation which peaked in ivory a valley were the plaintive cry of the expropriated clansmen in "Cha till, cha till, ein talle."

Latifundia prodere Italiam Pliny, viii. In Scotland, lords have taken possession of the lands belonging to clans and have converted their suzerainty into property. In Brittany, on the contrary, many farmers who held lands at the lord's pleasure, have become proprietors ; former owners having been deprived of their estates as lord lords.

† Logan, ii. 72.



barbarous nations. The hospitality, deadly spirit of revenge, passionate addiction to gaming, love of fermented drinks, abandonment of agriculture to their women, and numerous traits of the kind supposed by writers unacquainted with any other savage people to be peculiar to the Germans, are common to most races of men in a state of nature. However, they are not to be confounded with the pastoral Tartar or American hunting tribes. The German hordes, more agricultural and less scattered than they, and not covering the same vast spaces, appear to us under softened features, seeming rather barbarian than savage, rather rude than ferocious.

At the time Tacitus described Germany, the Cimbri and Teutons (Ingævones, Istævones) were fading and dying away in the west; the Goths and Lombards were beginning to rise in the east; we hardly hear of the Saxon vanguard, the Angles; and the Frankish confederation was not formed. The Suevi (Hermiones) were the dominant race.\* The prevailing religion, although many tribes may have cherished peculiar local superstitions, consisted, there is every reason to believe, in the worship of the elements, of the groves, and of the fountains;† and every year the goddess Hertha, (*erd*, the earth,) issuing in a covered car from the mysterious forest in which she had placed her sanctuary, in an island of the Northern Ocean,‡ showed herself for adoration.

\* *Majorum enim Germanie partem obtinent.* Tacit. Germ. c. 3.

† When St. Boniface went to convert the Hess, he found that "some sacrificed to groves and fountains privately, others openly." Acta SS. Ord. S. Ben. ser. iii. in S. Bonif.

The adoration of stones in woods and elsewhere was forbidden by a Council of Lateran, in 452. Gregory of Tours states that woods, waters, birds, beasts, stones were worshipped in his time—he wrote in the sixth century; and the Germans were prohibited from sacrifices of auguries beside sacred groves or fountains by Pope Gregory III., about 740. "So difficult is it," says Legun, in 351, from whom the foregoing facts are taken, "to wean people from the religion of their fathers, and that which has been long venerated, that the first Christians were obliged to conciliate their proselytes by tolerating some of their prejudices; perhaps they themselves were somewhat affected by a respect for ancient usages."—TRANSLATOR.

‡ Tacit. Germania, c. 40. "They all agree to worship the goddess Erth, or, as they call her, Herth, whom they consider as the common mother of all. This divinity, according to their notion, interposes in mundane affairs, and, at times, visits the several nations of the globe. A sacred grove on an island in the Northern Ocean is dedicated to her. There stands her sacred chariot, covered with a vestment, to be touched by the priest only. When she takes her seat in this holy vehicle, he becomes immediately conscious of her presence, and in his fit of enthusiasm pursues her progress. The chariot is drawn by cows yoked together. A general festival takes place, and public rejoicings are heard wherever the goddess directs her way. No war is thought of; arms are laid aside, and the sword is sheathed. The sweets of peace are known, and then only relished. At length the same priest declares the goddess satisfied with her visitation, and recomduits her to her sanctuary. The chariot with the sacred mantle, and it we may believe, the goddess herself, are purified in a secret lake. In this ablution certain slaves officiate, and instantly perish in the water. Hence the terrors of superstition are more widely diffused, a religious horror seizes every mind, and all are content in pious ignorance to venerate that awful mystery, which no man can see and live."

May not the *castum nemus* of Tacitus be the holy Isle of the Saxons, *Heigland*, (Heligoland,) situated at the mouth of the Elbe, and which is also called *Þortelsland*, from the name of the idol worshipped there? (A *nomine dei sal falsu*,

Just as we have seen Druidical Gaul established in Gallic Gaul by the invasion of the Cymry, so a new Germany rose above the races and religions, and succeeded the old world of primeval Germany, which, colors vague, and indecisive, bowed down in worn to matter. The invasion of the worshippers, Odin, of the Goths, (Jutes, Gepidæ, Lombard Burgundians,) and of the Saxons, imparted to the Suevic tribes a higher civilization, a bolder and more heroic aspirations: for although the system of Odin was undoubtedly far from having reached the elevation it subsequently attained, particularly in Iceland, it already retained the elements of a nobler life and deeper morality. It promised the brave immortal a paradise, a Valhalla, where they would battle the whole day, and at eve sit down to the feast of heroes: while on earth it spoke them of a sacred city—city of the Asi. As a happy and hallowed spot, from which the Germanic races had been formerly driven, and which was to be the object of their wanderings over the world. It is not improbable that the migrations of the barbarians were some degree prompted by this belief, and in view of the discovery of the sacred city, as other holy city was at a later age the object of the crusades.

There is an essential difference to be seen among the Odinic tribes. The Goths, Lombards, and Burgundians, looked up to and fought under military chiefs, as the Amali and Balth and the spirit of warlike fellowship, of the *comitatus*, described by Tacitus in the case of the Germans, was all-powerful among these people:—"Where merit is conspicuous, no blushes to be seen in the list of followers

FORETE. Foetelsland est appellata. Acta SS. Ord. S. Ben. ser. 4. p. 25. According to Adam de Bremen, it was in Norway by name, even in the eleventh century Pontanus describes it in 1230. It consisted of two islands, Mont St. Michel and the rock of Helph. See Ten Hist. of the Anglo-Saxons, i. 125. The sea, which swallowed up North Strand in 1624, nearly swallowed Heligoland in 1649.—Since 1814, this Danish Isle, which is the cradle of their ancestors, has belonged to the Eng. Its arms are: a vessel under full sail.

Gibbon supposes the Isle of Rugen to be the island question; and, with respect to the suspension of war at the presence of the goddess, observes, "The story of *Erth*, so often and so imperfectly preserved by the clergy of the eleventh century, was an obvious imitation of this ancient custom." Decline and Fall, vol. 4. c. 1. p. 1. See also, quoted by him, Dr. Robertson's Hist. of Charles vol. 1. note 10.—TRANSLATOR.

\* Consult an interesting memoir, by M. Less, on the worship of Odin in Germany.—In Regnar Lodbrog's Saga. Normans are represented as going to seek Rome, of which time and splendour they have heard so much. From Lunn, they take it for Rome, and plunder it. Finding a mistake, they set out again, and meet an old man, who shows on his feet. He tells them that he is from Rome, but that it is so far off that he has already worn a similar pair of shoes, at which they lose heart.—See 1 pere, Sur la Littérature du Nord.

\* Jordanes, c. 13. 14 has given the genealogy of the denie, the fourteenth offspring of the race of the As beginning with Gapt, one of the *asj* or *demigods*, of wondrous origin," says the same author. See Gibbon, i. 41 and vi. c. 39.—Baltha, or Boto, (hence the English, *bat*)—Alaric was of this illustrious stock. The family of the belonging to Provence and to Naples, boast their descent from the Balti. Gibbon, i. 394, vii. 2.

COMPANIONS. A clanship is formed in this manner, with degrees of rank and subordination. The chief judges the pretensions of all, and assigns to each man his proper station. A spirit of emulation prevails among his whole ain, all struggling to be first in favor, while the chief places all his glory in the number and sturdiness of his companions. In that consists his dignity, to be surrounded by a band of young men is the source of his power; in peace, his rightest ornament; in war, his strongest bulwark. Nor is his fame confined to his own country; it extends to foreign nations, and is one of the first importance, if he surpasses his equals in the number and courage of his followers. He receives presents from all parts; ambassadors are sent to him; and his name alone is often sufficient to decide the issue of a war. In the field of action, it is disgraceful to the prince to be surpassed in valor by his companions; and not to vie with him in martial deeds, is equally a reproach to his followers. If he falls on the field, he who survives him survives in infamy. All are bound to defend their leader, to succeed him in the heat of action, and to make even their own actions subservient to his renown. This is the bond of union, the most sacred obligation. The chief fights for victory, the followers for their chief. If, in the course of a long peace, the people relax into sloth and indolence, it often happens that the young nobles seek a more active life in the service of other states engaged in war. The German mind cannot brook repose. The field of anger is the field of glory. Without violence and rapine, a train of dependents cannot be maintained. The chief must show his liberality, and the follower expects it. He demands at one time the warlike horse, at another, that retires, a lance imbued with the blood of the enemy. The prince's table, however magnificent, must always be plentiful—it is the only pay of his followers. War and depredation are the rays and means of the chieftain.\*

In the other branch of the Olden tribe this principle of attachment to a chief—this personal devotion and worship of man by man, which at a later period became the vital principle of feudalism, is of late development. The Saxons seem at first to have been strangers to this warlike hierarchy mentioned by Tacitus. Equal under the gods, and under the Asiatic children of the gods, their chiefs had no authority over them, except when supposed to be divinely commissioned. The very names of Asiatic and Saxon are perhaps identical†. They were divided into three nations and twelve tribes, and

every other division was so obnoxious to them, that when the Lombards invaded Italy, the Saxons refused to follow them, through dislike to conform to the military division of tens and hundreds in use among their allies.\* It was not till a late period—some, indeed, state not till Alfred's time—when, hemmed in between the Franks and Slaves, they betook themselves to the ocean and threw themselves upon England, that the authority of military chieftainship and division into *hundreds* prevailed among them.

Once established in the north of Germany, the Saxons seem to have long remained sedentary, while the Goths or Jutes, on the contrary, undertook distant expeditions, migrating into Scandinavia and Denmark, and appearing almost at the same time on the Danube and the Baltic; vast expeditions which could never have been undertaken except the entire population had formed one band, and the *comitatus*, the apprenticeship to war, had been organized under hereditary chiefs. Pressing on all the Germanic tribes, the latter were obliged to put themselves in motion,—either to give place to the new-comers, or to follow them in their wanderings. The youngest and the boldest arrayed themselves under leaders, and began a life of war and adventures—another trait common to all barbarous nations. In Lusitania and ancient Italy the young men were drafted off to the mountains, and, among the Sabelli, the banishment of part of the population was regularly organized, and consecrated by the appellation of *rex sacrorum*†. These banished or banned men, (*banditti*), thrust out of their country into the world, and out of the pale of the law (*outlaws*) into a state of warfare, these wolves, (*predators*) as they were called in the north,‡ constitute the adventurous and poetic portion of all ancient nations.

The young and heroic form which the Germanic race happened to assume in the eyes of the old Latin world, has been imagined the invariable character of the race, and historians, whose authority has great weight with me, have considered that we are indebted to the Germans for the spirit of independence and the genius of free personality. Before subscribing, however, to this opinion, it should be ascertained whether all races have not, in similar situations, presented similar characteristics. As the Germans were the last who arrived of the barbarians, may not the qualities which have composed the barbarian genius of all ages have been ascribed to them? May we not even say that their successes over the empire are attributable to their readiness to band together in large armaments, and to their hereditary attachment to the families of their chiefs—in a

\* The slave is from Murphy's translation.

† *Saxones, Saxon, Sars, As, Ari*. Tacitus i. 115. But some think *Saxer Sars* some of the *Sacer*, conquerors of Germania. Ptolemy says that the *Sakai* settled in Armenia called themselves *Saccaseni* (i. e. c. 11) the province of Armenia where they were was called *Saccaseni*. Murphy at p. 170. We find *Sars* on the Euxine. Strabo at l. vi. c. 1. p. 657. Ptolemy calls a *Syrthian* people, sprung from the *Sakai*, *Saxones*.

\* I am sorry that the author in whom I have read this important fact has slipped my memory.

† See my *History of Rome*, 2d edit. i. 30.

‡ Jacob Grimm *Deutsche Rechts Alterthümer*, 1808, p. 200.

word, to that personal devotion and submissiveness to order which have in every age been characteristic of Germany; so that what has been adduced in proof of the indomitable spirit and strong individuality of the German warriors, is, on the contrary, the sign of the eminently social, docile, and flexible genius of the Germanic race!\*

When Alaric swears that an unknown power draws him on towards the gates of Rome, we recognise in the fact that manly and youthful buoyancy of spirit, characteristic of the free-man of the illimitable forest, who, lord of the world, in the joyousness of his strength and liberty, is borne as if on ocean to unknown shores, or rushes on like the wild horse of the steppes and pampas. The same intoxication of spirit prevails in the Danish pirate, who proudly careers over the seas, and animates the glade where Robin Hood sharpens his good arrow against the sheriff. But is not the same discernible in the Gallician guerilla, in the Don Luis of Calderon, the *enemy of the law*? Is it less striking in those joyous Gauls who followed Cæsar under the standard of the lark, and marched singing to the capture of Rome, Delphi, and Jerusalem? Is not this character of free personality, of the boundless pride of the *I*, equally marked in the Celtic philosophy, in Pelagius, Abelard, and Descartes; while the mystic and ideal have been the almost invariable characteristics of the German philosophy and theology?†

From the day that, according to the beautiful Germanic legend, the *Wargus* threw dust upon all his kindred, and cast grass over his shoulders, and leaped with his staff the small enclosure of his field, from that day—whether

\* We must carefully separate from our idea of primitive Germany the two forms under which she has presented herself externally: firstly, as bands of adventurous barbarians who descended upon the south, and entered the empire as conquerors and as mercenary soldiers; secondly, as lawless pirates, who, at a later period, when stopped in their progress westward by the Franks, left first the banks of the Elbe, and then the shores of the Baltic, to plunder England and France. Both committed fearful ravages.—Undoubtedly, great misery must have followed the first contact of races, strangers alike in habits and in language: still, the conquered omitted no exaggeration, to increase their own terror.

† In another work I have pointed out the profound impersonality which is the characteristic of German genius, and I shall return to the subject in this. The singular complexion, which is very remarkable in the youth of Germany, frequently throws this characteristic into the shade; and while this ebullience of blood lasts, the German displays much hearty impulse and blind enthusiasm. Nevertheless, the fundamental character of the German mind is impersonality.—See my *Introduction à l'Histoire Universelle*. This point has been admirably seized in ancient sculpture. To illustrate my meaning, I would refer to the colossal busts of the captive Daci, in the new wing of the Vatican, and to the polychrome statues—far inferior, it is true, to these—which are in the vestibule of our Museum. The Daci of the Vatican, with their enormous proportions and forest of wild hair, suggest no idea of barbarian ferocity, but rather that of immense brute power, like the ox and the elephant presenting, as well, a singularly indecisive and vague air. They see, but without seeming to look; just like the statue of the Nile, also in the Vatican, and Viotti's charming statue of the Seine, in the Lyons' Museum. I have often noticed and been struck with this indecision of look in the most eminent men of Germany.

he tossed a feather in the air\* to direct choice of road, or hesitated with Attila between attacking the empire of the East or the West†—hope and the world were the German's!

It is out of the amplitude of this poetic\* that the Germanic beau-ideal had its origin personified by the Scandinavian Sigurd—Siegfried or Dietrich Von Bern of Germany. In this colossal figure are combined: Greece divided—heroic strength and the passion for travel—Achilles and Ulysses; *Siegfried overran many countries by the strength of his arm.*‡ But, with the Germans, the man of craft, so lauded by the Greeks, is accented in the person of the perfidious Hagen, the murderer of Siegfried; Hagen, of the pale face, one-eyed and monstrous dwarf, who has crept into the entrails of the earth, who knows everything, and whose sole desire is mischief. The conquest of the North is typified in Sigurd that of the South, in Dietrich Von Bern. (The doric of Verona!) By the side of Hagen's tomb, the silent town of Ravenna guards the tomb of Theodoric: an immense rotunda, whose dome—a single stone—seems to have been raised by the hands of the giants. Perhaps this is the only Gothic monument now existing in the world; though there is nothing so massiveness to suggest the idea of that bold and light style of architecture which goes under the name of Gothic, and which, in fact, the expression of the mystic soaring of Christianity in the middle ages. It may rather be compared to the massive building of the Pægi, in the tombs of Etruria and of Argolis.

The venturous inroads of the Germans on the empire, and their service as mercenaries to the Roman armies, often brought them into contact with each other. At Florence, the Vandal Stilicho defeated his countrymen, who were in the huge barbarian army of Rhodas. The Scythian, Ætius, defeated the Serbs in the plains of Châlons—where the Franks fought both for and against Attila. What a hurry the German tribes into these fratricidal wars! It is that terrible fatality spoken of in the Edda and the Nibelungen: it is gold of which Sigurd rifles the dragon Fafnir and which is to be his own destruction, the fatal gold which passes into the hands of the murderers, in order to prove their death at the banquet of the grasping Attila.

The object of wars, the end of heroic ex-

\* See the forms of entrance into the German Campaign, translated by me in the notes to my *Introduction à l'Histoire Universelle*.

† Priscus, in Corp. Hist. Byzantine, p. 40.

‡ *Durch eines Lutes Stetche er zelt in manegen Land Der Nibelungen Not.*

Cornelius, and it is to be regretted, appears in his noble frescoes to have remembered the German Nibelung rather than the Scandinavian Edda and Sagas.

§ See the admirable article by M. Ampère in the *Jour. des Deux Mondes*, August 1st, 1833.

|| See the voyage, or rather the epopee, of *Ragnar* in 1830.

is, are gold and woman—heroic, with respect to the exertion, for love with this people uses none of its softening qualities. Woman's grace consists in her strength and colossalize. Reared by a man, by a warrior, ferocious coldness of the Germanic temperaments arms are familiar to the virgin's hand. In Brunhild, Siegfried must launch his in against her; while she, in the amorous gle, must with her strong hands make the spurt out of the fingers of the hero. In tive Germany, woman was yet bowed to the earth she cultivated; she grew the midst of war, and became the sharer of dangers of man, the partner of his fate and death, (*sic erendum, sic peccandum*.)

She shrinks not from the field of battle coolly faces and presides over it, being the spirit of battles, the charming and de Valkyria, who gathers the soul of the warrior, as you gather a flower. She him on the deathful plain, as the *scand* Edith sought for Harold after the battle stings, or like that courageous Englishman who turned over the corpses of Water—discover the body of her youthful hus-

Eugenius whom he had invested with the purple, were, in point of fact, emperors.\*

In this prostration of the empire of the West, which yielded itself up to the barbarians, the old Celtic populations, the indigenes of Gaul and of Britain, rose up and chose their own rulers. Maximus, who as well as Theodosius† was a Spaniard, was raised to the empire by the legions of Britain, (A. D. 383.) He landed at St. Malo with a swarm of islanders, and defeated the troops of Gratian, who, with his Frankish chief, Mellobaud, was put to death. These British auxiliaries settled in our Armorica under their conan or chief, Meriadec, or rather, Murdoch, who is said to have been first count of Brittany.‡ Spain willingly submitted to the Spaniard Maximus, and this able prince soon wrested Italy from the young Valentinian II., the brother-in-law of Theodosius. Thus the whole west was united by an army, partly composed of Britons, and commanded by a Spaniard.

It was by the aid of the Germans§ that Theodosius triumphed over Maximus. His army, consisting principally of Goths, invaded Italy,¶ while the Frank, Arbogastes, effected a diversion through the valley of the Danube. The latter chief remained all-powerful under Valentinian II., got rid of him, and reigned three years in the name of the rhetorician Eugenius, and it was likewise to the Goths that

#### INVASION OF THE EMPIRE BY THE BARBARIANS. (A. D. 375.)

on occasion of the first migration of barbarians into the empire,§ is well known. Till ear 375, only partial incursions and invasions occurred. At that period, the Goths, worn with the incursions of the Hunnic cavalry, rendered all cultivation impossible, ob- permission to cross the Danube as sol- of the empire, which they sought to de- and cultivate. Converts to Christianity, had been already softened by intercourse he Romans. Stripped in famine and de- by the oppression of the imperial agents, ravaged the provinces between the Black nd the Adriatic; incursions which served manize them the more, both by the lux- they enjoyed and their intercourse with dles of the conquered. Bought over at ree by Theodosius, they twice gained him nire of the West. The Franks had at ined the upper hand in this empire, as oths had in the others, and their chiefs, dard, under Gratian, Arbogastes, under antian II., and then under the rhetorician

\* Zosm. l. iv. sp. Script. R. Fr. i. 564. "Arbogastes was of consequence enough to be able to speak boldly to the King, and even to prevent the execution of any orders that struck him as being improper or unbecoming." Paul. Oros. l. vi. c. 35. "He dared to raise Eugenius to the purple, and give him the name of emperor, reserving the power to himself." Prosper. Aquitan. ann. 384. Marcellin. Chron. ap. Scr. R. Fr. i. 630.

† Hinc ubi Germanis funulum delegat eunti.

‡ Hinc the Germani, ubi chose for servant

§ In the contemporary language of Claudius, in Cons. Honor. 74.

¶ Zosm. l. iv. c. 47. "Secretly," says Zosm. in Syriac Dialog. p. 7, says of him that, "he would have been a perfect monarch, had he been rejected the crown or obtained from a tyrant." Some authors state that he was elected emperor against his will." Paul. Oros. l. vi. c. 11. 4.

§ Sulpicius Galba observes, had been his subject.—Fraser's Hist.

¶ The date of the island of Britain. "The leaders of the three separate expeditions from the island were Ellen, prince of the Britons, and Cynon his brother, both of Meriadec in Armorica, where they obtained lands, power, and sovereignty, from the emperor Maximus, as the purchase of their support against the Romans." "None of them returned, but they remained there, and in 450, Cynon, when the Goths had themselves." In 462, a bishop of the Britons attended the council of Tours. In 466, Anthelmus summoned to his aid twelve thousand British auxiliaries. They were commanded by Rothomagus, one of the independent kings or chieftains of Britain, who sailed up the Loire, and established his quarters in Berry. Jornandes, de Bel. Geticis, c. 45. Turner Hist. of the Anglo-Saxons, p. 262, thinks that the Britons did not settle in Armorica till the year 452, the date assigned to that event by the chronicler of Mont St. Michel. "There can be no doubt that from the remotest antiquity a constant flow and ebb of emigration induced by motives of commerce, and especially of religion, took place between Great Britain and Armorica. See Coxe's." The only question about which there can be any dispute is the date of emigration for the purpose of conquest.

¶ Maximus also had Germans in his pay. Galba, vol. v. p. 47.

¶ p. 14. and p. 34.

§ The opening of the Nalaga. — Sylvain de Provençat. "The Goths are a treacherous but chaste race. The numbers, fertility, but morals of chastity."

§ German. v. c. 15. "The intrepid warrior who had braved every danger, here met in time of peace a diligent." The management of his house and lands as to the women, to the old men, and to the infirm.

§ great work of Augustin Thierry on the invasions of barbarians is not only looked for. The subject is handled by History of the Roman Empire from Chron. Ad rebellum hanc concitavit.

Theodosius was chiefly indebted for his victory over this usurper.\*

Under Honorius, the rivalry of the Goth Alaric and of the Vandal Stilicho deluged Italy for ten years with blood. The Vandal, appointed guardian of Honorius by Theodosius, had the emperor of the West in his power. The Goth, nominated to the command of the province of Illyria by Arcadius, emperor of the East, vainly solicited from Honorius permission to repair thither. Meanwhile, Britain, Gaul, and Spain recovered their independence under the Briton, Constantine. The revolt of one of this emperor's generals,† and, perhaps, the rivalry between Spain and Gaul, prepared the way for that ruin of the new Gallic empire, which was consummated by the reconciliation of Honorius and the Goths. Ataulph, Alaric's brother, married Placidia, the sister of Honorius; and his successor, Wallia, made Toulouse the head-quarters of his bands, employed as a federal militia in the service of the empire, (A. D. 411.) However, that empire soon no longer needed a militia in Gaul, but voluntarily abandoning the province, as it had already given up Britain, concentrated itself in Italy—there to expire. In proportion as it contracted its limits, the Goths enlarged theirs, occupying in the space of half a century Aquitaine and the whole of Spain.

The dispositions of these Goths towards Gaul were any thing but hostile. In their long passage through the empire they had learned to view with wonder and respect the prodigious fabric of Roman civilization, frail and ready to crumble away, undoubtedly, but still standing and in its splendor; and, after the first brutal excesses of invasion, simple and docile, they had submitted themselves to the discipline of the conquered; and the ambition of their chiefs sought as its highest object the title of restorers of the empire—a fact proved by the following memorable words of Ataulph which have been handed down to us:

"I remember," says a writer of the fifth century, "having heard the blessed Jerome relate at Bethlehem his having heard from a citizen of Narbonne who had risen to high offices under the emperor Theodosius, and was, moreover, a religious, wise, and grave man, and who had enjoyed in his native city the friendship of Ataulph, that the king of the Goths, who was a high-hearted and large-minded man, was in the habit of saying that his warmest ambition at first had been to annihilate the name of Rome, and to erect out of its ruins a new empire, to be called the Gothic, so that, to employ the terms commonly used, all that had been ROMANIA should become GOTHIA, and he himself play the same

part that Cæsar Augustus formerly did, that becoming convinced by experience the Goths were incapable, from their barbarism, of obedience to the laws, which a republic ceases to be a republic had resolved to seek glory by devoted might of the Goths to the integral re-estimation and even increase of the power of the Roman name, so that he might be regarded by posterity as the restorer of that empire, he found himself unable to transplant. In view he abstained from war, and devoted his care to the cultivation of peace."‡

The quartering of the Goths on the provinces was no new or strange fact. Emperors had long had barbarians in the provinces, who, under the name of guests, lodged with the Roman; and the presence of these new-comers was, in the first instance, a signal benefit, by completing the overthrow of the imperial tyranny, for the agents of the empire gradually withdrawing, the evil of the empire ceased of itself; and the provinces, restricted henceforward to the administration of the municipalities, themselves relieved from the loads which the central government had weighed down. It is true that the barbarians took possession of two-thirds of the land in the provinces where they settled; but, considering the quantity of land which had been thrown out of cultivation, this must have been, comparatively speaking, but an inconsiderable gain. Sometimes, too, the barbarians appear to have entertained scruples with respect to such a complete assumption of property, and to have respected the Roman proprietors. Paulinus, a poet, who had been reduced to poverty by the final success of Ataulph, and had retired to Marseilles, mentions his surprise at receiving one day the value of one of his estates, which had been sent him by its new owner.†

The Burgundians, who established themselves westward of the Jura, about the time of the settlement of the Goths in Aquitaine, were, perhaps, a still milder race. "The nature, which is one of the present characteristics of the Germanic race, was early displayed by the Burgundians. Before their entrance into the empire, they very generally pursued some trade, and were carpenters or smiths: they supported themselves by labor in the intervals of peace, and were free from that twofold pride of the provinces, and of the idle proprietor, which now constitutes the insolence of the other barbarian conquerors. . . . Established as masters in the domes

\* The post of honor was assigned them in the battle, *Id. ibid.* p. 22.

† Gerontius, who had commanded in Spain during the absence of Constantine's son. *Zosim. l. vi. ap. Ser. R. Fr. l. 596. Bozomen, l. 12. ib. 605.*

\* P. Oros. l. vii. c. 43. The passage has been quoted by Thierry, *Lettres sur l'Histoire de France*.  
† The Heruli and Lombards contested themselves the third.

‡ Paulinus, in *Eucharist. v. 564-561. ed. 1697, in See also l'Hist. Lat. de Fr. 363-369.*

§ Socrates, l. vii. c. 30. ap. Ser. R. Fr. l. 604. *Quia nos fore sicut fabri lignarii, et ex hac arte marcedinem et semetipsum alunt.*



as he passes his hands through the hair of his young son. There they sit, those Greeks who come even into the lion's den, to lay snares for him! He knows all; but is satisfied with returning the emperor the purse with which he had thought to purchase his death, and with addressing him this overwhelming message:—"Attila and Theodosius are sons of very noble fathers. But Theodosius, by paying tribute, is fallen from his nobility, and has become Attila's slave. It is not fit that he should conspire against his master, like a vile serf."

He disdained all other vengeance; but exacted some thousand ounces of gold the more. When payment of the tribute was not made to the day, the following notice, delivered by a slave, sufficed to secure its immediate transmission:—"Attila, my lord and thy lord, is coming to see thee. He orders thee to get a palace ready for him in Rome."\*

And what would have been the gain to this Tartar to have conquered the empire! He could not have breathed in its walled cities or marble palaces. Better did he love his wooden village, with its huts adorned with paint and hangings, and its thousand kiosks, flaunting in a hundred different colors, scattered in the green meadows of the Danube. Thence he yearly took his departure with his innumerable cavalry, and the German bands which followed him whether they would or not. At enmity with Germany, he yet made use of Germany. His ally, the Vandal Genseric, who had settled in Africa,† was the enemy of Germany. The Vandals having turned aside from Germany through Spain, and changed the Baltic for the Mediterranean, infested the south of the empire while Attila laid waste the north. The Vandal Stilicho's hatred of the Goth, Alaric, reappears in Genseric's hate of the Goths of Toulouse. He sought in marriage, and then cruelly mutilated the daughter of their king. He called Attila against them into Gaul. A contemporary historian (of slight authority, it is true) states that his countryman Etius,‡ general of the Western empire, had also invited his presence, in the hope that the Goths and Huns might exterminate each other. Attila's path was marked by the ruin of Metz and of numerous other cities. An idea may be formed of the impres-

sion left\* by this terrible event, from the numerous legends that grew out of it. Troyes was saved by the merits of St. Lupus. God bore St. Servatius to himself to spare him the grief of seeing the ruin of Tongres. Paris was saved by the prayers of St. Genevieve;† and Orleans stoutly defended by Bishop Anianus. This barbarian, while the battering-ram was shaking the walls, asked, in the midst of his prayers, whether any thing was seen coming. Twice he was answered, no; but on asking the third time, it was told that a small cloud was visible in the horizon—it was the Goths and Romans who were coming to the aid of the citizens.‡

Idatius gravely asserts that two hundred thousand Goths, with their king, Theodoric, fell in a battle with Attila, near this town. His son Thorismund burns to avenge him; but the prudent Etius, who equally feared the triumph of either party, seeks Attila under cover of night and tells him—"You have destroyed but the smallest part of the Goths, who will bear down upon you to-morrow in such multitudes, that you will find it difficult to escape;" and, in gratitude, Attila presents him with a thousand pieces of gold. Then, repairing to Thorismund, Etius tells a similar tale to him; and, before he awakens his fears that if he does not hasten to return to Toulouse, his brother will usurp his throne. For this good advice, Thorismund, in his turn, gives him ten thousand solidi; and both armies quickly take opposite routes.§

The Goth, Jornandes, who wrote a century afterwards, does not fail to add to the fables of Idatius; but he gives all the glory to the Goths and attributes the employment of treachery to Etius, but Attila—all whose enmity is directed against the king of the Goths, Theodoric.|| Attila is represented as leading the Gaul the collective barbarians of the North to the East;¶ and a frightful battle is delivered between the whole Asiatic, Roman, and German world, three hundred thousand of whom

\* Italy retained as sensible an impression of the invasion of the same barbarian. In a battle, fought at the very gate of Rome, both parties were said to have perished to a man "but their spirits rose, and fought with unwearied fury three days and three nights." Damascus, ap. Phot. lib. p. 1080.

† According to the legend, it was on his retreat from Orleans that Attila massacred the eleven thousand virgins of Cologne.

‡ Greg. Tur. l. ii. c. 7. *Aspicite de muni civitatis, ad miseriam jam succurrat. . . . Aspicite iterum, &c.*

§ Idatius, ap. Proleg. Ser. R. Fr. ii. 462. The error given by Prolegatus are regarded with suspicion.

|| Jornandes, c. 36, ap. Ser. R. Fr. ii. 23.

¶ See Jornandes, ibid., and the notes of the editor. "The greater part of the army collected by Etius, a Gaul must have been composed of Franks, supported by 8 moderns to have been Salians, and subjects of Merovingians, of Burgundians, who had established their army, forty years before, near the lake of Geneva, of 80,000 men, who had pressed into Gaul at the time of the gothic invasion in 406, of Alani of Orleans, or of Valentin of Thoulouse, of Bretons, cantoned in Britain, of Armorican soldiers, perhaps, from the province which had shaken off the yoke; and of Leti, or veteran barbarians, whose services had been rewarded with a gift of lands, granted on condition of their defending them." Monod, Hist. des Français, l. 136, who cites Jornandes, c. 3

bridges." Jornandes, c. 24. "They are fearfully swarthy; their face a shagreened lump, if I may so speak, rather than a human countenance, and having two dots for eyes."

Gibbon, quoting the same passage, observes, "Jornandes draws a strong caricature of a Calmuck face."—TRANSLATOR.

\* Chron. Alexandrin. p. 734.

† Jornandes, ap. Ser. R. Fr. i. 22. "By lavish presents, Genseric induces Attila to fall on the Visigoths." &c.

‡ Greg. Tur. l. ii. ap. Ser. R. Fr. i. 163. "Gaudentine, Etius's father, was a man of the first rank in the province of Scythia." Jornandes, ap. Ser. R. Fr. i. 22, says that "he was descended from the valiant Mero, and born in Dorostorum." Etius had been a hostage to the Huns. (Greg. Tur. loc. cit.) Orestes, the father of Augustulus, the last emperor of the West, and the Hun, Eticron, the father of Chlodeber, the conqueror of Italy, figure among the ambassadors of Attila. See the account given by Priscus.

dies strew the field. Attila, in danger of being forced in his camp, rears an immense general pile of the saddles of his cavalry, and takes his station by it, torch in hand, ready to cut it.

In this recital, however, there is one fearful circumstance, which admits of no doubt. On the sides, the combatants were, for the most part, brethren,—Franks against Franks, Ostroths against Visigoths.† After so long a separation, the tribes meet only to fight and slaughter each other. This circumstance is touchingly alluded to in the *Nibelungen*, when, in reference to the wife of Attila, the Margrave widower, shedding big tears, attacks the Burgundians whom he loves, and in his duel with Agnès, lends him his buckler.‡ Still more pathetic is the song of Hildebrand and Hadubrand.—The father and son, who have been any years separated, meet at the other end of the world, but the son does not recognise a father, and the bitter alternative left to the father is to slay his son or perish.§

\* *Journal*, p. 40. "Japan is the country, we say, in which we observe the arrangement of things in order by us. In the Nishizawa Chōrō, it fits the total picture of the country."

ness of the fact in which her brothers are  
 \* The Avars, with the King Theodore, fought on  
 side of the Romans, the Ostrogoths and the Gepids  
 with the Huns. It was an Ostrogoth who saw Theo-  
 dose.

Wie gerne ich dir wars gut in deinem Schicksal  
 Daß du dich nicht in die Welt verlorst!  
 Daß du in den hohen Himmeln fragten und dich hast  
 Hingebend dem großen und der Pforten: —

It is a pleasure to have you here, and I am sure you will find the trip well worth the effort.

**A** major objective of the study was to determine whether the use of the RBS-R could identify children who had been exposed to violence.

The *Journal of Health Politics, Policy and Law* is a peer-reviewed journal that publishes research on the political, economic, and social determinants of health. The journal is published by the American Public Health Association (APHA) and is available online through the APHA website. The journal is a leading source of information on health policy and practice, and is read by a wide range of health professionals and scholars.

1. The first is the *Myth of the American Dream*. The American Dream is the idea that anyone can become rich and famous if they work hard enough. This is a dangerous myth because it suggests that success is based on individual effort alone, ignoring the role of luck and privilege. The American Dream is a myth because it is not based on reality. It is a story that we tell ourselves to make sense of the world. It is a story that is based on the idea that success is based on individual effort alone. This is a dangerous myth because it suggests that success is based on individual effort alone, ignoring the role of luck and privilege. The American Dream is a myth because it is not based on reality. It is a story that we tell ourselves to make sense of the world. It is a story that is based on the idea that success is based on individual effort alone.

As a result, the  $\beta$  parameter is not a good indicator of the degree of the nonlinearity of the  $p$  response. In fact, the  $\beta$  parameter is not a good indicator of the degree of the nonlinearity of the  $p$  response. In fact, the  $\beta$  parameter is not a good indicator of the degree of the nonlinearity of the  $p$  response.

[illegible]

With his father was Father David's wife, and  
 together they had a very good time. The children  
 were all very happy. He went with the other children  
 and was very happy. They were all very happy.

[illegible][illegible][illegible]

...the West on the way of the Vande that H. of trach. ...  
...H. of trach. ... a great battle there. There is ...  
...H. of trach. ... I see by thy arm ...  
...that they have not yet ...

And what a life is mine. This summer  
and this winter have I been wandering a homeless and  
oppressed man. Ever have I been seen in the thick of

Attila withdrew ; but the empire could take no advantage of his retreat. Who then remained masters of Gaul ? apparently the Goths and Burgundians. These people could not fail to have invaded the central countries, which, like Auvergne, persisted in remaining Roman. But were not the Goths themselves Roman ? Their kings chose their ministers from the conquered. Theodoric II. employed the pen of the ablest man of Gaul, and was proud to have the elegance of the letters written in his name admired. The declaimer, Cassiodorus, was minister to the great Theodoric, the adopted son of the emperor Zeno, and king of the Ostrogoths who had settled in Italy. The learned Amalasontha, Theodoric's daughter, spoke Greek and Latin fluently ; and her cousin, husband, and murderer, Theodatus, affected the language of a philosopher.

The Goths had succeeded but too well in reconstructing the empire. With the reappearance of the imperial administration, all its abuses had followed. Severe regulations in favor of the Roman landed proprietors had kept up slavery. Indeed, from their long sojourn in the East, with the tenets current at Constantinople, the Goths had brought thence the Arianism of the Greeks, by which Christianity was reduced to mere philosophy, and the Church made a pendant of the State. They were detested by the Catholic clergy, whom they suspected, not without cause, of eating in the Franks.

the battle, and has now been taken back to the field hospital in the city of London, where he is recovering from his wounds. He has been severely wounded, but he is now recovering from his wounds. He has been severely wounded, but he is now recovering from his wounds. He has been severely wounded, but he is now recovering from his wounds.

When we got to the Frank's house these parts were there  
very much altered. A high wall springing from them took us there  
to the house. The house was built upon the hill. A young  
man came out to meet us. He was a very good looking man, and  
he was very kind. He showed us the house, and he showed us the  
place where the Frank's were buried. He showed us the place where  
the Frank's were buried. He showed us the place where the Frank's  
were buried. He showed us the place where the Frank's were buried.

[illegible]



the barbarians of the north. The same suspicions were entertained by the milder Burgundians; and this common distrust rendered the government daily more severe and tyrannical. It is known that the Gothic law derived the first hint of the inquisition from the proceedings of the imperial courts.\*

#### CONFEDERATION OF THE FRANKS.

The Franks were the more longed for, that no one, perhaps, knew what they were.† They were not a people, but a confederation, which varied in its members as it fluctuated in its influence, but which must have been powerful at the close of the fourth century, under Mellobaud and Arbogastes. At this period the Franks had indisputably large possessions in the empire. Under the name of Franks, Germans of every race composed the best troops of the imperial armies‡ and the body-guard of the emperor.§ Floating between Germany and the empire, they generally declared against the other barbarians, whose irruptions into Gaul

succeeded theirs. They opposed, though unsuccessfully, the great invasion of the Burgundians, Suevi, and Vandals, in 406,\* and many of them fought against Attila. At a later period we shall see them, under Clovis, defeating the Germans near Cologne, and preventing the crossing the Rhine. Still pagans, and from their roving life on the frontier no doubt loosely attached to any religious system, they must have proved easy converts to the clergy of Gaul. At this epoch the rest of the barbarians were Arians; and they all were of different race and had a distinct nationality. The Franks alone, a mixed people, seemed hovering indifferently on the frontier, ready to take the impression of any idea, influence, or religion. They alone received Christianity through the Latin Church; that is, in its complete form, and with its lofty poetry. Rationalism may follow civilization; but it would only wither barbarism dry up its life-blood, and strike it with pain. Seated in the north of France, in the north-west corner of Europe, the Franks held the ground against the pagan Saxons, the latest swarm from Germany, against the Arian Visigoths, and finally against the Saracens, all then equally hostile to the divinity of Jesus Christ. Therefore, it is not without reason that our ancestors have been styled the eldest sons of the Church.

The Church made the fortune of the Franks. It would have seemed that the establishment of the Burgundian monarchy, the greatness of the Goths—masters of Spain and Aquitaine—the formation of the Armenian confederates and that of a Roman kingdom at Soissons;‡ Egidius,† must have confined the Franks in the Carbonarian forest between Tournai and the Rhine.‡ But they induced the Armenians to join their hands, at least those settled at the mouths of the Somme and Seine.§ and the Sax-

\* Montesquieu, *Esprit des Loix*, l. xviii. c. 1.

† The Franks had invaded Gaul in 251, during the reign of Gallienus, and had made their way through Spain as far as Mountana. Zosimus, l. i. p. 646. Aurel. Victor, c. 33. In 277, Probus twice defeated them on the Rhine, and settled numbers of them on the shores of the Black Sea. The strange voyage of these pirates is well known. Tired of exile, they set sail in order to revisit their beloved Rhine, and, landing on their way the coasts of Asia, Greece, and Sicily, landed peacefully in Frisia or Batavia. Zosimus, l. i. 696. In 293, Constantine transported a colony of Franks into Gaul. In 358, Julian drove the Chauxvins beyond the Rhine, and subjected the Sillans, &c.—Clovis, the king, defeated Sigrinus in 496.—Greg. Tur. l. ii. c. 9. "It is generally held that these same Franks came from Pannonia, and first settled on the shores of the Rhine; and that then, crossing the river, they passed over into Thuringia."

‡ For instance, of the armies of Constantine. Zosimus, l. ii. Gibbon, iii. 66.

§ Anna. Marcellin. l. xv. A. D. 355. "The Franks who at this time swarmed in the palace," &c. When, at a later period, the emperor Anastasius sent Clovis the insignia of the consulship, the Frankish chieftains were already familiar with the Roman titles of honor. A little later than this, Agathias terms the Franks the most civilized of barbarians, and says that dress and language are all that distinguish them from the Romans. Not that their dress was devoid of elegance. "The young chief, Sigimer," says Soderus Apollinaris, "walked, preceded or followed by horses whose harnesses sparkled with jewels. On foot, and clad in milk-white silk, resplendent with gold, and blazing with purple, these three colors harmonized with his hair, his complexion, and his skin. . . . The chiefs around him wore boots of fur, their legs and knees were bare, their high narrow gowns, striped with various colors, hardly reached the calves, and their sleeves did not fall below the elbow. The green mantles were edged with a scarlet border. The swords, suspended from the shoulder by a long belt, girded their sides, around which they wore skins, their arms were an additional ornament. . . . Salin. Apollin. l. i. c. 20, ap. Ser. R. Fr. l. 793. "In the tomb of Childeric I., discovered in 1653 at Tournai, there were found several objects, a style with tablets, and medals of several emperors. His name was traced round his body in Roman characters. . . . In all this there is nothing very barbarous." Charlebois and Etudes Historiques, ii. 212. St. Jerome is quoted in Prolegomena thinks the Franks, like the Romans descended from the Trojans, and refers their origin to Eneides, a son of Priam. "The blessed Jerome wrote of the ancient Franks that Priam was their king, and that, when Troy was taken, half of him, with Francis for king, saved Europe, and settled on the bank of the Rhine with the wives and children. . . . A long time afterwards they were called Franks, they and their chiefs always spinning a golden rule." Froberg, c. 2.—The fondness with which this tradition was welcomed by the middle ages is well known.

\* Gibbon, v. 221 remarks of this invasion: "The memorable passage of the Suevi, the Vandals, the Alans, the Burgundians, who never afterwards retreated, and considered as the fall of the Roman empire in the west beyond the Alps; and the learners, which had no long retreat of the savage and the civilized nations of the east were from that fatal moment levelled with the ground."—TRANSLATOR.

† His dominions (Reimer's) were bounded by the Ar and two Roman generals, Marcellinus and Egidius, and turned their allegiance to the republic, by rejecting the claim on the phantom which he styled an emperor. . . . Egidius, the master general of Gaul, who equalled a great who imitated the heroes of ancient Rome, pronounced his eternal resentment against the assassins of his brave master, Marcom. A brave and numerous army was attached to his standard; and though he was prevented by the arts of Reimer, and the arms of the Visigoths, from marching to the gates of Rome, he maintained his independent sovereignty beyond the Alps, and rendered his name of Egidius respectable both in peace and war." Gibbon, vi. 146.—TRANSLATOR.

‡ During their long stay in Belgium, they must necessarily have mingled with the indigenes, and by the time of their arrival in Gaul, were, no doubt, partly Belgians. The Carbonarian wood was that part of the great forest of Ardenne which lay between the Scheldt and the Meuse.

§ Procop. Bell. Goth. c. 12, ap. Ser. R. Fr. ii. 39. "The Germans sought to fraternize with them, and the Armenians were not at all unwilling, both happening to be Christians."



gisil and Gondebaut, alleging against the latter his Arianism and the murder of Clotilda's father; and without doubt he had been called in by the bishops. Gondebaut humbled himself: amused the bishops by promising to turn Catholic; gave them his children to educate;\* and granted the Romans a milder law than had been hitherto accorded the conquered by any barbarian people. He wound up these concessions by becoming tributary to Clovis.

Alaric II., king of the Visigoths, entertaining a similar dread and distrust of Clovis, endeavored to propitiate him, and sought an interview with him in an island of the Loire. Clovis spoke him fairly, but the instant after convened his Gauls. "It offends me," he said, "that these Arians possess the fairest portion of the land. Let us on them, and with God to aid, expel them. Let us seize their land. We shall do well, for it is very good"† (A.D. 507.)

Far from encountering any obstacle, he seemed to be conducted by a mysterious hand. He was led to a ford in Vienne by a hart.‡ A pillar of fire appeared on the cathedral of Poitiers, for his guidance by night.¶ He sent to St. Martin de Tours|| to consult the lots:\*\* and they were favorable to him. On his side, he did not overlook the quarter whence this assistance came. He forbade all plundering round Poitiers. Near Tours he struck with his sword a soldier who was foraging on the territory of this town, made sacred by the tomb of St. Martin. "How," said he, "can we hope for victory, if we offend St. Martin!"†† After his victory over Syagrius, one of his warriors refused the king a sacred vase, which he sought to include in his share of the spoil in order to dedicate it to St. Remigius, the patron saint of his own church. A short time afterwards, Clovis, seizing the opportunity of a review of his troops, snatches his *francisque* (Frankish battleaxe) from the soldier, and as he stoops to pick it up, splits his skull with a stroke of his own axe, exclaiming—"Remem-

ber the vase at Soissons." So zealous a defender of the goods of the church could not fail to find her a powerful help towards victory; and, in fact, he overcame Alaric at Vouge near Poitiers, advanced as far as Langueoc, and would have marched further had not the great Theodoric, king of the Italian Ostrogoths and father-in-law of Alaric II., covered Provence and Spain with an army, and saved the remainder of his kingdom for the infant son of the latter, who, on the mother's side, was his own grandson.

The invasion of the Franks, so evidently desired by the heads of the Gallo-Roman population, in other words, by the bishops, added momentarily to this confused state of things. The historic notices which remain to us of the immediate results of so varied and complicated a revolution are scanty: but nowhere have they been more happily divined and analyzed than in the following passages of M. Guizot: *Cours d'Histoire*, (t. i. p. 297):—

"Invasion, or, more properly speaking, incursions, were essentially partial, local, and momentary events. A band arrived, generally small in number—the most powerful, that which founded kingdoms, for instance, that of Clovis, did not number more than from five to six thousand men, while the entire Burgundian nation did not exceed sixty thousand—rapidly traversed a narrow line of ground, ravaged a district, attacked a city, and then either withdrew with its booty, or settled within a limited range so as to avoid too great a dispersion. We know the ease and rapidity with which such events take place and pass over. Houses are burnt, lands laid waste, harvests carried off, men slain or led into captivity, and but a brief time after all this mischief has been done, the waves cease, their furrows are effaced, individual sufferings are forgotten, and society returns, apparently at least, into its ancient channel. Such was the course of affairs in Gaul in the fifth century.

"But we also know that human society—that form of it which deserves the name of a people—does not consist of a number of isolated and passing existences thrown into abrupt juxtaposition. Were it nothing more, the incursions of the barbarians would not have produced the impression traced on the records of the time. For a considerable period, the number both of places and of individuals who suffered from them, was far inferior to that of those untouched by their ravages. But man's social life is not confined to the material space or to the mere moment of time in which it passes. It ramifies into the many relations has contracted in many localities, and not only into them, but into those which it may contract or may form an idea of. It embraces not alone the present, but the future. Man lives on a thousand points which he does not inhabit, and

\* Id. ibid. c. 31.

† *Gesta regum Francorum*, ap. Ser. R. Fr. ii. 553. Thierry, *Compte de l'Angleterre*, 43.

‡ Greg. Tur. i. c. c. 37.

§ The ford was, of course, white; and the place is still called the *Hart's ford*.—TRANSLATOR.

|| Greg. Tur. i. c. c. 37.

¶ Id. ibid.

\*\* "It is, moreover," says Gibbon, "were instructed to remark the words of the psalm which should happen to be chanted at the presentiment when they entered the church. These words most fortunately expressed the valor and valor of the champions of Heaven, and the application was easily transferred to the new Joshua, the new Gideon, who went forth to battle against the enemies of the Lord." In a note on this passage, Gibbon adds, "This mode of divination, by accepting as an omen the first sacred words which on particular circumstances should be presented to the eye or ear, was derived from the Pagans; and the Psalter of Bible was substituted to the poems of Homer and Virgil. From the fourth to the fourteenth century these sorts of such ruse, as they are styled, were repeatedly employed by the doctors of councils and repeatedly practised by kings, bishops, and saints." Decline and Fall, vol. vi. p. 110. TRANSLATOR.

†† Greg. Tur. i. c. c. 37. "Et ubi enses victoriam, si beatus Martinus ostenditur?"

\* Greg. Tur. i. l. c. 33.



Vienne, had in like manner congratulated Gondebald on the death of his brother—which put an end to the civil war in Burgundy. The deaths of the Frankish, Visigoth, and Roman chiefs, united under one and the same head the whole of western Gaul from Batavia to the Narbonnese.

On the other hand, Clovis allowed the Church the most unbounded right of asylum and protection. At a period that the law had ceased to protect, this recognition of the power of an order which took upon itself the guardianship and security of the conquered, was a great step. Slaves themselves could not be forced from the churches where they had taken refuge. The very houses of the priests were accounted asylums, like the temples, to *those who should appear to live with them*.<sup>\*</sup> A bishop had only to make oath that a prisoner was his, to have him immediately given up.

Undoubtedly it was easier for the chief of the barbarians to grant these privileges to the Church, than to cause them to be respected. The case of Attalus, carried into slavery so far from his country, and then rescued as by a miracle,† testifies the insufficiency of ecclesiastical protection. But it was some advance to have the abstract right recognised. The immense property secured by Clovis to the churches, particularly to that of Reims, whose bishop is said to have been his principal counsellor, must have given vast extension to this salutary influence of the Church. To place property in ecclesiastical keeping was to subtract it from violence, brutality, and barbarism.

#### FATE OF THE FAMILY OF CLOVIS.

On the death of Clovis, (A. D. 511.) his four sons, according to the custom of the barbarians, all became kings. Each remained at the head of one of those military lines, which had been traced in Gaul by the successive encampments of the Franks. Theoderic held his residence at Metz—his warriors being settled in Austrasia, or eastern France, and Auvergne. Clotaire kept court at Soissons, Childebert at Paris, and Clodomir at Orleans; the three latter also shared Aquitaine among them.

In point of fact, it was not the land but the army which was divided; and, from its nature, this division could not fail to be an unequal one. The barbarian warriors must often have deserted one chief for the other, and have flocked to him whose courage and military skill promised the greatest share of booty; and, therefore,

when Theodebert, the grandson of Clovis, invaded Italy at the head of a hundred thousand men, it is probable that he was followed by almost all the Franks, and that many other barbarians as well, attracted by them, swelled his ranks.

The Franks acquired so much renown from the rapid conquest of Clovis—with the cause of which we are so imperfectly acquainted—that most of the barbarian tribes chose to ally themselves with them; as it formerly happened to the followers of Attila. The most hostile races of Germany, the Germans of the south and of the north, the Suevi and the Saxons, became federate with the Franks. So did the Bavarians. Alone, in the midst of these nations, the Thuringians rejected this amalgamation, and were overwhelmed.<sup>\*</sup> At this period the Gallic Burgundians appeared more capable of resistance than in the time of Clovis. Their new king, St. Sigismund, the pupil of St. Avitus, was orthodox and beloved by his clergy; thus the pretext of Arianism could no longer be advanced. But the sons of Clovis opportunely remembered that forty years previously, their maternal grandfather had been put to death by Sigismund. Clodomir and Clotaire defied him to battle, and threw him into a well, which was then filled up with stones. But Clodomir's victory drew down ruin on his family, for he perished in the engagement, and so left his children without a protector.

While queen Clotilda held her residence at Paris, Childebert, perceiving that all his mother's affections went to the sons of Clodomir, became jealous of them, and fearing that her favor might secure them a share of the kingdom, he privily sent the following message to his brother Clotaire:—"Our mother is taking care of the sons of our brother, and seeks to give them the kingdom. You must come directly to Paris, and we will consult what to do with them—whether to cut off their hair so as to reduce them to the rank of subjects, or to kill them, and make an equal division of our brother's kingdom." Rejoiced hereat, Clotaire came to Paris. Childebert had already spread a rumor that the two kings had agreed to raise the children to the throne. They sent then, in that joint name, to the queen, who abode in the same city, and said to her, "Send us the children, that we may seat them on the throne." Filled with joy, and unsuspecting of their artifice, after she had given the children to eat and drink, she sent them, saying, "I shall think that I have not lost my son, if I see you succeed to his kingdom." The children went, but were immediately seized, and separated from their servants and nurses, and shut up apart—the servants in one place, the children in an-

<sup>\*</sup> *Qui cum illi in domo ipsorum con-fore videbantur.* De veter. gentium placit. lib. 4. c. 1. Epist. Clodovani ad episc. Gallie, Ser. R. Fr. iv. 54.—This letter was written by Clovis on the occasion of his war with the Goths.

<sup>†</sup> Greg. Tur. iii. 15.—The story is translated by Augustin Thierry, in his *Lectures sur l'Hist. de France*.—On the condition of the subject in Gaul under the kings of the first race, consult the learned memoir of M. Naudet.

<sup>\*</sup> The English reader will find the story of Attalus in *Ann. Decline and Fall*, vol. vi. pp. 306, 309.—*Trans.*

<sup>\*</sup> Greg. Tur. l. iii. c. 7.—In Hess and Francconia, they broke on the wheel, or crushed under the wheels of their wagons, more than two hundred young girls, and then gave their limbs to their dogs and hawks.—See the speech of Theoderic to his soldiers, *ibid.*



Theodebert's death, and the disastrous fate of the expedition which followed close upon it, stopped the further progress of the Franks; and Italy, shortly afterwards invaded by the Lombards, was thenceforward closed against their invasions. In Spain, they always failed.\* The Saxons soon discarded a profitless alliance, and refused payment of the tribute of five hundred cows which they had voluntarily offered.† Clotaire, who attempted to exact it, sustained a defeat at their hands. Thus the most powerful of the German tribes escaped alliance with the Franks; and here began that hostility between them and the Saxons, which grew in rancor, and constituted for so many centuries the grand struggle of the barbarians. The Saxons, whose further progress on the continent to the westward is henceforward barred by the Franks, while they are pushed on the east by the Slaves, will turn towards the ocean, towards the north, and, becoming daily more friendly with the Northmen, they will infest the coasts of France,‡ and strengthen their English colonies.

The hostility of the Germans proper, to a people subjected to Roman and ecclesiastical influence, was natural. It was to the Church that Clovis was chiefly indebted for his rapid conquests. His successors early chose their counsellors from the Romans, from the conquered, and it could hardly have been other-

wise. As well as being of more pliant disposition, and more skillful flatterers, there were none else qualified to impart to their masters notions of order and government, of gradually substituting a regular administration for the capriciousness of mere power, and of modelling barbarian royalty by the imperial monarchy. As early as Theodebert, the grandson of Clovis, we find the Roman minister Parthenius advising to tax the Franks; for which he is put to death by them immediately on that monarch's demise.\*

Another grandson of Clovis, a son of Clotaire's, Chramnes, had for confidant the Pothvin Leo;† for enemy, Cantinus, bishop of Clermont, a creature of the Franks; and for friend, the Bretons, with whom he sought refuge when, after an abortive revolt, he was pursued by his father—who ordered him and his whole family to be burnt in a hut, to which he had fled for concealment.

Clotaire, left sole king of Gaul, (A. D. 558-561,) by the death of his three brothers, was succeeded by his four sons. Sigebert had the eastern encampment, or, to use the term of the chroniclers, the kingdom of Austrasia. He held his residence at Metz; and being thus a neighbor of the German tribes, several of whom had remained in alliance with the Franks; became probable that he would sooner or later overpower his brothers. Chilperic had Neustria, and was called king of Soissons. Gontran had Burgundy; his capital was Chalon-sur-Saône. The death of Charibert contributed his odd kingdom, which was formed by conjunction of Paris and Aquitaine, to swell the portion of the three others. Under these princes, Roman influence was in the ascendant. Their ministers were usually Gauls, Goths, or Romans; names which at that time were almost synonymous. Intercourse with the barbarians had infused into them sparks of the energetic spirit. "King Gontran," says Gregory of Tours, "honored with the patriciate Cosus, a man tall of stature, stout-shouldered, strong-armed, emphatic in speech, happy in reply, and well read in the law; he became so avaricious as frequently to despoil churches." &c.‡ Sigebert sent an Arvernian as his envoy to Constantinople; and we find among

\* The first time they invaded it, Childobert and Clotvire gave out that it was to avenge the ill-treatment of her husband, Amalazar, king of the Visigoths, who sought to convert her to Arianism. She had sent her brothers a handkerchief dyed in her blood. Greg. Tur. l. iii. c. 10.

† Quintus Varas infrendas omnis singulis a Clotario seniores censui reddebant. Gesta Dagoberti, c. 39.

‡ See in Apollin. l. viii. epist. 9. "There, Bordeaux, we see the blue-eyed Saxon, erst accustomed to the sea, dread the land." And Carmen viii.

Quoniam Arverniorum piratam Saxona trecentis Spectat, cum pelle salum sulcare Britannum. Lullus, et assito glaucum mare indere lullus.

Even Amalazar looked for the Saxon pirate, whose sport it is to plough the British sea in his curule, and to cleave the green sea in his skin covered panoply.

§ Clovis himself selected his ambassadors from among the Romans, as Amalazar in 451, and Paternus in 507. Greg. Tur. epist. c. 18, 25. Roman names abound in the courts of the German kings. Aridius is the constant counsellor of Gondobert. Greg. Tur. l. iii. c. 32. — Aridius, an Arvernian senator, invites Childobert I. into Auvergne, and is an intermeddler in the murder of Clodomir's children. Id. l. iii. c. 39, 40. Asterolus and Secundus, "each wise and skilled in letters and rhetoric," had great influence with Theodebert. A. D. 547. — Ibid. c. 33. — An ambassador of Gondobert is named Felix, Greg. Tur. l. viii. c. 13. See references, l. viii. c. 46; and he sends a Gundobert to stay, l. i. c. 21. — St. Martin de Tours, l. viii. c. 29. — Another ambassador is designated to Childobert II. Greg. de Mirac. St. Martini, l. iv. — A domestic of Brunichild's is named Felix. Greg. Tur. l. iii. c. 19. — To his favorite Protadius, on the second note of his at page, succeeds "the Roman Cosus, a well-informed man and agreeable conversationist." Frodoz, c. 26. Dagobert has a Servius and a Paternus for ambassadors, and an Abundant and a Venenarius for generals, &c. Gesta Dagoberti, preface. ¶ Undoubtedly more than one Merovingian monarch lost by intercourse with the conquered his barbarian rudeness, and desired to learn with his favorites Latin elegance. Fortunatus writes to Charibert —

Ecce tu quoque eloquio lingua Latina tua,  
Quidvis in propria dote sermone loquela  
Quidvis Romano vincis in eloquio.

Latin tongue flourishes in thy eloquence, O Thou,

who even as thou elegantly speakest thy own language, excellest us in Latin. — Thus, "Sigebert was elegant and quick-witted." Chilperic is spoken of further on. — The Franks seem to have been early obnoxious to the charge of Byzantine perfidy. — "Franks, murderers, and hospital-keepers," so called? Sylvius, l. viii. p. 169. The same Sylvius writes l. iv. c. 14. "If a Frank forswear himself, where's the wonder, when he thinks perjury but a form of speech and of crime?" Again, Flavius Vopiscus says, on Pretextus, "The Franks, who are used to break their word with a laugh."

\* Greg. Tur. l. iii. c. 36.

† Id. l. iv. c. 41.

‡ Greg. Tur. l. iv. c. 24. Rex Gunthramnus Cosum patricium in more donavit, virum procerum statu, in corpore validum, laetitia robustum, in verbis tumidum, in responsis opportunum, juris lertone proterum; cui non denegari balneis cupiditas extitit, ut sapienter ecclesiasticum res aulicis, &c.

lonesties, one Andarchius, who was "familiar with Virgil, the Theodosian code, and so."<sup>1</sup>

ist of the good or evil of the rule of the kings must henceforward be ascribed to Romans. They are the revivers of the art of taxation,<sup>2</sup> and they not unfrequently are with distinction in war. Thus, while king of Austrasia is defeated by the Avars made their prisoner, the Roman Mummoloch, general of the king of Burgundy, routs the Avars and Lombards, and compels them both to release leave to retreat from Italy back to Italy, and to pay for their provisions on the way.<sup>3</sup>

These Gallic ministers of the Frankish monarchs were often of very low birth. The history of the self Leudastes, who became count of Metz, will serve to illustrate the career of many of them. "Leudastes was born in the district of Rheims, in Potum, of one Leocadius, but the care of the vineyards of the treasury. He was placed in the royal service, and in the queen's kitchen; but being blind-eyed (younger days, and the smoke disagreeing his eyes, he was transferred from the spit to kneading dough. Although he seemed a contented workman, he ran off and quit service. He was brought back two or three times, but still running away, was considered to have an evil. No credit being able to give such a mark of infamy, he fled to a Marceolf, a young king Charibert, smitten with love of her, had taken to his bed in the night of her sister. He met with a gracious welcome, and was intrusted with the care of the queen's chamber-horses. A prey to vanity and ambition, he obtained by intrigue the post of count of the palace, in which he conducted himself with utter contempt for everybody, even with vanity plunging into dissipation, by dissipation, and the favorite of his mis-

tress, he wormed himself into all her concerns. After her death, fattened with plunder, he contrived by dint of presents to be continued in the same offices by king Charibert; and afterwards, as a punishment of the accumulated sins of the people, he was made count of Tours. There, waxing with his dignity into more intolerable pride, he showed himself greedy of gain, haughty in quarrel, and stained by adultery; and by his activity in fomenting disputes, and instituting calumnious charges, he amassed considerable treasure." This intriguing individual, with whom we are only acquainted through the pages of his personal enemy, Gregory of Tours, endeavored, says the historian, to ruin him by charging him with having spoken ill of queen Fredegunda. But the people collected in large numbers; and the king was contented with the bishop's clearing himself by oath, which he did, celebrating the mass on three altars. The assembled bishops even threatened to withhold the sacrament from the king.<sup>4</sup> Leudastes was slain some time after by Fredegunda's own retainers.

# FREDEGONDA AND BRUNEHAUT. (A.D. 561-612.)

The great and popular names of this period, and which have found a place in men's memories, are those of the queens and not of the kings—those of Fredegunda and Brunehaut. The latter, the daughter of the king of the Spanish Goths, her mind imbued with Roman cultivation, and her person fraught with grace and winning charms, was carried, by her marriage with Sigebert, into savage Austrasia—that Gallic Germany, which was the scene of one constant invasion. Fredegunda, on the contrary, thoroughly barbaric in her genius, ruled her husband, the poor king of Neustria, a grammarian and theologian, who owed to her earnest his appellation of the Noun of France. She first made her struggle his lawful wife, Galswintha, Brunehaut's sister, and then dispatched his sons-in-law, and his brother-in-law, Sigebert. This fearful woman was surrounded by men devoted to her service, whom she fascinated by her meretricious genius, and whose treachery she established by intoxicating beverages.<sup>5</sup> It was through them that she reached her enemies. The ancient *archdeacon* of Aquitaine and Germany, the followers of the assassins, who on a sign from their chief, blindly rushed to kill her people, were received in the retirement of Fredegunda, who, beautiful, and homely, and possessed by pagan superstitions,<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Gregory of Tours, *l. vi. c. 27.  
<sup>2</sup> Gregory of Tours, *l. vi. c. 27.  
<sup>3</sup> Gregory of Tours, *l. vi. c. 27.  
<sup>4</sup> Gregory of Tours, *l. vi. c. 27.****

<sup>5</sup> Gregory of Tours, *l. vi. c. 27.  
<sup>6</sup> Gregory of Tours, *l. vi. c. 27.**

<sup>7</sup> Gregory of Tours, *l. vi. c. 27.  
<sup>8</sup> Gregory of Tours, *l. vi. c. 27.  
<sup>9</sup> Gregory of Tours, *l. vi. c. 27.  
<sup>10</sup> Gregory of Tours, *l. vi. c. 27.  
<sup>11</sup> Gregory of Tours, *l. vi. c. 27.  
<sup>12</sup> Gregory of Tours, *l. vi. c. 27.  
<sup>13</sup> Gregory of Tours, *l. vi. c. 27.  
<sup>14</sup> Gregory of Tours, *l. vi. c. 27.  
<sup>15</sup> Gregory of Tours, *l. vi. c. 27.  
<sup>16</sup> Gregory of Tours, *l. vi. c. 27.  
<sup>17</sup> Gregory of Tours, *l. vi. c. 27.  
<sup>18</sup> Gregory of Tours, *l. vi. c. 27.  
<sup>19</sup> Gregory of Tours, *l. vi. c. 27.  
<sup>20</sup> Gregory of Tours, *l. vi. c. 27.  
<sup>21</sup> Gregory of Tours, *l. vi. c. 27.  
<sup>22</sup> Gregory of Tours, *l. vi. c. 27.  
<sup>23</sup> Gregory of Tours, *l. vi. c. 27.  
<sup>24</sup> Gregory of Tours, *l. vi. c. 27.  
<sup>25</sup> Gregory of Tours, *l. vi. c. 27.  
<sup>26</sup> Gregory of Tours, *l. vi. c. 27.  
<sup>27</sup> Gregory of Tours, *l. vi. c. 27.  
<sup>28</sup> Gregory of Tours, *l. vi. c. 27.  
<sup>29</sup> Gregory of Tours, *l. vi. c. 27.  
<sup>30</sup> Gregory of Tours, *l. vi. c. 27.  
<sup>31</sup> Gregory of Tours, *l. vi. c. 27.  
<sup>32</sup> Gregory of Tours, *l. vi. c. 27.  
<sup>33</sup> Gregory of Tours, *l. vi. c. 27.  
<sup>34</sup> Gregory of Tours, *l. vi. c. 27.  
<sup>35</sup> Gregory of Tours, *l. vi. c. 27.  
<sup>36</sup> Gregory of Tours, *l. vi. c. 27.  
<sup>37</sup> Gregory of Tours, *l. vi. c. 27.  
<sup>38</sup> Gregory of Tours, *l. vi. c. 27.  
<sup>39</sup> Gregory of Tours, *l. vi. c. 27.  
<sup>40</sup> Gregory of Tours, *l. vi. c. 27.  
<sup>41</sup> Gregory of Tours, *l. vi. c. 27.  
<sup>42</sup> Gregory of Tours, *l. vi. c. 27.  
<sup>43</sup> Gregory of Tours, *l. vi. c. 27.  
<sup>44</sup> Gregory of Tours, *l. vi. c. 27.  
<sup>45</sup> Gregory of Tours, *l. vi. c. 27.  
<sup>46</sup> Gregory of Tours, *l. vi. c. 27.  
<sup>47</sup> Gregory of Tours, *l. vi. c. 27.  
<sup>48</sup> Gregory of Tours, *l. vi. c. 27.  
<sup>49</sup> Gregory of Tours, *l. vi. c. 27.  
<sup>50</sup> Gregory of Tours, *l. vi. c. 27.  
<sup>51</sup> Gregory of Tours, *l. vi. c. 27.  
<sup>52</sup> Gregory of Tours, *l. vi. c. 27.  
<sup>53</sup> Gregory of Tours, *l. vi. c. 27.  
<sup>54</sup> Gregory of Tours, *l. vi. c. 27.  
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<sup>60</sup> Gregory of Tours, *l. vi. c. 27.  
<sup>61</sup> Gregory of Tours, *l. vi. c. 27.  
<sup>62</sup> Gregory of Tours, *l. vi. c. 27.  
<sup>63</sup> Gregory of Tours, *l. vi. c. 27.  
<sup>64</sup> Gregory of Tours, *l. vi. c. 27.  
<sup>65</sup> Gregory of Tours, *l. vi. c. 27.  
<sup>66</sup> Gregory of Tours, *l. vi. c. 27.  
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<sup>69</sup> Gregory of Tours, *l. vi. c. 27.  
<sup>70</sup> Gregory of Tours, *l. vi. c. 27.  
<sup>71</sup> Gregory of Tours, *l. vi. c. 27.  
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<sup>74</sup> Gregory of Tours, *l. vi. c. 27.  
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<sup>87</sup> Gregory of Tours, *l. vi. c. 27.  
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<sup>91</sup> Gregory of Tours, *l. vi. c. 27.  
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<sup>93</sup> Gregory of Tours, *l. vi. c. 27.  
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<sup>95</sup> Gregory of Tours, *l. vi. c. 27.  
<sup>96</sup> Gregory of Tours, *l. vi. c. 27.  
<sup>97</sup> Gregory of Tours, *l. vi. c. 27.  
<sup>98</sup> Gregory of Tours, *l. vi. c. 27.  
<sup>99</sup> Gregory of Tours, *l. vi. c. 27.  
<sup>100</sup> Gregory of Tours, *l. vi. c. 27*.***

<sup>1</sup> Gregory of Tours, *l. vi. c. 27*.  
<sup>2</sup> Gregory of Tours, *l. vi. c. 27*.  
<sup>3</sup> Gregory of Tours, *l. vi. c. 27*.

<sup>4</sup> Gregory of Tours, *l. vi. c. 27*.  
<sup>5</sup> Gregory of Tours, *l. vi. c. 27*.  
<sup>6</sup> Gregory of Tours, *l. vi. c. 27*.

<sup>7</sup> Gregory of Tours, *l. vi. c. 27*.  
<sup>8</sup> Gregory of Tours, *l. vi. c. 27*.  
<sup>9</sup> Gregory of Tours, *l. vi. c. 27*.

<sup>10</sup> Gregory of Tours, *l. vi. c. 27*.  
<sup>11</sup> Gregory of Tours, *l. vi. c. 27*.  
<sup>12</sup> Gregory of Tours, *l. vi. c. 27*.



appears to us like a Scandinavian Valkyria. She compensated the weakness of Neustria by audacity and crime; made a war of stratagems and assassinations on her powerful rivals; and, perhaps, saved the west of Gaul from a fresh invasion of barbarians.\*

The Germans, indeed, had been called in by Brunehaut's husband,† Sigebert. Chilperic could not make head against their bands; which pushed on as far as Paris, burning every village, and carrying off the men prisoners. Sigebert himself could scarcely restrain these terrible allies, who would have left him nothing to reign over.‡ But just as he had pent up Chilperic in Tournai, and, in imagination king of Neustria, had caused himself to be elevated on the shield, two of Fredegonda's retainers springing from out the crowd, stab him with poisoned

knives.\* (A. D. 575.) The people rise on the instant and massacre his ministers—Goths.† At the height of power, and at the very moment of victory, Brunehaut becomes the captive of Chilperic and Fredegonda, who, however, spare her life;‡ and Meroveus, Chilperic's son, falling desperately in love with her, through his agency she effected her escape. His passion blinded him so far as to marry her. He married his death; for his father had him dispatched. Prætextatus, bishop of Rouen, a volatile and imprudent man, who had had the audacity to marry them, was at first protected by Chilperic's scruples; but subsequently Fredegonda contrived to have him disposed of.

Brunehaut withdrew into Austrasia, of which her infant son, Childebert II., was nominal ruler. But the nobles of that kingdom had determined to overbear the Gothic and Roman influence, and were even on the point of slaying the Roman Lupus, duke of Champagne, the only one of them still devoted to Brunehaut. She threw herself into the midst of the armed battalions, and gave him time to escape.§ Feeling their superiority over Romo-Burgundian Gaul, of which Gontran was king, the Austrasian nobles longed to sweep down on the south with their barbarian followers, and promised a share of their conquest to Chilperic. Several of the Burgundian chiefs united, and Chilperic joined them. But his troops were defeated by the valiant patrician Mummolus; whose successes over the Saxons and Lombards had already saved Gontran his kingdom. On the other hand, the freemen of Austrasia rose against the nobles, perhaps incited by Brunehaut, and accused them of betraying their young king. It would appear, indeed, that at this period the Austrasian and Burgundian chiefs had come to a mutual understanding to rid themselves of their Merovingian rulers.

In Neustria, on the contrary, the royal power seems to gain strength. Less warlike than Austrasia, and poorer than Burgundy, Neustria could only subsist by the conquered being allowed a place by the side of the conquerors. Thus Chilperic employs Gallic militia against the Bretons; which is the first instance, since the fall of the empire, of the conquered being intrusted with arms. In spite of his natural ferocity, Chilperic would appear to have attempted the reconciliation of the two by direct methods still. In a war with Gontran, he slew one of his own followers for not staying his men from plunder.¶ He also built circuses at

section. Id. l. vii. c. 44.—Claudius promises Fredegonda and Gontran to slay Eberulf, Chilperic's murderer, in the basilica of Tours; and "on his road, as is the use of the barbarians, he began to take auspices, and also questioned many whether the virtue of the blessed Martin was made presently manifest against traitors." c. 29.

Paganism is still very prevalent at this period. In a council at which Sonatus, bishop of Rheims, and forty other bishops were present, it was decreed: "that all who practise augury and other pagan customs, or who assist at the superstitious feasts of the pagans, be at first gently admonished and warned to forsake their ancient errors, but if they neglect so to do, and still hold intercourse with idolaters and sacrificers to idols, they be subjected to a penance proportioned to their fault." Frodoard, l. ii. c. 5.—In Gregory of Tours, l. vii. c. 15, § 80, Wulfisare, a hermit of Treves, relates how he had overthrown (in 553) the Diana of the place, and other idols.—The councils of Lateran, in 402, and of Arles, in 452, prohibit the worshipping of stones, trees, and fountains. In the excons of the council of Nantes, held in the year 624, we find the following: "Bishops and their clergy ought to exert themselves to the utmost, to extirpate and burn the trees consecrated to demons, and which are worshipped by the common people, and held in such veneration that they dare not lop branch or sucker from them. Let the stones likewise which, lured by the decoits of the demons, they worship in ruined and woody places, to which they vow vows and bring offerings, be thoroughly dug up and carried to spots where they can never be found by their worshippers. And be it forbidden all to offer candles or any other offering, except to the Church, to the Lord their God." Sarranod, l. iii. Conc. Gallie. See also the twenty-second canon of the council of Tours, in 567, and the Capitulaire of Charlemagne, ann. 769.

\* "Remember Fredegonda," says St. Ouen to his friend Eusebius, the defender of Neustria against Austrasia. "At first Neustria was the more important of the two. After Clovis, and before the complete annihilation of the royal authority by the Mayors of the Palace, four kings, all kings of Neustria, concentrated the entire Frankish monarchy in their own persons; namely, Clotaire I., A. D. 559-561, Clotaire II., 613-629, Dagobert I., 629-639, and Clovis II., 639-656.—It was in Neustria that Clovis had settled with the then predominant tribe. Neustria was the more central, Roman, and civilised part. Austrasia was constantly exposed to the varied tide of Germanic emigration. Guizot, Essais sur l'Hist. de France, p. 73.

† Greg. Tur. l. iv. c. 50. Sigebertus rex gentes illas quas Austrasiam habebatur commoveret . . . et contra fratrem suum Chilpericum esset destinatus.

‡ "The villages round Paris," says Gregory of Tours, "were burnt to the ground. The enemy destroyed the houses with all they contained, and led off the inhabitants into captivity. Sigebert entreated them to desist, but was unable to restrain the fury of the tribes who had come from the other bank of the Rhine. He, therefore, bore all patiently, until he could return to his own country. Some of these pagans rose up against him reproaching him with having shewn exposure to his person in battle. However, he mounted his horse, and presenting himself with the utmost impudence, addressed them with mild words; but, afterwards, a number of them stoned." l. iv. c. 50.

\* Id. *ibid.* c. 52. Duo pueri cum cultis valibus, quæ vulgo seram saxos vocant, infectis veneno, malefecerunt a Fredegunde regina, utroque ei latera firunt.

† Greg. Tur. l. iv. c. 52. Ibi et Sigila, qui quondam ex Gothia venerat, multum laetatus est.

‡ Id. l. v. c. 1. Chilperic went to Paris to seize Brunehaut's treasures, and banished her to Rouen, and her daughters to Meaux.

§ Id. l. iv. c. 1.

¶ Greg. Tur. l. v. c. 27.

\* Id. l. vi. c. 31.



buried him in the basilica of the martyrs, St. Crispin and St. Crispinian. There was great lamentation among all the people; the men followed him in funeral in mourning, and the women came in the same weeds which they wear at the burial of their husbands. King Chilperic then gave large gifts to the churches and to the poor." *ibid.*

"After the synod of which I have spoken I had taken leave of the king, but, being unwilling to depart without bidding adieu to Salvius, and embracing him, I went in search of him, and found him in the court of the house of Braine. I told him that I was about returning home, and, on our stopping aside to converse, he said to me—'Seest thou not what I see, above that roof?'—'I see,' was my reply, 'a small building which the king has had raised above it.'—'And nothing else?'—'Nothing,' I said. Then, supposing that he was speaking jestingly, I added—'If thou seest any thing more, tell me.' Heaving a deep sigh, he said, 'I see the sword of Divine wrath drawn and suspended over that house.' And truly the bishop's words were those of truth, for, twenty days afterward, as we have shown, the king lost his two sons."<sup>1</sup>

Shortly afterwards Chilperic himself perished, (A. D. 584) assassinated, according to some, by a lover of Fredegunda's, according to others, by emissaries of Brunhault's, who so avenged both her husbands, Sigebert and Meroveus. Chilperic's widow, his infant son, the Church, and all the enemies of Austrasia and the barbarians, then turned for succor to the king of Burgundy, the good Gontran, who was, indeed, the best of the Merovingian monarchs, for not more than two or three murders could be objected to him. Addicted to women and pleasures, he seemed softened by intercourse with the Romans of the south, and churchmen. To the latter, he showed extreme respect. "He was," says Fredegarus, "like a priest among priests."<sup>2</sup>

Gontran declared himself the protector of Fredegunda, and of her son Clotaire II., to whom Fredegunda deposed on oath, and made two of Frank warriors swear the same, to be truly Chilperic's sons. The good man seems to be cast in the same part in the terrible drama of Merovingian history. Fredegunda played well her suit. "Clotaire II. The death of his three brothers

seems to have taken strong hold of his imagination. He swore to pursue Chilperic's murderer to the ninth generation, "in order to put a stop to the wicked custom of killing kings." He believed his own life to be in danger. "It happened that one day, after the deacon had proclaimed silence for the hearing of the mass, the king, turning to the people, said—'I pray you, all ye men and women here present, to be ever faithful to me, and not to slay me, as you have latterly slain my brothers. So that I may at least live for three years to rear my nephews whom I have adopted as my sons, for fear it should happen—which, may the everlasting God design to avert, that after my death I perish with these little ones, for there would no strong man of our family be left to defend you.'"<sup>3</sup>

All the people addressed prayers to the Lord, that he would be pleased to preserve Gontran. In fact, he alone could protect Burgundy and Neustria against Austrasia, Gaul against Germany, the Church and civilization against the barbarians. The bishop of Tours declared loudly for Gontran. "We sent word," (it is Gregory himself who is speaking,) "to the bishop and citizens of Poitiers, that Gontran was now father of Sigebert's and Chilperic's two sons, and that he was master of the whole kingdom, as was his father Clotaire before him."<sup>4</sup>

Poitiers, the rival of Tours, did not follow its lead, but preferred recognising the king of Austrasia as too far distant to be troublesome. The men of the south, the men of Aquitaine and Provence, thought that in the decay of the Merovingian family, represented by an old man and two children, they might elect a king who would be dependent upon them. They, therefore, sanctioned from Constantinople one Gondovald, who boasted to be descended from the Frank monarchs. The history of this attempt, which is given at length by Gregory of Tours, makes us acquainted to the life with the nobles of the south of Gaul, the Mummoluses and Gontran-Basens—individuals of equivocal and double character and policy, half Roman, half barbarian—and their relations with the enemies of Burgundy and Neustria, with the Greeks of Byzantium and the Germans of Austrasia.

#### RESCUE OF GONDOVALD. (A. D. 584-5)

"Gondovald, who gave out that he was a son of king Clotaire's, had arrived at Marseilles from Constantinople. His origin was, briefly, as follows. Born in Gaul, he had been carefully brought up and educated; and, according to the custom of the kings of the country, wore his cut-throat, hanging down his shoulders. He was presented to king Childebert by his mother, who said—'This is thy nephew, king Clotaire's son, as his father hates him, take

<sup>1</sup> Greg. Tur. vi. c. 25.

<sup>2</sup> *ibid.* c. 26.

<sup>3</sup> The king, however, was not so much alarmed as this story would lead us to suppose. Fredegarus, in his Hist. Merov. c. 26, says that he was not so much alarmed as this story would lead us to suppose. Fredegarus, in his Hist. Merov. c. 26, says that he was not so much alarmed as this story would lead us to suppose.

<sup>4</sup> Fredegarus, in his Hist. Merov. c. 26, says that he was not so much alarmed as this story would lead us to suppose. Fredegarus, in his Hist. Merov. c. 26, says that he was not so much alarmed as this story would lead us to suppose. Fredegarus, in his Hist. Merov. c. 26, says that he was not so much alarmed as this story would lead us to suppose.

<sup>5</sup> Greg. Tur. vi. c. 5.

<sup>6</sup> *ibid.* c. 13.

him with thee, for he is thy flesh.' Having no son, king Childbert took him, and kept him near him. The news being told king Clotaire, he sent to his brother, saying—'Send the young man, that he may be with me.' His brother sent him at once; and, when Clotaire saw him, he ordered his long hair to be cut off, saying, 'He is no son of mine.' On Clotaire's death, king Charibert received him. But Sigebert sent for him, and having had his hair cut off again, dismissed him to the city of Agripura, now called Cologne. On his hair growing, he escaped thence, and repaired to Narses, who then governed Italy. There he took a wife, he got sons, and left that country for Constantinople. Long after this, he was invited, so runs the tale, to Gaul, and, landing at Marseilles, was received by bishop Theodore, who gave him horses, and he repaired to duke Mummulus. Mummulus, as we have said, at that time had his residence at Avignon. But displeased heretofore, duke Gontran-Boson seized bishop Theodore, and had him carefully watched, accusing him of having introduced a stranger into Gaul, for the purpose of subjecting the kingdom of the Franks to the emperor. Theodore is said to have produced a letter, signed by the great of king Childbert's court, saying, 'I have done nothing of myself, but only what was commanded by our masters and lords.' Duke Gontran-Boson sought refuge in an island, and awaited the result. Duke Gontran-Boson divided Gondovald's treasures with one of king Clotaire's dukes, and carried off, they say, to Avignon, an immense quantity of gold, silver, and other things."

But he stood forth for or against the pretender, the King of Austria reputed his uncle. Gontar, to whom those towns which had belonged to his father, "King Childbert sent to King Gontar the Bishop Agobius, Gontar-Boson, Sawa, and many others. When they had come, the bishop said, "We thank Almighty God, our good king, that after many troubles he has restored thee the countries which he bequeathed thy kingdom." The king replied, "All thanks be rendered, to the King of kings, the Lord of lords, who, in his mercy, has deemed thee worthy thence to pass, for we owe none to thee, who, by thy treacherous counsels, and perfidy, hast raise disturbances throughout my whole kingdom this past year, who hast never kept faith with any one, whose craft is everywhere notorious, and who everywhere conductest thyself not as a bishop, but as the enemy of our kingdom." At these words, the bishop, smoking with rage, was silent. One of the deputies said, "Thy nephew Childbert beseeches to restore the cities which belonged to his father." To whom Gontar replied, "I have already told you that those towns are mine by treaty, and that therefore I will not give them up." Another deputy said, "Thy nephew prays thee to deliver into his hands the sorceress Fredegonda, who has caused the death of man-

kings, in order that he may have vengeance upon her for the death of his father, his uncle, and his cousins." The king answered, "I cannot put her in his power, for her son is a king; nor do I believe all you say against her." Then Gonttran-Boson drew near the king as if to remind him of something; and, as there was a rumor that Gondovald had just been proclaimed king, Gonttran, cutting him short, said, "Enemy of our country and our throne, who hast before this gone to the East expressly to place on our throne a *Sigge-sea*," (so the king called Gondovald,) O thou, who art always perfidious, and who never keepest faith!" Boson answered, "Thou, lord and king, art seated on the royal throne, and no one dares return thee a reply. I aver my innocence in this business. If there be any equal of mine, who in secret thinks me guilty of this crime, let him charge me with it in public." Then, most pious king, refer the whole to the judgment of God. Let him decide, when he shall see us in the lists." As every one kept silence after he had spoken, the king said, "This business calls on all warriors to chase from our frontiers a stranger whose father turned the mill, nay, to say truth, who was a wool-comber." Now, though it may very well be that a man may follow both these trades at once, one of the deputies replied to this tent of the king's—"Thou assertest, then, that this man had two fathers, a wool-comber and a miller. Cease, O king, such silly talk. Never has one man been known to have two fathers, save in spiritual matters." Many laughed at these words, another deputy said, "We take our leave, O king; since thou wilt not restore thy nephew's estates, we know that the axe is whole which took off thy brothers' heads, and it will soon send thy brains skipping!" Thus they withdrew with scandal. The king, fired with wrath at this insult, ordered dung, decayed vegetables, straw, rotten hay, and stinking mud out of the streets, to be flung upon the men as they were going away, and the deputies went off, covered with filth, and loaded with insults and reproaches.

Gregory's answer united the Austrasians, with the Aguinians, in favor of Gondovald. The nobles of the south welcomed him,† and

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with their aid, he made rapid head. He soon saw himself master of Toulouse, Bordeaux, Perigueux, and of Angoulême; and received in the name of the king of Austrasia the allegiance of the towns which had been Sigebert's. The danger of the aged Burgundian monarch became imminent. He knew that Brunehault, Childbert, and the nobles of Austrasia, favored Gondovald; that Fredegonda herself had been tempted to treat with him; that the bishop of Reims was secretly, and all the southern bishops openly for him. This defection of the Roman ecclesiastical party, of whom he had thought himself certain, compelled Gontran to court the Austrasians. He adopted his nephew Childbert, named him his heir, complied with his demands, and promised Brunehault that he would leave her five of the principal cities of Aquitaine, with which her sister had been dowried, as anciently belonging to the Goths.

Gondovald's party was discouraged by the reconciliation of the kings of Burgundy and Austrasia; and the Aquitanians were as quick to desert as they had been to welcome him. He was constrained to shut himself up in the town of Comminges, with those nobles who had most compromised themselves, but who waited their opportunity to give him up, and make their peace at his expense. One of them, indeed, did not delay so long; but fled, taking Gondovald's treasures along with him.

"Many ascended the hill and often accosted Gondovald, heaping reproaches upon him and saying,— 'Art thou the painter who, in king Clotaire's time, daubed the walls and ceilings of the oratories?'— 'Art thou he whom the Gauls used to call *Ship-sea*? Art thou he, who, for thy pretensions, hast so often had thy locks shorn and been banished by the kings of the Franks?' Tell us at least, most miserable man, who brought thee hither, who inspired thee with such height of audacity as to approach the frontiers of our lords and kings?' If any one summoned thee, name him aloud. See, death stares thee in the face, and the ditch thou hast craved, and into which thou wilt have cast thyself,

house with Bishop Bertrand, forced his way into it, and ordered the holy relics to be produced. Euphron refused; but, thinking that a snare was maliciously laid for him, he said, 'I am an old man alone, and insult not a saint.' Take these hundred pieces of gold, and depart.' Mummolus persisting, Euphron offered him two hundred; but even this sum could not tempt him to retire without seeing the relics. Then Mummolus ordered a ladder to be placed against the wall, the relics were concealed in a shrine at the top of the wall, covering just the altar, and ordered the deacon to ascend, and, being so, was seized with such a fit of tremor, when he laid hands on the shrine, that it was thought he would not descend alive. However, he brought it down, and Mummolus, on seeing it, finding the name of the saints on it did not then attempt to cut it. Placing one knee on the shrine, he struck this with another; and after having broken it with much ado and many blows, the relic, which could be cut out in three days, appeared. The thing was much contrary to the mortification the event showed." These relics were sent then to their northern brothers. A little farther on we find that on a bishop's insulting the pretender, he was seized by Mummolus and Daler, fell upon the priest and beat him. Greg. Tur. l. vi. ap. Ber. R. Fr. t. ii. p. 302.

yawns for thee. Count us thy satellites; name those who invited thee.' Gondovald, hearing these words, drew nigh and said from the top of the gate— 'That my father Clotaire has said, is what all know; that my head was shorn by him and by my brother is also known. I was on this account that I withdrew into Italy, and betook myself to the prefect Narces. Then I married, and begot two sons. My wife died; I took my children with me and went to Constantinople; where I lived, most kindly and treated by the emperors. Some years after, Gontran-Boson's coming to Constantinople, anxiously inquired of him how my brother prospered, and learned that our family was not lessened, and that there only remained Childbert, my brother's son, and Gontran, my brother; that king Chilperic's sons were dead as well as he, that he had left only an infant, and that brother Gontran had no child, and that my nephew Childbert was not distinguished for courage. Then, after Gontran-Boson had clearly set forth all these things to me, he invited me, saying— "*Come, for all the nobles of Childbert's kingdom invite thee, and now dare to wag his tongue against thee, for we know thee to be Clotaire's son, and there is none left in Gaul to govern the kingdom except thee come.*" I made large presents to Gontran-Boson; and received his oath in twelve spots, to the end that I might come safely home. I came to Marseilles, was most kindly received by the bishop, who had had letters from the chief nobles of my nephew's kingdom, and proceeded to Avignon, to the patrician Mummolus. But Gontran-Boson, forswearing himself, deprived me of my treasures, and kept me without power. Acknowledge me, then, to be king less than my brother Gontran. Nevertheless if you are possessed with such lively hate, lead me, at least, to your king, and if he refuse me for his brother, let him do by me as he may think fit. Should you deny me this, send me to return whence I came. I will go without injury to any one. That you may know what I say is true, question Radegonda at Poitiers, and Ingiltrude at Tours, who will certify to you the truth of my words." As he spoke thus, his speech was received of many as insults and reproaches. . . .

"Mummolus, bishop Sagittarius, and Wast went unto Gondovald, and said to him— 'Thou knowest the oaths by which we are bound to thee. Listen, now, to wholesome counsel. We take thee from this city, and present thyself before thy brother as thou hast often asked to do. We have already spoken with these men; and they say that the king wishes not to lose thy support, for there are but few remaining of thy race.' But Gondovald, perceiving their deceit, says to them, all bathed with tears— 'Your invitation brought me to Gaul. Of my treasure, which comprised immense sums of gold and silver, and different objects, one-half is in Avignon; Gontran-Boson has robbed me of the

As for myself, reposing, next to God, I hope in you, I have confided in your words, and have always wished to govern by you. Now, if you are deceiving me, I refer it to God, in whose hands I leave my soul. To this Mummolus gave answer, 'We tell you the truth, and here are brave warriors waiting at the gate. Take off, now, my baldric which thou hast on, that thou art not seem to proceed in too great state, take thy sword, and give me back mine.' Gondovald said, 'All I gather from thy words, is that thou art stripping me of what I received in token of friendship for thee.' But Mummolus solemnly swore that no harm should befall him. When he had passed through the gate, Gondovald was received by Ollo, count of the marches, and by Boson. Mummolus with his followers into the town, and barred the gate with every precaution. Seeing himself abandoned to his enemies, Gondovald lifted his hands and eyes to heaven, and said, 'ternal Judge, and true avenger of the innocent, God, from whom proceedeth all justice, I beseech thee, falshood offends, in whom is neither good nor any guile, to thee I resign myself, being thee quickly to avenge me on those who have betrayed an innocent man into the hands of his enemies.' Thus saying, he made signs of the cross, and rode off with those names are mentioned above. When he was at a distance from the gate, as he rode under the town slopes rapidly, a push Ollo unseated him, when the latter cried 'There's your *Nip-sa*, who calls himself brother and the son of a king.' Hurling his javelin, he sought to transfix him, but his sword warded the blow. Gondovald getting up and endeavoring to make for the hill-side, he dashed in his head with a stone, and he fell, and died. The whole of them hastened up, and piercing him with their swords, bound his feet with a cord, and dragged him round the camp: when, plucking off his head and beard, they left him unburied on the spot where he had been slain."

Gregory, reassured by Gondovald's death, I have made the bishops dearly pay for countenance they had afforded him, had he been himself prevented by death. As an event, laying Burgundy open to the king of Austrasia, seemed as a necessary consequence to give him possession of Neustria. Nevertheless, it refused submission; and the Austrasians invading it were astonished at the sight of a moving forest advancing against them as the Neustrian army under the cover of the forest fled. This was the last success of Prodharius and of her lover, Landeric, who died to have been Chilperic's substitute. She

died shortly after. Childebert had died before her. The whole of Gaul thus devolved upon three children:—Childebert's two sons, named Theodebert II. and Theoderic II., and Chilperic's son, Clotaire II. The latter was overborne by the other two. He found himself constrained to cede to the Burgundians his possessions between the Seine and Loire, and to the Austrasians the countries between the Seine, Oise, and Austrasia. But it was not long before he derived from the dissensions of the conquerors more than he had lost.

The aged Brunehaut conceived the plan of reigning herself, by plunging her grandson, Theodebert, into a vortex of dissipation; and her plan succeeded only too well. The weak prince was soon governed by a young female slave, who managed to have Brunehaut banished. Taking refuge with Theoderic in Burgundy, in a country where Roman influence was in the ascendant, she enjoyed still greater power. She made and unmade the mayors of the palace, compassed the death of Bertold, who had received her with kindness, installed her lover Protadius\* in his place, and when this favorite was torn in pieces by the people, had still credit enough to raise one, Claudius, to power. Her rule was at first inglorious. The Austrasians, and their allies, the Germans, wrested from the kingdom of Burgundy the Sundgau, the Turgau, Alsace, and Champagne, and laid waste the whole country between Geneva and Neufchatel. The people of the south seem to have been drawn together and united by the terror of these invasions.

#### THEODERIC'S INVASION OF AUSTRASIA. (A. D. 612.)

"In the seventeenth year of his reign, in the month of March," says Prodharius, "king Theoderic collected an army at Langres, from all the provinces of his kingdom, and marching through Andelot on the city of Toul, he took the castle of Metz. Theodebert, with his Austrasians, encountered him in the plain of Toul, and was defeated. The Franks lost many brave men in the battle. Theodebert fled through the territory of Metz, crossed the Vosges, and did not stop till he reached Cologne, closely pursued by Theoderic and his army. Leonatus, bishop of Metz, a holy and apostolic man, loving Theoderic's valor, and hating Theodebert's folly, came out to meet Theoderic, and said—'Finish what thou hast begun, for your advantage requires you to find out and pursue the cause of evil. There is a country fable that the wolf having one day stationed himself on a hill, as his sons were about to begin their prowl, called out to them—'Far as you can see, and in every direction, you have no friends, save your own kind. Finish, then, what you have begun.'"

"Theoderic, having traversed the forest of

\* In Shakespeare—"I looked towards Eborac, and methought, the wood began to move." Macbeth. —The Kent men used the same stratagem when they fought against William the Conqueror, after the battle of Senlac.

\* Prodharius. *Sabot*. c. 21.

Ardenne, camped at Tolbiac; whither Theodebert returned with such Saxons, Thuringians, and other warriors beyond the Rhine as he had been able to collect, to give him battle. They say, that so bloody a battle was never before fought since by the Franks, or any other people. Here Theoderic was again conqueror, for God was with him; and Theodebert's army was mowed down with the sword from Tolbiac to Cologne; the ground being, in some spots, literally covered with the slain. Theoderic reached Cologne the same day, where he found Theodebert's treasures. He sent on his chamberlain, Berthaire, in pursuit of Theodebert, who fled beyond the Rhine, accompanied by a few retainers; but was overtaken, and brought before Theoderic, stripped of his royal robes. Theoderic gave his spoils, his horse, and all his royal equipage, to Berthaire; and sent Theodebert, loaded with chains, to Châlons. It is related in the Chronicle of St. Benigne, that his grandmother Brunehaut at first had him ordained priest, but shortly afterwards caused him to be made away with. "By Theoderic's orders, one of his soldiers, lifting up Theodebert's infant son by his foot, beat his brains out against a stone."

The union of Austrasia and Burgundy under Theoderic, or rather under Brunehaut, seemed to threaten Neustria with certain ruin; nor would this posture of affairs have been altered even by the death of Theoderic and the accession of his three infant sons, had Clotaire's enemies been united. But Austrasia was ashamed and irritated by her recent defeat; and, even in Burgundy, Brunehaut was no longer supported by the Roman and ecclesiastical party—to be sure of which it was necessary to have the whole of the ecclesiastics at one's side, to gain them over at any price, and to divide all power with them. The assassination of St. Didier, bishop of Vienna, who had endeavored to wean Theoderic from the mistresses with whom his grandmother surrounded him, and restore his wife to his arms, had alienated the entire church from Brunehaut. With equal freedom, the Irish saint, St. Columbanus, the restorer of monastic life—the bold missionary who reformed kings as well as people, refused his blessing to Theoderic's sons. "They are," he said, "the offspring of incontinence and crime." Driven from Luxeuil and Austrasia, he took refuge with Clotaire II., and his sacred presence seemed to stamp the cause of Neustria as legitimate.

Brunehaut was utterly deserted. The Austrasians regarded her as one of the Goths, the Burgundians the two words were almost synonymous—and the priests and people regarded her as the persecutor of the saints.

Though till this period hostile to German influence, she was obliged to have recourse to the assistance of Germans, of barbarians, in order to make head against Clotaire. Arnoul, bishop of Metz, and his brother Pepin (Pépin) went over to him before the engagement; the rest allowed themselves to be beaten, and Clotaire made a pretence of pursuing them. They had been gained over beforehand; and Warin, chaire, mayor of the palace, had stipulated for the enjoyment of that office during his lifetime. The aged Brunehaut, the daughter, sister, mother, and grandmother of so many kings, was treated with atrocious barbarity. She was fastened by the hair, a foot, and an arm to the tail of a wild horse, which dragged her to pieces. In addition to her own crimes, she was reproached with those of Fredegonda, and was upbraided with being the murderess of ten kings; her greatest crime in the eyes of barbarians undoubtedly was the having restored, under any shape, the administrative government of the empire. Fiscal laws, the forms of justice, and the supremacy of craft over strength, were insurmountable objections in the minds of the people to the idea of the ancient empire, which the Gothic kings had endeavored to restore. Brunehaut, their daughter, had followed in their steps. She founded numerous churches and monasteries—the monasteries at that time were also schools. She favored the mission sent by the pope for the conversion of the British Anglo-Saxons. This use of the money which she had wrung from her subjects by many odious means, was not without glory and grandeur. So profound was the impression left by her long reign, that that left by the empire seems to have been weakened in the north of Gaul; and the people ascribed to the famous queen of Austrasia a multiplicity of Roman monuments. Remains of Roman ways, still met with in Belgium and the north of France, are called Brunehaut's causeways; and near Bourges was shown Brunehaut's castle, at Etampes a tower, near Tournay Brunehaut's stone, at Brunehaut's fort near Cahors.

Under Fredegonda, Neustria had resumed under her son, she conquered—a nominal conquest I grant, since she only owed it to the hate of the Austrasians for Brunehaut, and won it weakness, since it was the conquest of the other races, of the Gallo-Romans, and of the priests. The very year after Clotaire's victory (A. D. 614) the bishops were summoned to the assembly of the Leuds, and they collected from the whole of Gaul to the number of seventy-nine. 'Twas the enthronizing of the Church. The two aristocracies, the lay and ecclesiastical, drew up a perpetual constitution. Several articles of singular liberality indicate the ecclesiastical hand. The judges are forbid to condemn a free man, or even a slave, without a

1. Theodoricus, in the year 480, p. 428. 2. Cum  
3. Theodoricus, in the year 480, p. 428. 4. Cum  
5. Theodoricus, in the year 480, p. 428. 6. Cum  
7. Theodoricus, in the year 480, p. 428. 8. Cum  
9. Theodoricus, in the year 480, p. 428. 10. Cum

testimonium advenarum, Columbanus videlicet et Galli, non  
labi oportuit, etc.

g. The disturber of the public is to be  
ed with death. The Leuds are to be re-  
sed of the estates, of which they had  
eprived in the civil wars. The election  
ops is secured to the people. Priests  
be judged by the bishops alone. The  
imposed by Chilperic and his brothers are  
ed,\* (a regulation by which the bishops,  
ad become large proprietors, would profit  
than any one.) Thus begins with Clo-  
I., that dominion of the Church, which  
e consolidated under the Merovingians,  
ill suffer no interruption except from the  
y of Charles Martel.

know little of Clotaire II., more of Da-  
gobert, just, and a lover of justice, Da-

gobert begins his reign by making the tour of  
minions, according to the custom of the  
ian monarchs. Raised to the throne of  
ustria in the lifetime of his father, he did  
ig retain his Austrasian ministers. He  
aid on the shelf the two leading men of  
untry, Arnolph, archbishop of Metz, and  
other, Pepin, who succeeded him, and  
med the Neustrian, Ega. Surrounded  
nan ministers, by the goldsmith, St. Eloi,  
e referendary St. Ouen, he busies him-  
th founding convents, and designing or-  
ts for churches.† For the first time, his  
commit the laws of the barbarians to  
2—laws written when they are beginning  
obsolete. The Solomon of the Franks,  
a prototype of the Jews, peoples his pal-  
ath lovely women;‡ and is divided be-  
his concubines and his priests.

a pacific prince is the natural friend of  
ecks, and as the ally of the emperor  
lus, interposes in the affairs of the Lomb-  
and Visigoths. Amidst the precocious  
e of all the barbarian nations, the decay  
Franks is still surrounded with a shadow  
Y.

ertheless, the weakness concealed under  
side show, is easily perceptible. Even  
Clotaire lived, Austrasia had resumed the  
ces of which she had been stripped, would  
a king of her own, and Dagobert, who  
to the throne at fifteen years of age, was  
only an instrument in the hands of Pe-  
id Arnolph. On his becoming king of  
ria, Austrasia still demands a separate  
ment, and has for king, his son, the  
Sigebert. Clotaire II. allows the Lomb-  
to redeem their tribute by paying down a  
f money §. The Saxons, defeated, it is  
y the Franks, yet forget to pay Dag-

bert the five hundred cows which they had paid  
annually up to this time. The Vends, deliver-  
ed from the Avars by the Frank Samo, a mer-  
chant warrior whom they adopted as their  
chief,\* throw off Dagobert's yoke, and defeat  
the Franks, Bavarians, and Lombards, who had  
combined against them. The fugitive Avars  
themselves settle forcibly in Bavaria, and Da-  
gobert frees himself from them only by base  
treachery.† The submission of the Bretons and  
Gascons, indeed, seems to have been voluntary,  
and to have been produced more through their  
respect for the priests than the dread of arms.  
Their duke, St. Judicael, declines an invita-  
tion to the king's table in favor of one from St.  
Ouen.‡

The priest, in fact, was now king. The  
Church had silently made her way in the midst  
of the tumult of barbaric invasions, which had  
threatened universal destruction; and strong,  
patient, and industrious, she had so grasped the  
whole of the new body politic as thoroughly to  
interfuse herself with it. Early abandoning  
speculation for action, she had rejected the bold  
theories of Pelagianism, and adjourned the great  
question of human liberty. The savage conquer-  
ors of the empire required to have not liberty but  
submission preached to them, to induce them  
to bow their necks to the yoke of civilization  
and the Church.

The Church, coming in the place of the mu-  
nicipal government, left the city at the approach  
of the barbarians, and issued forth as arbiter  
betwixt them and the conquered. Once beyond  
the walls, she took up her abode in the coun-  
try. Daughter of the city, she yet perceived  
that the city was not all in all. She created  
rural bishops,§ extended her saving protection  
to all, and shielded even those she did not com-  
mand with the protecting sign of the tonsure.  
She became one immense asylum; an asylum  
for the conquered, for the Romans, for the serfs  
of the Romans. The latter rushed by crowds  
into the church, which more than once was  
obliged to close her doors upon them—there  
would have been none left to till the land. No

to that extent that he destroyed all the males who were  
taller than the sword which he then happened to wear."

\* Prolegus c. 46. "A certain man, named Samo, a Frank  
by birth, from Sens, who had associated many merchants  
with him, went to trade among the Slaves, by name Vends.  
The Slaves had entered upon a war with the Avars (Chani  
by name). The Chani came to winter yearly among the  
Slaves, and used to be with the wives and daughters of  
the Slaves. The Vends recognizing Samo's services,  
chose him for king, and he took twelve wives from among  
the Vends."

† Prolegus c. 72. "When they were scattered for the  
winter throughout the houses of the Bavarians, Dagobert,  
by the advice of the Franks, orders the latter to rise up  
each man in the night time on an appointed night and to  
slay his guests with their wives and children: and this was  
forthwith done."

‡ Prolegus c. 70.

§ The *episcopi villani*. In the Capitularies of Charle-  
magne they are called *Episcopos villani*. Hincmar opus.  
II. c. 16 calls them "*Vicarii*." The canon of the Arabian  
*Nuome Moudavi*. The *Choropiscopus* holds the place of  
bishop over villages, monasteries, and the priests of vil-  
lages.—*deu Ducange, l. ii.*

ata: Baluz. t. i. p. 21 et ap. Her. R. Fr. ii. 114

to Dagob. c. 17, sup.

Dagob. c. 60. *Episcopi supra modum deditis, tres  
ad totas civitates regnas maxime et plurimas  
suo. Nomina consularium, et quod plures  
necesse habet christiani inveni.*

Dagob. c. 63. *Chronica Massac. capitul. ap. Her.*

161.

to Dagob. c. 1, ap. Her. R. Fr. ii. 500. "Clotaire then  
innumerable proof of his power to posterity, that  
a Saxon rebelled against him, he chastised them



less was she an asylum for the conquerors; who sought a retreat in her bosom from the disorders of barbarian life, and from their own passions and violences, from which they suffered equally with the conquered. Thus serfs rose to the priesthood, the sons of kings and dukes sank to be bishops, and great and little met in Jesus Christ. At the same time the land was diverted from profane uses by the vast endowments which were showered on the men of peace, on the poor, on the slave. What they had taken, that the barbarians gave. They found that they had conquered for the Church.

So was a right destiny fulfilled. Both as an asylum and a school, the Church needed wealth. In order to be listened to by the nobles, it was essential that the bishops should address them as their equals. In order to raise the barbarians to her own level, the Church had to become herself material and barbarous: to win over these men of flesh she had to become fleshly. As the prophet who stretched himself out upon the child in order to bring it to life again, the Church made herself little in order to incubate this new world.

The bishops of the south are too civilized, rhetorical, and ratiocinative,\* to have much effect on the men of the first race. The ancient metropolitan sees of Arles, Vienne, and even of Lyons and Bourges, lose their influence. The real bishops and true patriarchs of France are those of Reims and Tours. St. Martin of Tours is the oracle of the barbarians, and what Delphi was to Greece—*umbilicus terrarum*,<sup>†</sup> the centre of the world.

St. Martin is guarantee to all treaties. He is momentarily consulted by the kings on their business, and even their crimes. When Childeric pursues his hapless son, Meroveus, he places a paper on the tomb of the saint, inquiring of him whether he would be allowed to drag him from the asylum of the basilica. The paper, says Gregory of Tours, remained blank. For the most part, these claimants of the shelter of the Church were as fierce and violent as their persecutors, and often proved very embarrassing to the bishop, becoming the tyrants of the asylum which protected them. It is worth while to turn to the pages of the good bishop of Tours for the history of that Eberulf who seeks to kill Gregory himself, and who strikes the priests when they are slow in bringing him water. The servants of this ruffian, who had sought refuge in the basilica along with him, struck at the whole of the clergy by prying two crosses into the sacred paintings which adorned its walls.<sup>‡</sup>

Tours, Reims, and all their dependencies are tax-free.<sup>§</sup> Reims owns estates in the furthest parts of the land, in Anstrasia and in Aquitaine. Every crime committed by a barbarian king brings a new donative to the Church—and who could blame such gifts? There is no one who does not desire to be given to the Church—it is to be as if enfranchised. The bishops have no scruple to invite, and to increase by pious frauds the grants of the king. The testimony of all the inhabitants of the country is at their service if required. At need, all will swear that such or such an estate or village was formerly granted by Clovis or by the good Gontran, to the adjoining monastery or bishopric, which has only been despoiled of it by impious violence. Thus, the understanding between the priests and the people was daily strip the barbarian of some of his spoils and turn his credulity, devotion, or remorse to account. Under Dagobert, grants of the king are referred to Clovis: under Pepin the Short to Dagobert. The latter gives at one swoop twenty-seven burghs to the abbey of St. Denis. His son, says the worthy Sigebert of Gemblours, founded twelve monasteries, and gave St. Remacius, bishop of Tongres, a square twelve leagues long and twelve broad, out of the forest of Ardennes.<sup>||</sup>

#### FAMOUS GRANT OF CLOVIS.

The most curious of these grants is that of Clovis to St. Remigius, reproduced, or, more probably, fabricated in Dagobert's reign:—

"Clovis had taken up his residence at Soissons. This prince had great pleasure in the company and converse of St. Remigius; but as the holy man had no other resting-place near the city than a small property formerly given to St. Nicasius, the king offered to grant him all the ground which he could encircle, while he himself was taking his noonday; complete in this with the prayer of the queen and the petition of the inhabitants, who complained of being overburdened with exactions and contributions, and who therefore preferred paying the church of Reims to holding of the king. The blessed St. Remigius then set out; and to this day there may be seen the traces that he left, and the boundaries which he marked. On his way, the holy man was turned back by a miller who did not wish his mill to fall within the enclosure. 'My friend,' said the man of God mildly to him, 'think it not ill that we should possess this mill in common.' The miller again refusing, the wheel of the mill instantly turned backward, when he forthwith ran after the saint, crying, 'Come, servant of God, and

\* This was the case of St. Martin for his frequent visits in concealing his spies during Childeric's reign, and in sending him to the see of Avignon, when the latter was a heretic. Not to send a simple man like himself to a heretic was a political matter and a philosophical judgment. On which point there made him bishop of Mans—Greg. Tur. vi. 10.

† Greg. Tur. vi. 21. sup.

§ Ser. R. Fr. ii. 51.

¶ Greg. Tur. ii. c. 35 in archive ipso ecclesie . . . viz. in octid. septem villarum novena, &c.

|| Vita S. Netherberti Austrac. c. 5. ap. Ser. R. Fr. i. 681. Trididit ex ipso forishe dioclesia locum in latitudine, & talem in longitudine.

let us have the mill together.' 'No,' replied the saint, 'it shall be neither thine nor mine.' Straightway, the ground disappeared, and opened into such an abyss, that a mill could never be built there again.

"Again, as the saint was near a small wood, and its owners sought to hinder him from including it in his domain, 'Well,' he exclaimed, 'may leaf never fly, nor branch fall, out of this wood into my precincts!' And, indeed, by the will of God, such was the case, as long as there was a wood there, although it was close to the sacred territory.

"Thence, proceeding on his way, he arrived at Chavignon, and wanted to enclose it, but was hindered by the inhabitants. Driven off one while, returning another, but always equanimous and peaceable, he went on his way, tracing the boundaries as they now exist. Finding himself at last completely foiled, he is rumored to have said to them, '*Work on forever, and remain poor and wretched*—as they are to this day by the virtue and power of his word. When king Clovis had risen from his nooning, he gave to St. Remigius, under his royal seal, all the land which he had walked round. Of the estates so enclosed, the best are Lully and Coccy, which are enjoyed in peace by the church of Reims to this day.

"A very powerful man, named Eulogus, convicted of the crime of high treason against king Clovis, one day implored the intercession of St. Remigius; and the holy man obtained him his pardon, and saved his property from confiscation. Eulogus, in return for this service, offered his generous patron his village of Epernay in perpetuity; but the blessed bishop would not accept a temporal reward for his good deed. However, seeing that Eulogus was sinking with shame, and was bent on withdrawing from the world, feeling he could no longer mingle with it, as he owed his life, to the dishonor of his house, to the royal clemency alone, he gave him a wise counsel, saying, that if he desired to be perfect, he should sell all he had and give it to the poor, and follow Jesus Christ. Then, valuing it, and taking out of the treasure of the church five thousand pounds of silver, he gave them to Eulogus, and so purchased his property for the church—thus leaving to all priests and bishops this good example, that when they intercede for those who throw themselves into the bosom of the Church, or into the arms of the servants of God, and render them any service, they should never do it with a view to temporal benefit, nor take as their wage perishable goods, but on the contrary, as the Lord hath taught, give for nothing as they have received for nothing.\*

"St. Rigobert obtained from king Dagobert a patent of exemption for his Church, reminding him that under all the Frank kings, his

predecessors, from the days of St. Remigius and of king Clovis, baptized by that saint, it had ever been free and exempt from all public service and charge. The king, then, desiring to ratify or renew this privilege, with the advice of his nobles, and in the same form as the kings, his predecessors, ordained that all goods, villages, and men, belonging to the holy church of Reims, or to the basilica of St. Remigius, situate or lying as well in Champagne, in the town or faubourgs of Reims, as in Austrasia, Neustria, Burgundy, the country of Marseilles, Rouergue, Gévaudan, Auvergne, Touraine, Poitou, Limousin, or elsewhere in his countries and kingdoms, should be forever exempt from all charge; that no public judge should dare to enter the lands of these two holy churches of God to sojourn there, give judgment, or levy any tax; in short, that they should ever preserve the immunities and privileges granted them by his predecessors. . . . .

"This venerable bishop was on terms of great friendship with Pepin, mayor of the palace, and was in the habit of sending meats that he had blessed to him, by way of benediction. Now, at this time, Pepin was sojourning in the village of Gernicourt, and learning from the bishop that the place was to his liking, he offered it to him, adding, besides, that he would give him all the ground that he could make the tour of, while he was resting at mid-day. Rigobert, following the example of St. Remigius, set forth and ordered the boundaries, which are seen to this day, to be laid down, and so marked out the enclosure, as to obviate all dispute. Pepin, on awakening, finding him returned, confirmed to him the grant of the land which he had just encompassed; and, in memorable proof of the road which he traced, the grass where he trod is greener and richer than anywhere round about. Another miracle not less worthy of notice, which the Lord deigns to work here, undoubtedly in token of the merits of his servant, is that from the time of the grant to the holy bishop, neither tempest nor hail has wrought damage on his domain; and when all the adjoining country is beat down and spoiled, the storm stops at the boundaries of the church, not daring to cross them."†

Thus, every thing favored the absorption of society by the Church. Romans and barbarians, slaves and freemen, man and land, all flocked to her and took refuge in her maternal bosom. Whatsoever she received from without the Church ameliorated; but she could not effect this without, at the same time, proportionally deteriorating herself. With riches, a spirit of worldliness took possession of the clergy; and power brought with it the barbarism which was then its inseparable adjunct. The slaves who became priests, retained the dissimulation and cowardice, which are the vices of slaves. The sons of barbarians who

\* "Freely ye have received, freely give." Matt. x. 8.—TRANSLATOR.

† Preface, L. l. c. 16; L. II. c. 11.

became bishops, often remained barbarians. A violent and gross spirit pervaded the Church. The monastic schools of Lerins, St. Maixent, Reomé, and the island of Barbe had declined in renown: the episcopal schools of Autun, Vienne, Poitiers, Bourges, and Auxerre remained—but unnoted. Councils were held more and more seldom; from fifty-four in the sixth century, and twenty in the seventh, they dwindled down to seven only in the first half of the eighth century.

#### THE CELTIC CHURCH.

The spiritual genius of the Church found shelter with the monks; and the monastic state was an asylum for her, as she had been for society. The monasteries of Ireland and Scotland, better preserved from intermixture with the Germans, attempted to reform the Gallic clergy. Thus, in the first age of the Church, the spark which enlightened the whole west, had proceeded from Pelagius; and the Breton Faustus, who held the same doctrines with more moderation, opened the glorious school of Lerins. In the second age, it was still a Celt, but this time an Irishman, St. Columbanus, who undertook the reformation of Gaul. A word as to the Celtic church.

The Cymry of Britain and Wales—rationalists, and the Gael of Ireland—poets and mystics, nevertheless exhibit throughout their entire ecclesiastical history one common character—the spirit of independence and opposition to Rome. They enjoyed a better understanding with the Greeks; and notwithstanding distance, revolutions, and manifold misfortunes, they long preserved relations with the churches of Constantinople and Alexandria. Pelagius is already a true son of Origen; and four centuries after him, the Irish Scotus translates the Greek Fathers, and adopts the pantheism of Alexandria. In the seventh century, too, St. Columbanus defends the Greek time of holding Easter against the pope of Rome:—"The Irish," these are his words, "are better astronomers than you Romans."<sup>\*</sup> It was a disciple of his, also an Irishman, Virgil, bishop of Salzburg, who first affirmed the rotundity of the earth and the existence of the Antipodes. All the sciences were at this period cultivated with much renown in the Scotch and Irish monasteries. Their monks, called *Culdees*,<sup>†</sup> recognised hardly more of the hierarchical state than the modern Scotch presbyterians. They lived in societies of twelve, under an abbot of their own election; and their bishop, according to the strict etymological sense of the word, was only their overseer. Celibacy does not seem

to have been strictly observed in this church;<sup>‡</sup> which was, moreover, distinguished by a particular form of tonsure, and other singularities. Baptism was in Ireland performed with milk.<sup>§</sup>

The most celebrated establishment of the Culdees was that of Iona; founded as almost all their establishments were, on the ruins of the Druidical schools—Iona, the burial-place of seventy Scottish kings, the mother of monks, and the oracle of the West in the seventh and eighth centuries. She was the city of the dead, as Arles in Gaul, and Thebes in Egypt.

The war which the emperors had to wage against the numerous usurpers, who issued out of Britain in the latter ages of the empire, was continued by the popes against the Celtic heresy, against Pelagius, against the Scotch and Irish church. To this church, Greek in language and in spirit, Rome often opposed Greeks. As early as the commencement of the fifth century, she dispatches as her champion, Palladius, a Platonist of Alexandria; but his doctrines were soon discovered to be as heterodox as those he denounced. Safer men were then sent—St. Lupus, St. Germain of Auxerre,<sup>||</sup> and his three disciples—Dubnecus, Ilutus, and St. Patricius (Patrick), the great Irish apostle. Of all the fables with which the life of the latter has been plentifully bedecked, the most incredible is the assertion that he found no knowledge of the Scriptures in a country which we have seen in so short a time covered with monasteries, and supplying the whole western world with missionaries. A truce was put to these religious quarrels by the invasion of the Saxons; but as soon as they were firmly established, the pope dispatched

\* The wives and children of the Culdees claimed a share of the gifts offered on the altar. Low, p. 312.

† Corpet et Suppl. au Gloss. de DuRoi. In Hybernia adhibuit fuisse ad baptizandos divitum filios, quos baptizabant, testis est Bened. abbas Petrosburg. t. i. p. 3. Infants were thrice plunged in water, or in milk, &c. parents were wealthy. The children of the rich were baptized at home. The Council of Chelsea, a. d. 1171, was baptisms to be performed in the church. We learn that a child might be baptized in the mother's womb, from 2 words. Ex Concil. Neocaesariensi in vet. Monumentis. "Præcipimus mulier baptizetur, et postea infans." Miræ bishops were common in Ireland. O'Halloran, vol. i. c. 1. In the sixth century, the Britons approximated to the Anglican Church in their liturgy and discipline. Leas de Debonair, observing that the monks of the Abbey of Leiden were their tonsure after the form of the Anglican Britons, ordered them to conform in this, as in all other things, to the decisions of the Roman Church. B. Leas de Debonair, p. 226. D. Moron, Preuves, i. 226.

‡ St. Jerome styles Britain—"a province fertile in tyrants."

§ Low, under the year 451, following Eusebius Gazæus in Theophrastus.

|| St. Lupus was born at Todd, married the sister of St. Hilary, the bishop of Arles, was a monk at Lerins, was then bishop of Troyes. St. Germain, born at Auxerre, was at first duke of the troops of the Armorica and Nervia marches. On his return to Auxerre, he addressed himself wholly to hunting, and used trophies to commendate his success in the chase. St. Amator, bishop of that town, banished him, then converted him, and ordained him priest in his own diocese. St. Genesius and St. Patrick were his disciples. St. Germain and St. Martin—the hunter and the soldier—were the two most popular saints of France. St. Hubert, however, subsequently became the patron saint of hunters.

\* There are two spots in the Isle of Anglesey still called the Astronomer's Ring—*ceirrig brachyn* and the Astronomer's Town—*ceirrig*. Rowland, Mona Antiqua, p. 81. Low Hist. of S. Island, p. 277.

† God's sanctuaries—*lona*, and *cellare*, and *cella*, have an analogous roots in Latin and Celtic.

‡ Ducange, ii.—Low, p. 315.

Augustin, a monk of the Benedictine order, the conversion of Britain. The Romish missionaries succeeded with the Anglo-Saxons, began that spiritual conquest which was to have such great results; while from the monastery of Iona, founded exactly at this same time by St. Columba, there issued his celebrated disciple, St. Columbanus,\* the boldness whose zeal against Brunehaut has been already related. For a moment Gaul was reached to the principles of the Irish church, his ardent and impetuous missionary.

The fall of the children of Sigebert and Brunehaut, and the reunion of Austrasia with Neustria, presented a favorable opportunity. Neustria, and throughout the whole south of Gaul, as the traces of invasion disappeared, the Romans melted into the Gallic and Roman population. The vigor of the ancient races receded. Neustria had repulsed Austrasia under the Merovingians, and had annexed that province to herself under Clotaire—which prince, as well as his son, Dagobert, less Franks than Romans, had favored the progress of the Celtic religion, whose discipline and learning put to shame the barbarism into which her Gallic sister had sunk.

When St. Columbanus first visited Gaul, he came with twelve companions only; but he seems to have been followed by a swarm of monks, who populated the monasteries founded by these first missionaries. We see the saint at first settling in the deepest solitudes of the Vosges, on the site of a pagan temple,† a circumstance which his biographer notices to have occurred with regard to all the religious houses which he founded. The nobles of this part of Gaul sent their children thither;‡ but he was disturbed by the jealousy of the bishops, to whom the strangeness of the Irish rites lent a plausible cause of attack.§ His bold remonstrances to Theoderic and Brunehaut brought him expulsion from Luxeuil, but, led out of Gaul by the Loire, he re-entered it by the donations of Clotaire II., who gave him an honorable reception. It was, indeed, of immense advantage to this prince to appear in the eyes

of the people as the protector of the saints, persecuted by his enemies. From France Columbanus passed into Switzerland, where his disciple, St. Gall, founded the famous monastery of this name. He finally settled in Italy with the Bavarian Agilulf, king of the Lombards, and built himself a retreat at Bobbio, where he remained till his death, notwithstanding the entreaties of the victorious Clotaire that he would return to him.\* It was from this spot that he addressed to the pope his eloquent but fantastical letters on the union of the Romish and Irish churches, in the name of the king and queen of the Lombards, at whose request he states that he writes. Perhaps, the opinions which he expresses on the superiority of the latter church were entertained by Clotaire and his son Dagobert likewise; since these princes raised in every direction monasteries after his rule. The Austrasian race of the Carolingians, on the contrary, sided devotedly with the pope, and makes all the monasteries conform to the rule of St. Benedict.

From the great schools of Luxeuil and Bobbio sprang the founders of multitudinous abbeys—St. Gall, mentioned above; Saints Magnus and Theodore, the first abbots of Kempten and Fuessen, near Augsburg; St. Attalus of Bobbio; St. Romaric of Remiremont; St. Omer, St. Bertin, St. Amand, the three apostles of Flanders; and St. Wandril, related to the Carolingians, and founder of the great school of Fontenelle in Normandy, which in its turn was to be the metropolis of numerous others. It was Clotaire II. who raised St. Amand to the episcopal bench; and Dagobert had his son baptized by this saint. Dagobert's minister, St. Eloi, founded Solignac in Limousin, whence proceeded St. Remacius, the great bishop of Lausanne. He had said one day to Dagobert—"My lord, grant me this gift that I may make it into a ladder, by which you and I may ascend to heaven."†

Simultaneously with these schools, learned virgins opened others for those of their own sex. Not to mention the schools of Poitiers, of Arles, and of Maubeuge—where St. Alden wrote her revelations,‡ the abbess of Nivelles, St. Gertrude, had repaired to Ireland§ for the advantages of study; and St. Bertilla, abbess of Chelles, was no celebrated, that numerous disciples of both sexes flocked around her from all parts of Gaul and of Great Britain.¶

What was the new rule to which this crowd of monasteries was subjected? The Benedictine rule, ask no better than to persuade us that it

\* St. Columbanus explains the mystical affinity of his name with the Jews and Syrians of the Scriptures, signifying rock. *Acta SS. Ord. S. Bened. ii. 24. 31.*

† *Acta SS. Ord. S. Bened. ii. 12.* Vita S. Columbae ab ipso seculo iniquis insensitum exitum.

‡ The monasterium in populo densis vicinis, et in densis, quibus in multis ritibus profano vetitatis paganos tempeste hominibus.

§ *Ibid.* The monasterium, ubi undique concurrere n. debentur. His eloquent reply to a council, assembled in judgment upon him, has been handed down to us. *Biblioth. Mazarin. in script. 2.* "I only beseech of your goodness as I am not the author of these differences, with respect to Easter, but have come hither for the sake of God, of Christ, the Father of us all, you would preferably and stably sit me to live silently in those forests, near the sea of our seventeen dearer brothers, as it has been ordained me to live among you those twelve years. prayer is that the earth of Gaul may receive together a harvest those who, if found deserting, the kingdom of heaven will together receive. I confirm the words of my source—that I hold to the traditions of my own land."

\* *Acta SS. Ord. S. Bened. ii. 21.*

† *Greg. Dagobert. c. 17. sup. ap. Rev. R. Pr. ii. 303. Sancti Eloi Vita. lib. iii. 552. 556.* Hinc mihi, domine mi rex, serenitas tua concedat, quo possim et mihi et tibi regnum construere, per quoniam mercedem ad celestia regna uterque consequamur.

‡ This work is lost.

§ *Acta SS. Ord. S. Bened. ii. 654. 655.*

¶ *Ibid. iii. 24. 25.*

\* *Acta SS. Ord. S. Bened. ii. prelat.*—It was the interest of the Church of Rome to suppress the writings of an enemy.

was that of St. Benedict; and the very passages they quote clearly prove the contrary. For instance, we find nuns entreating St. Donatus, a disciple of St. Columbanus, who had been made bishop of Besançon, to draw up for them a code of rules, founded on those of St. Cæsarius of Arles, of St. Benedict, and of St. Columbanus. St. Projectus did the same for other nuns. The rules, therefore, were not identical.

The rule of St. Columbanus, which is opposed in this point to that of St. Benedict, does not make regular labor obligatory, but compels the monk to the repetition of an enormous number of prayers. Generally speaking, it does not bear that imprint of decision, so highly characteristic of the other. It similarly enjoins obedience, but does not leave punishment to the abbot's discretion; specifying with minute and curious precision the penalty for each offence. There is much in this strange penal code to scandalize the modern reader. It prescribes "a year's penance for the monk who has lost a consecrated wafer—for the monk who has fallen with a woman two days' bread and water, but only one day's if he knew it not to be a sin."\* Its general tendency is mystical, the legislator paying more regard to the thoughts than the acts. "We must estimate," are his words, "a monk's chastity by his thoughts: what avails his being a virgin in body, if he be not one in mind!"†

This reform, doubly remarkable, both by its brilliancy and its connection with the awaken-

ing of the conquered races in Gaul, was, however, far from satisfying the real wants of the world. Pious practices and mystical impulses were not the only things needful, when barbarism pressed so heavily on man, and a new invasion threatened on the Rhine. St. Benedict understood better what the epoch required—as humbler and more laborious monachism, to clear the land, left to run waste and uncultivated, and to clear as well the mind of the barbarians. Far from opposing Rome, the natural centre of Roman and ecclesiastical civilization, it was required to rally around her. But the Irish church, animated by an untameable spirit of individuality and of opposition, agreed neither with Rome nor with herself. St. Gall, the principal disciple of St. Columbanus, refused to follow him into Italy, remained in Switzerland, and labored there independently of his master.\* St. Columbanus occupied himself in Italy with combating the Arianism of the East—whence it was turning to a bygone world and the past, instead of looking towards Germany and the future. While on the Rhine, he at one time entertained the idea of converting the Suevi, and, afterwards, thought of undertaking that of the Slaves; but he was dissuaded in a dream by an angel, who, tracing a map of the world, pointed out Italy to him.† The want of sympathy with the Germans, and of relish for the obscure task of converting them, is the condemnation of St. Columbanus, and of the Celtic church. The Anglo-Saxon missionaries, submissive disciples of Rome, proceeded, with the aid of the Austrasian dynasty, to gather in Germany that harvest, which Ireland could not, or would not gather.‡

who had left in the memory of the people so great a reputation for sanctity, and thus most of St. Columbanus's works have perished. Some were still to be found in the sixteenth century at Besançon and Bobbio; but are said to have been transferred to the libraries of Rome and Milan.

\* Bull. Max. PP. xii. p. 2. *Si quis monachus dormierit in una domo cum muliere, duos dies in pane et aqua, si nescierit quod non debet, unum diem.*

Surely, the author's translation strains the point. The text says: "For the monk who shall sleep in one or the same house with a woman," &c.; which is certainly not identical with sleeping with a woman. Besides, the context, "He knew not that he was committing a sin," seems conclusive as to the meaning. No monk could be so ignorant as not to know that he had undertaken the vow of chastity.

—TRANSLATOR.

\* In Bull. Cæsarius vera monachi in egestationibus judicatur, et si quid predest videri corpori, si non sit virgo mentis. The basis of the discipline is absolute obedience and self-denial. What limit shall we prescribe to obedience? Death, as to life, since Christ obeyed his Father, for our sake, and death. What is the measure of prayers? Let every crime, transgression, possibility, all how destined, since death is our destiny—"A year's penance for him who loses a consecrated wafer, six months for him who suffers it to be lost, twenty days for him who lets it fall, not at all days for him who contemptuously flings it into water, twenty days for him who burns it up through weakness of stomach, but, if through illness, ten days." He who neglects to listen Amen to the Benedictine who speaks when eating, washes his face to make the sign of the cross on his spoon, or on his signet-ring, or on his quiver, or on his sword, or on his staff, or on his younger brother, is to receive six or twelve stripes, as the crime may be, repeat twelve psalms, &c. A hundred stripes for him who does a work apart from his duty, a stroke for him who does not kneel to prayer, who has sung his Mass, or chanted which, or long the psalms who has done so during prayer time, or who amuses himself by singing. He who neglects a bed for which he has already done penance, is to be put on bread and water for a day." "Is this to hinder one from recalling the feeling of temptations?"

#### EQUAL WEAKNESS OF THE CELTIC CHURCH AND OF THE MONARCHY.

The powerlessness of the Celtic church, its want of unity, is paralleled by that of the monarchy which at this period nominally prevailed throughout Gaul, and whose death-struggle ap-

\* To excuse himself from following Columbanus into Italy, St. Gall pretended that he was laboring under poverty—"St. Columbanus, judging that he was detained by the King he had taken to the country, and a wish to labor there, and so shunned the fatigue of longer travel, said to him, 'I know, my brother, that it is a burden to thee to go through such great labors for me, and I take leave of thee, secretly charging thee not to presume to say mass, so long as I dwell in the flesh.'" A bear waited on St. Gall in his solitude, and brought him wood for his fire. St. Gall gave him a habit—"By this covenant, leave the mountains and hills, and dwell in common with me." A poetic symbol of the alliance between man and living nature, in the desert.

Act. SS. Ord. St. Bened. sec. ii. *Cognitio in monasterio vestrum in Venetorum quieti statu dicitur terminos adire, Anglorum domum per unum appoint, perque amica, vel in populi solis stilo orbis descriptum cursum, mundi compem non morat etc.*

‡ The Benedictines very justly observed, that there is the same difference between the rule of St. Columbanus and that of St. Benedict as between those of the Franciscans and Dominicans. It is the opposition between the law and grace. The order of St. Benedict was to prevail, let over the Rationation of the Pelagians. It gave rise to FREE LABOR; the want of which was the great sin of the expiring empire.



The mayor Ebroin undertook impossibilities. At a time when the universal tendency was towards separation, he sought to establish unity; and when the nobles were in every direction asserting their independent power, he endeavored to found royalty. His plans would have been useful, had they been practicable. He appointed dukes and other chief officers to different provinces from those in which lay their possessions, slaves, and clients.\* Isolated by this means from their personal sources of power, they would have been mere dependents on the king, and could not have rendered their offices hereditary in their families. In addition to this stroke of policy, Ebroin seems to have striven to consolidate the different laws and customs of the nations composing the Frankish empire: an attempt which was regarded as tyrannical,† and which at the time, in fact, was so.

Hence Austrasia slipped out of Ebroin's hands—demanding a king, mayor, and government of her own. The nobles, too, of Austrasia and Burgundy—among others, St. Leger, bishop of Autun, the nephew of Dido, bishop of Poitiers, (both friends of the Pepins,‡) march against Ebroin in the name of the young Childeric II., king of Austrasia.§ Ebroin, deserted by the Neustrian nobles, is compelled to enter the monastery of Luxeuil. St. Leger was little advantaged by the revolution which he had aided in bringing about. He was accused, wrongfully or rightfully, of having aspired to the throne, in concert with the Roman Victor, the sovereign patrician of Marseilles, who was at Childeric's court on matters of business.|| The northern nobles inspired the latter with a natural mistrust of the leader of the nobles of the south; and St. Leger was confined in the same monastery that he had imprisoned Ebroin in. This treatment evidences the improvement in manners; for, under the first Merovingian monarchs, such a suspicion would have infallibly drawn down capital punishment.

However, the Austrasian Childeric had hardly breathed the air of Neustria before he, too, became offensive to the nobles. In a fit of

passion, he had one of them, named Bodila, beaten with rods; and this treatment of one of their number as a slave exasperated the whole body. Childeric II. was assassinated in the forest of Chelles; and the murderers did not even spare his pregnant wife and infant son.\*

Ebroin and St. Leger left Luxeuil, apparently reconciled; but they soon parted to take advantage of the two revolutions which had just been brought about in Austrasia and Neustria. The parts were changed. While St. Leger and the nobles triumphed in Neustria through Childeric's death, the freemen of Austrasia had sent to Ireland for that child (Dagobert II.) whom the Pepins had formerly removed to a distance in the hope of securing the throne for themselves; and, placing Ebroin at the head of an army, they brought him in triumph back to Neustria, where he had St. Leger degraded, blinded, and finally put to death, (A. D. 678,) on the charge of having counselled Childeric's murder. At this very moment, another Merovingian was slain in Austrasia by the friends of St. Leger; where the two Pepins and Martin, grandsons of Arnulf, bishop of Metz, and nephews of Grimoald, had Dagobert II., the freemen's king, that is, the king chosen by the party allied with Ebroin, condemned by a council and poniarded. Ebroin avenged Dagobert, as he had avenged Childeric. He caused Martin to a conference, at which he was himself assassinated; and was himself slain soon afterwards by a noble Frank, whom he threatened with death.†

This remarkable man had, like Fredegond, successfully defended western France, and re-ruled for twenty years the triumph of the Austrasian nobles. His death delivered Neustria into their hands, his successors being defeated by Pepin at Testry, between St. Quentin and Peronne.‡

At first, no change of dynasty followed the victory of the nobles over the popular party of German over Roman Gaul. Pepin adopted the very king, in whose name Ebroin and his successors had fought. However, the battle of Testry may be considered the fall of the family of Clovis; for it matters little that it still retains the title of king in some obscure monastic retreat. Henceforward, the name of the Merovingian princes will only be cited as the symbol of a party; and they will soon cease to be employed even as instruments. The last stage of decay is come.

According to an old legend, Clovis's father had carried off Basina, the wife of the king of Thuringia:—"She said to him on the first

\* Vita S. Leodegarii, c. 1. ap. Ser. R. Fr. ii. 613.

† Ibid.—"The universal cry to king Childeric is, that he should shape his laws for his three kingdoms, so that the laws or customs of each should be preserved and respected, as they were by the judges in time past."

‡ Vita S. Leodegarii, passim.

§ With the differences between St. Leger and Ebroin was mixed up a national quarrel—a rivalry between two cities, St. Leger, bishop of Autun, had the bishop of Lyons on his side. Vita S. Leodegarii, c. 8, 11, and against him the bishop of Autun and Châlons, c. 9, which two cities made war in this manner on their rivals, the two capitals of Burgundy. When St. Leger had voluntarily surrendered to his enemies, Autun was nevertheless obliged to ransom herself. The bishop of Lyons would also have been forced to fly, had not the Lyonnais taken up arms in his defence. c. 11. It is curious that the cities bore an active part in the quarrel.

|| Vita S. Leodegarii, c. 5. "Vir quidam nobilis, Hicor vocatus nomine, qui tunc regnabat in hocibus Patricium Misitum, et Childericum regem pro quadam causa advenit. Mentem tribulum de Leodegario et Hicore confregit, quasi deo inimici fuissent conjuncti ut regnum dominationem everterent, et potestatis jura subiret usurparent."

\* Gesta Reg. Fr. c. 45.

† Vita S. Leodegarii, c. 16. "He took opportunities of fleeing a certain nobleman, at the time at the head of the tax department, so as to strip him of almost all his goods, and he then threatened him with death as well."—H. de Simeoni does not seem to have given this passage its exact significance.

‡ Annal. Metenses, A. D. 680.—Contiu. Fredeg. c. 100.—Chron. Moissiac. ap. Ser. R. Fr. ii. 653.

when they were in bed together, 'Let  
frain; rise, and what thou shalt see in  
ourt-yard of the palace, that thou shalt  
thy servant.' Having risen, he saw as  
re lions, unicorns, and leopards walking

He returned, and told what he had

The woman then said to him—'Go  
, and return to thy servant.' He went,  
saw this time bears and wolves. The  
time, he saw dogs and other sorry beasts.  
passed the night chastely, and when they  
Basina said to him—'What thou hast seen  
thy eyes is based on truth. A lion will  
rn to us—the leopard and the unicorn  
his brave sons. Of them, will be born  
and wolves for courage and greed. The  
signify the last kings, and the crowd of  
beasts those who shall harass the people  
nprotected by their kings.'\*

e Merovingians, indeed, rapidly degene-  
Of the four sons of Clovis, one alone,  
ire, leaves issue. Of Clotaire's four sons,  
ne has children. They who come after,  
lmost all young. It would appear as if  
were a peculiar race; for every Merovin-  
is a father at fifteen, and decrepit at thirty  
of age. Most indeed do not live so long.  
bert II. died when twenty-five; Sigebert  
hen twenty-six; Clovis II. when twenty-  
; Childeric II. when twenty-four; Clo-  
III. when eighteen; and Dagobert II.  
twenty-six or twenty-seven years of age.

The symbol of the race are the *nerveless*  
of Jumièges—those young princes whose  
have been divided, and who are borne in  
t by the river's current towards the ocean,  
re saved and sheltered in a monastery.  
ho has cut the nerves and bruised the  
s of these children of barbaric kings—  
ht else than the precocious entrance of  
fathers into the riches and luxuries of that  
f Rome which they invaded. Civiliza-  
restows on man knowledge and gratifica-  
; and knowledge and the pursuits of in-  
tual life counterbalance in cultivated  
s the enervating effects of these gratifica-  
But barbarians suddenly transported into  
ite of civilization for which they are un-  
ared, only clutch at its gratifications. There  
thing surprising, therefore, in their being  
rbed by it, and melting away in it, so to  
k, as snow before a blazing fire.

se poor old historian Fredegarus, in his  
language, sorrows over this decay of the  
ovingian world. After stating that he will  
opt to continue Gregory of Tours, he goes  
o say—"Would that I were gifted with  
a portion of eloquence, that I might be

but a little equal to the task. But where the  
fountain is not ever flowing, the jar will still fail  
to be filled. The world is growing old, and our  
faculties are on the decline, nor can any one  
of this day—nor would he presume to affect it  
—be like the orators of past times."†

W

## CHAPTER II.

### THE CARLOVINGIANS.—EIGHTH, NINTH, AND TENTH CENTURIES.

"THE man of God (St. Columbanus) having  
gone unto Theodebert and advised him—putting  
aside arrogance and presumption—to turn priest,  
enter the bosom of the Church, and humble  
himself to holy religion, lest, in addition to the  
loss of his temporal kingdom, he should forfeit  
life eternal—the king, and those who were with  
him, were moved to laughter, saying, that such  
a thing as a Merovingian, raised to the throne,  
turning priest, had never been heard of. And  
all being highly offended at his words, the  
saint added, 'He despises the honorable post  
of priest; well, he shall be one in spite of him-  
self.'‡

### ECCLESIASTICAL ORIGIN OF THE CARLOVINGIANS.

The foregoing illustrates one of the main dis-  
tinctions between the first and second races.  
The Merovingians enter the Church in their  
own despite; the Carolingians voluntarily.  
The head of the latter family is Arnulf, bishop  
of Metz, and his son Chlodulf succeeds to that  
see. Arnulf's brother is abbot of Bobbio; his  
grandson, St. Wandril. The whole family is  
closely united with St. Leger. Carloman,  
brother of Pepin le Bref, enters Monte-Cassino  
as monk; his two other brothers are, one, arch-  
bishop of Rouen; the other, abbot of St. Denis.  
Charlemagne's cousins—Adalhard, Wala, and  
Bernard, are monks. Drongon, Louis the De-  
bonnaire's brother, is bishop of Metz; and three  
other brothers of his are monks or priests.  
The great saint of the south, St. Guilhemus of  
Toulouse, is both cousin and preceptor of Charle-  
magne's eldest son. This ecclesiastical turn  
of the Carolingians explains their strict union  
with the pope, and their predilection for the  
order of St. Benedict.

Arnulf is said to have been born of an Aquit-  
anian father, and Suevian mother;§ and his

reg. Tur optum. ap. Ferr. R. Fr. II. 397.—Basina has  
fit of second sight, like Brunnhild in the *Edda*; and, like  
her, throws herself into the arms of the bravest—"I know  
worth, how valiant you are, and therefore am come in  
with thee. Knowest thou not, that if I had known  
any other man than thou beyond the sea, him and his em-  
pire, would I have sought?" *Id. II. 398.*

\* Fredegarus, ap. Ferr. R. Fr. II. 414. Optatorem et ego  
ut mihi succumberet ille dicendi facundia, ut rei paululum  
esset ad iustitiam. Sed carius hauritur, ubi non rei pervenimus  
aque. Mundus jam creverit, idcirco prudenter arces in  
subito tepore, nec quinquem potest huius temporis, nec pre-  
cavit ceteris precedentes esse consilia.

† Arnulfus enim nunquam se audire Merovingium, in  
regno sublimitatem, voluntarium clericum fuisse. De huius-  
modi ergo amantibus, etc. Vita S. Columb. in Actis Ord.  
S. Ben. cor. II. p. 37.

‡ In a life of St. Arnulf, by one Umno, who asserts that



father is made out to be one of the Ferreoli, and son-in-law of Clotaire the First—a genealogy which appears to have been fabricated in order to connect the Carolingians, on the one hand, with the Merovingian dynasty, and, on the other, with the most illustrious family of Roman Gaul.\* However this may be, I can easily suppose that from the frequent intermarriages of the Austrasians and Aquitanians,† the Carolingians in reality sprang from both races.

This episcopal house of Metz‡ combined two advantages, which were certain to secure it the monarchy. On the one hand, it was bound up with the Church; on the other, it was settled in the most Germanized country of Gaul. Besides, fortune in every way favored it. Royalty had become a cipher; the freemen daily decreased in numbers; the great alone, the leuds and bishops, grew in power and strength. In such a state of things, the chief authority must naturally pass into the hands of him who was at once one of the large proprietors, and the chief of the leuds; and it furthermore became a natural consequence that these various requisites should centre in one of the great episcopal and Austrasian families, that is to say, in a family at once friendly to the Church and the barbarians. That Church which had summoned Clovis and his Franks against the Goths, necessarily favored the Austrasians against Neustria, when the latter, under an Ebroin, sought to organize a lay power in counterpoise to the clergy.

The battle of Testry, which was the victory of the nobles over the royal authority, or at least over the name of king, served to complete, proclaim, and legitimate the dissolution of the empire, so that all the nations must have seen in it the judgment of God upon its unity. The

south—Aquitaine and Burgundy—ceased to be France; and, as early as Charles Martel's time, these countries were termed *Roman*: he penetrated, say the Chronicles, even into Burgundy. Eastward and northward, there was no reason why the German dukes, why the Frisons, Saxons, Suevi, and Bavarians, should submit to the duke of the Austrasians, who, perhaps, could not have conquered without them. Pepin found himself isolated by his very victory; and he at once sought to support himself by means of the very party which he had overcome, that of Ebroin, whose object was the maintenance of the unity of Gaul. He married his son to a powerful matron, widow of the last mayor, and dear to the party of the freemen.\* Abroad, he endeavored to bring back under Frankish influence, the German tribes who had thrown it off—the Frisons in the north, the Suevi in the south. But his endeavors fell far short of restoring the unity of the empire. His death but rendered matters worse. He was succeeded in the mayoralty, nominally, by his grandson Theobald, in reality by his widow Plectrude; and the king, Dagobert III., still a child, was subjected to a mayor, who was also a child, and both to a woman. The Neustrians easily freed themselves. Austrasia was left a prey to the first spoiler. She was laid waste by the Frisons and Neustrians, and the Saxons overran her German possessions.

#### CHARLES MARTEL. (A. D. 715–741.)

Trampled on by every nation, the Austrasians put aside Plectrude and her son, and drew out of prison a bastard son of Pepin's, the valiant Carl, surnamed Marteau, (the Hammer,) of whom Pepin had left nothing—as an accused seignior, odious to the Church, being sullied with the blood of a martyr. St. Lambert, bishop of Liege, had one day, at the royal table, expressed his contempt for Alpaide, Carl's mother, as Pepin's mistress. Alpaide's brother broke at the episcopal mansion, and slew the bishop at his prayers. Grimoald, Pepin's son and heir, having gone on a pilgrimage to St. Lambert's tomb, was slain there; undoubtedly, by friends of Alpaide's. Carl himself was notoriously hostile to the Church; and, from his Pagan name of *Marteau*, I should doubt his being a Christian. We know that the hammer is the attribute of Thor—the sign of Pagan compact, as well as that of property and of barbaric conquest.† This circumstance would explain how an empire, exhausted under preceding reigns, could suddenly furnish such armies both against the Saxons and the Saracens. These very men, lured to take up arms under Carl, by the attraction of the wealth of the Church which he lavished upon them, might very well adopt by degrees the belief of their new country, and

he undertakes it by command of Charlemagne, his genealogy is given—*Carolus . . . cui fuerat tributus Arnulfus regem Chlotarii . . . cuius filium Blithildem nomine, Ansberto, viri Aquitanici persequens, deusque et generis, in matrimonium accepit, de qua Burgundum genuit, patrem B. lupi, Arnulfi. And further on, Natus est B. Arnulfus Aquitanicus pater. Suavia matre laetitia Lacensis, duxis de Turha, in comiti du Columoniensi.*

\* See Leclercq, *Desquid, et Valois*, R. Fr. I. viii, and xvi. We read in an old life of St. Ferreol: "The holy Ferreolus was born at Narbonne, and of noble parentage; his father, Anspertus, being of high senatorial descent, received in marriage Blithild, daughter of Clotaire, king of the Franks. The monk, Egardus, in his additions to the history of the bishops of Utrecht, compiled by Abbot Hariger, says that Hugobert of Beggis, Anspert's son, held five duchies in Aquitaine. According to this genealogy, the wars of Charles Martel with Ebroin, and of Pepin with Hunald, were wars between relatives."

† See the important charter of 45. Hist. du Lang. i. p. 173, and notes, p. 165. Boggis and Bertrand, dukes of Aquitaine, married Oda and Robert's, Austrasians. The son of Boggis married Waltrude, an Austrasian. The marriages of the St. Hubert family, brother, the opportunity of settling in Austrasia, under Pepin's protection, and founding there the bishopric of Liege.

‡ Within a century and a half the Carolingian house gave rise to bishops to Metz, Arnold, Chrodoald, and Dragon. The bishops of these dioceses being often married before they took orders, had no difficulty in transmitting their sees to their sons and grandsons. Thus the Apollinarii had inherited their see from the bishops of Chrodoald. Gregory of Tours (l. vi. c. 40) says of St. R. Fr. c. 264, says of one who endeavored to suggest him in that see: "The wretch did not know that all the bishops of Tours have been chosen out of his family, with but five exceptions."

\* Annal. Met. ap. Rec. R. Fr. II. 682.

† See the Second Part.

re a generation of soldiers for Pepin le and Charlemagne. In this thoroughly ecclesiastical family of the Carolingians, the bas- the proscribed Carl, or Charles Martel, nts a distinct physiognomy of his own, very un-Christian one.\*

first, the Neustrians, defeated by him at ; near Cambrai, summoned to their aid aquitanians, who, since the dissolution of Frankish empire, constituted a formidable r. Eudes, their duke, advanced as far as ons, and there formed a junction with the trians, who, notwithstanding his aid, lost lay. Perhaps he might have prosecuted ar with advantage, had he not had an en- behind him, the Saracens, who, after con- ing Spain, had seized Languedoc. Cun- ; in the speed and indefatigable vigor of African barbs, their innumerable cavalry y sallied forth from the Roman and Gothic of Narbonne, of which they had posses- upon the north, as far as Poitou and Bur- y.† The astonishing celerity of these nds, who pricked into every quarter, seem- multiply them. They soon made their ds in larger numbers; and it began to be d that, according to their usual practice, they had turned great part of the south a desert, they would finally settle there- n, having sustained a defeat by them, had use to his former antagonists, the Franks. encounter took place near Poitiers between apid African cavalry and the heavy batta- of the Franks, (A. D. 732.) when the first, ng their powerlessness against the massy gth of the latter, drew off during the night, what loss it is impossible to say. But the nation of the chroniclers of the period was ed by this solemn trial of prowess between nen of the north and those of the south, they concluded that the two races could not in hostile shock without wholesale slaugh-

Charles Martel pushed on to Languedoc,

failed to take Narbonne, entered Nîmes, and endeavored to burn the amphitheatre, which had been converted into a fortress. Marks of the fire are yet to be seen on its walls.

But danger did not threaten on the southern border alone. Invasions from the German side were much more formidable than this of the Saracens. The latter had settled in Spain; and intestine divisions soon kept them there. But the Frisians, Saxons, and Germans, were constantly attracted to the Rhine by the wealth of Gaul and the memory of their ancient invasions; and Charles Martel had to make repeated expeditions before he could repel and drive them within their own bounds. What soldiers did he use in these expeditions? The probability is that he must have recruited his armies in Germany. By distributing the spoils of the bishops and abbots of Neustria and Burgundy,\* he had a ready means of drawing warriors to his standard. Now, to get Germans to act against Germans, it behooved to make them Christians; and this explains how Charles finally became the friend of the popes, and their support against the Lombards. The pontifical missions created in Germany a Christian population friendly to the Franks. Each horde must have been divided: the Pagan portion would obstinately cling to the paternal soil, and their primitive life of the tribe; while the Christians supplied the armies of Charles Martel, Pepin, and Charlemagne.

\* Chronic. Vindun. ap. Ser. R. Fr. li. 364. "He so profusely lavished the public treasure, and was so liberal to his soldiers—when it was the custom to call soldiers, (soldarii) soldiers? we have seen that the *deserts* of Aquitaine were so called, that not the treasure of the kingdom, not the plunder of cities, nor the spoiling of churches and monasteries, nor the tributes of the provinces, suffered him. He even dared, when these sources failed, to seize the Church lands, and give them to his fellow soldiers," &c.—*Prosaert*, l. ii. c. 12. "When Charles Martel had overcome his enemies, he expelled from his see the pious Rigobert, his grandfather, who had held him on the holy baptismal font, and gave the bishopric of Reims to one Milo, who was no further a churchman than the tunic made him, but who had served him in war. This Charles Martel, the offspring of a slave, a concubine, as we read in the annals of the Frank kings—more audacious than all the kings his predecessors, gave not only the bishopric of Reims, but many others in the kingdom of France, to laymen and counts; so as to deprive the bishops of all power over the goods and affairs of the Church. But all the harm he had wrought on this holy man and on the other churches of Christ, the Lord, by a just judgment, caused to revert on his own head. For we read in the writings of the Fathers, that St. Fulcherius, formerly bishop of Orleans, whose body rests in St. Trude's monastery, being one day at prayer, absorbed in the meditation of heavenly things, was rapt into the other world, and there, through revelation of the Lord, saw Charles tormented in the lowest hell. When he inquired the cause of the angel who conducted him, the latter replied, that by the sentence of the saint who, on the last day would hold the balance together with the Lord, he was condemned to everlasting punishment for having laid hands on their possessions. St. Fulcherius, on his return to this world, hastened to relate what he had seen to St. Boniface, who had been deputed by the holy see to re-establish canonical discipline in France, and to Fulrad, abbot of St. Denis, and the head of king Pepin's chaplains, telling them, in proof of the truth of what he related of Charles Martel, that, on searching his tomb, they would not find his body; and, in fact, when they went to his place of burial and opened his tomb, a serpent coiled out of it, and the tomb was found empty and blackened as if smothered by fire."

According to some authorities, France, at this period, have been on the verge of lapsing into Paganism (see, e.g., 2d ann. 742 says, "The Franks, as our report have not held a synod for more than eighty years, nor have had an archbishop, nor have anywhere ed or renewed the canons of the church." *Hincmar*, A. D. 742). In Carl's days Christianity was almost ly extinct in the German, Rhaire, and Celtic provinces, ches; that in the eastern parts many worshipped idols, married untold.

742, they took Caracorum, leaved a contribution on and destroyed Autun. *Chronic. Moissac*, ap. Ser. li. 626. In 731, they burnt the church of St. Hilary near Fredegar. *Contat* lib. 634. *Annals Reg. Fr.* 734.

According to Paul Baroanus, l. vi. the Saracens lost hundred and seventy five thousand men. Isidore de described the war in barbarous Latin two and twenty after the battle. Part of his description is in rhyme, her in sentences, the sentence is also met with wing of the *Moisacensis*, composed about the year

Abderraman multitudo repletam

Plu exarvato propensio terram,

Montana Varcum ducens,

Et fremitu et plausu pervolans,

Trans Francorum intus exprobat, &c.

Isidore. *Saraceni*, ap. Ser. R. Fr. li. 732.

This statement of this great revolution was St. Boniface, the apostle of Germany. The Anglo-Saxon church, to which he belonged, was not one of those of Ireland, of Gaul, or of Spain, the sister and equal of that of Rome, but the child of the popes. By this church, Rome was kept German in tongue, Roman in spirit. German in tongue, Roman in spirit, the church of Germany. St. Columbanus had been preaching to the Slavs. The Celtic church had spirit of opposition to the German church, would not be the instruments of its conversion. A more pious and sympathetic church than the Celtic church, was required to bring Christianity to the latest arrived Germans. They had to be told of Christ in the name of Rome, that great name which had been the life for so many centuries. To convert Germany, the disinterested genius of Germany itself was required to set the

world the example of submission to the hierarchy, and to teach it to resign itself for a second time to Roman centralization.

Winfred (this is the German name of Boniface) resigned himself unreservedly to the popes, and, under their auspices, plunged through barbarous nations into the vast pagan world of Germany. He was the Columbus and the Cortes of this unknown world: into which he penetrated with no other arms than his intrepid faith and the name of Rome. This heroic man, who crossed so often the sea, the Rhine, and the Alps, was the bond of the nations. It was through him that the Franks came to an understanding with Rome, and with the tribes of Germany. It was he, who by religion and civilization attached these roving tribes to the soil, and unconsciously prepared the road for the armies of Charlemagne, as the missionaries of the sixteenth century opened America to those of Charles the Fifth. He reared on the Rhine the metropolis of German Christianity—the church of Mentz, the church of the empire, and, farther on, the church of Cologne—the church of relics and the Holy city of the Low Countries. The young school of Fulda, founded by him in the heart of German barbarism, became the light of the West; and taught its masters. First archbishop of Mentz—he chose to hold of the pope the government of this vast Christian world which he had himself called into existence. By his oath, he devoted himself and his successors to the prince of the apostles, "who alone has the right of bestowing the pallium on bishops." There is nothing servile in this submission. In his simplest language Winfred inquires of the pope whether it be true that he breaks the canons, and incurs the guilt of simony; and entreats him to give to the pagan Germans still celebrating the Roman people, to the great scandal of the Germans. But his chief hatred is to the Scotch, the same equally given to the Scotch as to the Irish, and he especially condemns their allowing priests to marry. At one time he denounces to the pope the famous Virgil, bishop of Salzburg, and another priest named Samson, who had led baptism. Gilbert, another Irishman,

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It was he who first asserted the rotundity of the earth.

Gaul Adalbert likewise trouble the  
Adalbert having erected oratories  
near fountains, (perhaps by the  
Druidical altars,) the people flock  
and desert the churches.\* This Adal-  
bert revered, that his nails and hair be-  
came subject of dispute as relics. Au-  
gustine by a letter which he has received  
from Christ, he invokes angels of un-  
known names. He knows the sins of men  
and, and will not listen to their confes-  
sion, the implacable enemy of the  
church, prevails on Carloman and Pepin  
son Adalbert. His fierce and rugged  
at the least disinterested. After having  
nine bishoprics and as many monaste-  
ries at the height of his glory and in the  
thirtieth year of his age, he resigned the  
episcopate of Metz to his disciple Lullus,  
turned a simple missionary to the woods  
and shores of pagan Frisia, where, forty years  
he had been the first to preach the Gos-  
pel found martyrdom there.†  
years before his death (A. D. 752) he  
consecrated Pepin king, in the name of  
St. Peter, and so transferred the crown  
to the dynasty. This son of Charles Martel,  
mayor by the retirement of one of his  
sons to Monte-Cassino, and by the flight of  
another, was the darling of the Church. He  
fled her for the spoliation of Charles  
and was the only support of the pope  
the Lombards. Hence he was em-  
ployed to bring to a conclusion the long farce  
by the mayors of the palace since Dago-  
bert, and to assume the title of king,  
near a hundred years since the Mero-  
vingians, confined in their villa of Maumagne,  
some monastery, had preserved a vain  
of royalty ‡. Hardly at any other pe-  
riod, on the occasion of opening the  
de Mars, was the idol drawn from his  
cave, and the people shown their king.  
and grave, this long-haired and bearded  
hero (whatever his age, these were the in-  
alienable ensigns of royalty) appeared, slowly  
led on the German car by yoked oxen,  
in the goddess Hertha.§ In all the  
us revolutions which took place in their  
whether conquered or conquering, their  
derwent little change. They passed

from the palace to the cloister, without ob-  
serving the difference. Often, indeed, the  
victorious mayor would quit his king for the  
conquered king, if the latter were the more  
personable of the two. Generally, these poor  
kings soon died off. Frail and feeble, the last  
descendants of an enervated race, they bore  
the penalty of their fathers' excesses. But  
this very youthfulness, this state of repose, and  
this innocence must have inspired the people  
with a profound idea of royal sanctity and king-  
ly right. The king must have early appeared  
to them as an irreproachable being—perhaps,  
as the companion of their miseries, who, had  
he the power, would relieve them. The very  
silence of imbecility did not lessen their re-  
spect; the secret of the future seemed envel-  
oped in it. It is still a common belief in many  
countries that idiots are divinely favored; just  
as the pagans formerly recognised the divinity  
in brutes.

After the Merovingians, says Eginhard, the  
Franks chose for themselves two kings;\* and,  
indeed, this duality is everywhere apparent at  
the commencement of the Carolingian dynasty.  
Commonly, two brothers reign together, as  
Pepin and Martin, Pepin and Carloman, Carlo-  
man and Charlemagne. When there happens  
to be a third brother, (Grifon, to wit, brother of  
Pepin-le-Bref,) he is excluded from the division.

This monarchy of Pepin's, founded by the  
priests, was devoted to the priests. The de-  
scendant of Bishop Arnulf, and kinsman of so  
many bishops and saints, allowed great influence  
to the prelates.

In all directions, the enemies of the Franks  
were at the same time the enemies of the  
Church—the pagan Saxons, the Lombards, per-  
secutors of the pope—the Aquitanians, the  
spoilers of the property of the Church. Pepin's  
chief war was against Aquitaine. He only  
made one campaign in Saxony, by which he  
secured the missionaries the power of preach-  
ing there; and left the rest to the work of time.  
Two campaigns sufficed for the subjection of  
the Lombards; against whom Pope Stephen  
came himself to implore the assistance of the  
Franks. Pepin forced the Alps, took Pavia,  
and compelled the Lombard, Astolph, to surren-  
der—not to the Greek empire—but to St. Peter  
and the pope,‡ the towns of Ravenna, Emilia,  
of the Pentapolis, and of the duchy of Rome.

boniface writes to pope Zacharias: "My greatest  
aid with two inveterate heretics one called Adal-  
bert by birth the other named Clement a Scot"  
aque Adalbert cruce culas et coronas in campo  
eo angulus quousque et capillos dedit ad homo-  
nem et potandum cum reliquis. Petri principis  
am. P. Bonif. Epist. 133.  
We see in Eginhard, Annal. ap. Ser. R. Fr. v.

the post-off king at Rome the caliph at Bagdad in  
the name of the caliphate in the name of Japan.  
this is the germ of Lord Brougham's remarks.  
¶ Translation  
perfidus hereticus subversus, quorumque con-  
suetudo, quod talibus junctis barbaris rustici  
sic trahuntur. Eginhard, Vita Karoli Magni, c. 1  
P. Fr. v. 48.

\* The Franks in a solemn general assembly, choose two  
kings but with the express provision that they divide the  
kingdom between them equally." Eginhard, Vita Karoli M.  
c. 3, ap. Ser. R. Fr. v. 90.

† He exacted besides a tribute of three hundred horses.  
Annal. Met. ap. Ser. R. Fr. v. 338. The horse was the  
animal chiefly sacrificed by the Franks and Germans.  
Pope Zachary, epist. 162 advises Boniface to put a stop to  
the eating of horse flesh—no doubt, meaning as a sacrificial  
meat.

‡ To the emperor's protests he replied that he had under-  
taken the war for the love of St. Peter and the remission of  
his sins. He sent a deed of gift of the states given to the  
blessed Peter and the holy Roman see, and to be held for-  
ever by all postiffs of the apostolic see. Anselm, Biblioth.  
ap. Ser. R. Fr. v. 3.

The Lombards and the Greeks must have been little to be feared, when Pepin thought these provinces safe in the unarmed hands of a priest.

The war with Aquitaine was a very different matter; and its duration is easily explained. Backed by the western Pyrenees, which were and still are occupied by the ancient Iberians, Vasques, Guasques, or Basques, (*Eusken*), the population of this country was constantly recruited from the mountains. Agricultural by taste and disposition, but robbers by their position, the Vasques had long been pent up in their rocks, first by the Romans, then by the Goths. The Franks expelled the latter, but did not fill their place, often failing against this mountain race. At length they appointed duke Genialis—no doubt a Roman of Aquitaine—to observe them. (about A.D. 600.)\* However, these mountain giants† descended by degrees among the smaller race of the Bearnois; and, in their large red capes, and shod with the hairy *abarca*, advanced—men, women, children, and flocks—towards the north: the *landes* are, in fact, a vast road. Eldest born of the old world, they came to claim their share of the beautiful plains, seized by so many successive usurpers—Gauls, Romans, and Germans. Thus, in the seventh century, when the Neustrian empire fell to pieces, Aquitania was renovated by the Vasques, as Austrasia was by successive immigrations from Germany. The name accompanied either people, and grew in extent with them—the north being called France, the south, Vasconia, Gascony: which last reached to the Adour, next to the Garonne, and, for a moment, to the Loire. Then came the shock.

According to doubtful traditions, the Aquitanian Amandus had grown powerful in these countries, about the year 628, overcoming the Franks by means of the Vasques, and the latter, again, by means of the Franks. He married his daughter to Charibert, Dagobert's brother;‡ and after his son-in-law's death, protected Aquitaine, in the name of his orphan grandsons, against their uncle Dagobert. Perhaps Charibert's marriage is only a fable invented at a later period in order to connect the great families of Aquitaine with the first race. However, shortly afterward, we find three Aquitanian dukes marrying three Austrasian princesses.

Eudes and Hubert were great-grandsons of Amandus. Hubert passed first into Neustria, where Ebroin ruled, and thence into Austrasia—the birthplace of his aunt and grandmother. Here he attached himself to Pepin. Passionately fond of hunting, he used to range through the immense forest of Ardennes; when

the apparition of a miraculous stag determined him to quit the world for the Church. He was the disciple and successor of St. Lambert at Maestricht, and founded the bishopric of Liege. He is the patron of hunters from Picardy to the Rhine.

The career of his brother Eudes was very different. Once, when master of Aquitaine as far as the Loire, and master of Neustria through having Chilperic II. in his power, he, for a moment, thought himself king of the whole of Gaul. But it was the fate of the different dynasties of Toulouse, as we shall hereafter see, to be ever crushed between Spain and northern France. Eudes, having been defeated by Charles Martel, and fearing the Saracens who threatened his rear, gave up Chilperic to him. Conquering the Saracens before Toulouse, but menaced, in turn, by the Franks, he treated with the infidels; and the emir Menad, having rendered himself independent in the north of Spain, and being with regard to the caliph's lieutenants precisely in the same situation as Eudes was in relation to Charles Martel, Eudes allied himself with him, and gave to his daughter in marriage.\* This strange alliance, which was then unexampled, is an early proof of that religious indifference of which Gascony and Guienne offer so many instances. The versatile and witty people of these provinces, look too keenly to the affairs of the world to be over-busied with those of the other. The country of Henry IV., of Montespertuis, and of Montaigne, is not a land of saints.

This politic and impious alliance turned out ill. Munuza was blocked up in a fortress by Abder-Rahman, the caliph's lieutenant, and he avoided captivity by death. He threw himself from the top of a rock. The poor Frenchman was sent a present to the seraglio of the caliph of Damascus. The Arabs crossed the Pyrenees, and Eudes was defeated as his son-in-law had been. But the Franks themselves joined him, and Charles Martel aided him to overcome them at Poitiers, (A. D. 732.) The Aquitaine, proved incapable of defending itself, became a kind of dependency on the Franks.

Hunald, the son of Eudes, and the hero of his race, could not resign himself to this humiliation, and began a desperate struggle with Pepin-le-Bref and Carloman, in which he sought to interest all the enemies of the Franks, whether open or secret; and he sought allies even as far as Saxony and Bavaria. The Franks laid waste Berry with fire and sword, turned Auvergne, and just as they had forced Hunald to recross the Loire, were recalled by the invasion of the Saxons and the Germans. Hu-

\* Seeing that the Franks were discomfited by them in the early stages of their empire, I much doubt their having submitted to a marriage with a Frelegianus as sister. Frelegat, *Schœlkl.* i. 21. under the first successors of Brunhild.

† The Vasques are exceedingly tall, particularly compared to the Bearnois.

See l'Hist. Gen. du Langue doc. i. 606.

\* Isidore Paresus, ap. Ser. R. Fr. ii. 721. "Eudes married his daughter to him in order to save off the attacks of the Arabs, and save them over to his interests."

† Anna. M. G. ap. Ser. R. Fr. ii. 627. "The Bavarians brought Saxons, Alamanni, and Slaves along with them. . . Hunald crossing the Loire, burnt Chartres. Thus he did at the suggestion of Agilno, with whom he had entered into a defensive alliance against the Franks."

nald passed the Loire once more, and burnt Chartres. Perhaps he would have carried his successes further; but he seems to have been betrayed by his brother Hatto, who governed Poitou under him. Here we see the origin of the future illa of Aquitaine—the rivalry of Poitiers and Toulouse.

Hunald yielded; but took vengeance on his brother. He had his eyes torn out, and then immured himself in a monastery in the isle of Rhe,\* by way of expiation. His son, Guaifer, (A. D. 745.) found an ally in Grison, Pepin's younger brother, as Pepin had himself done in Hunald's brother. But the war of the south did not begin in earnest till 759, after Pepin had vanquished the Lombards. This was the epoch of the division of the caliphate. Alphonso, the Catholic, intrenched in the Asturias, revived there the monarchy of the Goths. The Goths of Septimania (all Languedoc, with the exception of Toulouse) likewise rose to recover their independence; and the Saracens, in occupation of the country, were soon constrained to take refuge in Narbonne. A Gothic chief got himself acknowledged lord of Nîmes, Maguelonne, Agde, and Beziers.† But the Goths were unable to force Narbonne, and called in the Franks; who, unused to sieges, might have remained before the town forever, had not the Christian inhabitants massacred the Saracens, and opened its gates. Pepin swore to respect the laws and franchises of the country.‡

He then renewed the war successfully against the Aquitanians, whom he was now enabled to turn on the eastern flank. "After the country had rested from war for two years, king Pepin sent deputies to Guaifer, prince of Aquitaine, to ask him to restore to the churches of his kingdom the lands belonging to them in Aquitaine. He sought the full and free enjoyment of their estates by the churches, together with that of all the immunities heretofore secured to them; and that Guaifer should pay, according to the law, the price of the lives of certain Goths, whom he had killed against all rule of right. Finally, he required that Guaifer should give up those of Pepin's followers who had fled into Aquitaine. All which demands Guaifer disdainfully refused."§

The war was slow, bloody, and destructive. Several times, the Basques and Aquitanians, by bold inroads, pushed as far as Autun and even as Châlons. But the Franks, better dis-

ciplined and marching in imposing masses, inflicted much greater injury upon them. They ravaged the whole of Berry with fire, burning down trees and houses, and that more than once. Next, they forced their way into Auvergne, took its strongholds, and traversed and burnt the Limousin. Then, with the same regularity, they burnt the Quercy, and cut down the vines which formed the wealth of Aquitaine. "Prince Guaifer, seeing that the king of the Franks, by the help of his machines, had taken the fort of Clermont, as well as Bourges, the capital of Aquitaine and a strongly fortified city, despaired henceforward of resisting him, and ordered the walls of all the cities in Aquitaine belonging to him—of Poitiers, Limoges, Saintes, Périgueux, Angoulême, and many others—to be thrown down."||

The unfortunate Guaifer withdrew into the wild fastnesses of the mountains. But every year saw his followers drop off. His count of Auvergne fell in battle; his count of Poitiers was slain by retainers of the abbey of St. Martin of Tours.† His uncle, Remistan, who had first deserted and then returned to his banners, was taken and hanged by the Franks. And, finally, he was himself murdered by his own adherents; who, in their fickleness of disposition, had doubtless grown weary of a glorious, but hopeless war. Pepin, triumphant through treachery, saw himself at length sole master of the whole of Gaul, all-powerful in Italy by the humiliation of the Lombards, and all-powerful in the Church by the friendship of the popes and bishops—to whom he transferred almost the whole legislative authority. His reform of the Church through the exertions of St. Boniface, and his innumerable translations of relics, of which he despoiled Italy to enrich France, won for him infinite honor. On solemn occasions of the kind he would himself appear bearing the relics on his shoulders—as he did those of St. Austremon and of St. Germain des Prés.‡

#### ACCESSION OF CHARLEMAGNE. (A. D. 768-9.)

Charles, § Pepin's son and successor, was

\* Ibid. 6. *Pictavia, Lemodina, Santonia, Petresca, Equodima, et reliquis quam plures civitate et castella, omnes muros curas in terram prostravit, etc.*

† Ibid. 6. *Comes Pictavensis, dum Turonicum insuetum producit, ab hominibus Vulfridi abbatis monasterii S. Martini interfertus est.*

‡ *Secunda S. Austremonii Translatio, ap. Ser. R. Fr. v. 433.* "The king, like king David, forgetful of the regal purple, in his joy bedewed his costly robes with tears, and danced exultantly before the relics of the blessed martyr, himself even bearing the most sacred limbs on his shoulders. And it was the winter season."—*Translat. S. Germaini Pictavensis, ibid. 434.* . . . *mittentes, tum ipso quam optimo ab ipso electi, manus ad foretrum.* . . .

§ CHARLEMAGNE is commonly said to be the translation of *Charles Magnus*—"Charlemagne went against comme grant Châles," (*Chron. de St. Denis, l. i. c. 4.*)—However, Charlemagne is only a corruption of *Carloman, Karl Mann, the strong man.* In the *Chronicles of St. Denis* we find *Châles* and *Charlemagne* for *Charles* and *Carloman*, (names being the French corruption of *mann*, as *hann* makes *hain*, &c.) A still more decisive proof occurs in the *Chro-*

\* Ibid. *In monasterium quod Hadis insula cum est in-*  
*travit.*

† *Chron. Monast. ap. Ser. R. Fr. v. 431.*

‡ Ibid. 68. *Italo sacramento Gothi qui ibi erant, ut si civitatem partibus traderent Pepini regi Francorum, promitterent omni legem suam habere.*

§ *Cont. Frédég. ap. Ser. R. Fr. v. 4.*—*See, also, Eginhard, Annal. ibid. 190.* *Cum res que ad ecclesias . . . pertinebant, reddere noluerunt. . . . Spemulit ex certis eam pars reddiderunt, etc.*

¶ *Cont. Frédég. ap. Ser. R. Fr. v. 4, 6, 7.* *Waltharum cum exercitu magno et plurimorum Wasconum, qui ultra Garannam commoverant, qui antiquitus vocati sunt Vascon, etc.*

soon left sole possessor of the empire by the death of his brother Carloman, as Pepin Heristhal had been by the death of Martin, and Pepin-le-Bref by the retirement of the first Carloman. The two brothers had easily stifled the war, which was rekindled in Aquitaine by the aged Hunald, who, emerging from the monastery in which he had immured himself for three-and-twenty years, vainly attempted to avenge his son and liberate his country. He was betrayed by a son of the very brother whom he had deprived of his eyes. This unconquerable man, however, even then did not yield, but managed to take refuge in Italy with the king of the Lombards, Didier, to whom his son-in-law, Charles, had contumeliously returned his daughter, and who, by way of reprisal, supported Charles's nephews, and threatened to see them in possession of their rights. The king of the Franks invaded Italy, and laid siege to Pavia and Verona, which offered a lengthened resistance. Hunald had thrown himself into the first-named town, and compelled the inhabitants to hold out until they stoned him.\* Didier's son fled to Constantinople; and the Lombards could only retain the duchy of Beneventum, that is, the central part of what constitutes the present kingdom of Naples: the sea-coasts were in the hands of the Greeks. Charles then took the title of king of the Lombards.

The empire of the Franks was already old and worn out when it fell into Charlemagne's hands, but then all the surrounding nations were weakened. Neustria was reduced to nothingness, and the Lombards were little better off—divided for some time between Pavia, Milan, and Beneventum, they had never altogether recovered themselves. The Saxons, who, it is to be granted, were truly formidable, were attacked from behind by the Slaves. The unity of the empire of the Saracens was destroyed the very year Pepin came to the throne by the revolt of Spain from Africa; and Spain was herself weakened by the schism that divided the Chalipans, and which left Aquitaine unharmed on this side of the Pyrenees. Thus two nations were standing in this general decay of the West: the Carthaginiens and the Austriani. France, the last could not fail to give the first a lesson. More united than the Saxons, less divided than the Aquitanians, they were more equipped than both. The

Franks," says M. de Sismondi, (t. ii. p. 267.) "had preserved some of the habits of the Roman militia, in which their ancestors had so long served." They were, indeed, of all the barbarians, the most capable of discipline, and whose character was stamped with the least individuality, the least originality, and the least of the poetic element.\* The sixty years of warfare which fill the annals of Pepin and of Charlemagne, exhibit few victories, but regular and periodic ravages. The Franks wore out their enemies rather than subdued them, and by persevering broke down their spirit and elasticity. A defeat—the battle of Roncesvalles—is the most popular reminiscence that remains of these wars. It matters not: conquerors or conquered, they made deserts, and in these deserts they reared some strong place,† and thence pushed on further, for they had already begun to build. The barbarians had journeyed long and far enough. They desired stability; and the world rested, at least, through weariness.

The length, too, of the reigns of Pepin and Charlemagne, was favorable to the fixation of this floating world. To a series of monarchs who die at from fifteen to twenty years of age, there succeeded two whose joint reigns fill up close upon a century. From 741 to 814 A. D. These had time to build and to found. They collected and brought together the scattered elements of preceding ages. They inherited all; and, at the same time, blotted out the memory of all that had preceded them. It happened to Charlemagne as to Louis XIV.—every thing was dated from the *great reign*; institutions, national glory, all was referred to it. The very titles that opposed him refer their laws to him, laws coeval, indeed, with the German race itself‡. In reality, the senility and decrepitude of the barbarian world were favorable to the glory of his reign; since as that world expired, all of remaining life rushed in full tide to France as to the heart. Distinguished men from every country flocked to the court of the king of the Franks. Three heads of schools, three professors in learning or in manners, even in a passing movement in it—Clement from Italy, Alcuin from the Anglo-Saxons, St. Boniface of Auvergne from Gothia or Langueadoc. His courtiers composed it its tribute; and we have to see, as to the Lombard Paul Waranus, the Gotho-Italian Theodulf, and the Spanish Agilart. The fortunate Charlemagne profited by all. Surrounded by these foreign guests who were the light of the Church, and the strength and grandeur of bishops and of

\* Sismondi, *History of the Middle Ages*, t. ii. p. 267. "The Franks," says M. de Sismondi, (t. ii. p. 267.) "had preserved some of the habits of the Roman militia, in which their ancestors had so long served." They were, indeed, of all the barbarians, the most capable of discipline, and whose character was stamped with the least individuality, the least originality, and the least of the poetic element.\*

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saints, as well as sure of the pope whom his family had protected against the Greeks and Lombards, he disposed of bishoprics and abbey, and even gave them to laymen. But he confirmed the institution of tithes,\* and freed the Church from secular jurisdiction.† This David and Solomon of the Franks found himself more priest than the priests, and was thus their king.

The wars of Italy, and the fall itself of the kingdom of the Lombards, were only episodes in the reigns of Pepin and Charlemagne. The great war of the first was, as we have seen, against the Aquitanians, that of Charles against the Saxons. There is nothing to show that the latter arose, as has been alleged, from the fear of an invasion. Undoubtedly the Germans were constantly immigrating across the Rhine, and seeking fortune in large numbers in the rich countries of the West. They were so many recruits, forever strengthening and renewing the armies of the Franks. But as regards the invasion of whole tribes, such as took place in the latter times of the Roman empire, there is no reason to suppose that such a fact accompanied the elevation of the second race, nor that it was threatened with a repetition of the scourge on the accession of Charlemagne.

The real cause of the war was the violent antipathy of the Frank and Saxon races: an antipathy which each day added to in proportion as the Franks became more Roman, and especially since they had been newly organized

by the ecclesiastical hand of the Carolingians. The success of St. Boniface had inspired the latter with hopes, that the missionaries would gradually gain over and subdue Germany for them. But the difference between the two people was too great to allow of their amalgamating. The progress of the Franks in civilization had latterly been too rapid. The men of the *Red land*,\* as the Saxons proudly styled themselves, dispersed, according to the free bent of their character, over their *marches*, in the deep glades of those forests, where the squirrel could bound from tree to tree for seven leagues without descending, and neither knowing nor desiring any other barrier than the vague limits of their *gau*,—held in horror the boundaries and *manni* of Charlemagne. The Scandinavians and Lombards, like the Romans, divided their lands with due regard to the set of the east. But there is no trace of such a custom in Germany. Territorial divisions, censuses, and all the instruments of order, government, and tyranny, were feared by the Saxons. Divided by the Asi themselves into three people and twelve tribes, they sought no other division. Their *marches* were not altogether wastes. *Town* and *prairie* are synonymous in the old languages of the north;‡ the prairie was their city. The stranger passing through the *march* was not to ride upon his plough; he was to respect the land and turn up the share.

These fierce and free tribes were all the more attached to their old beliefs, by the hatred and jealousy with which the Franks inspired them. The missionaries that the latter would weary them with, had the imprudence to threaten them with the arms of the great empire:§ and St. Labuin, who uttered the menace, would have been torn in pieces, but for the interference of the Saxon elders. This, however, did not hinder the young men from burning down the church, built by the Franks at Davenport. Perhaps glad of the excuse to expedite by force of arms the conversion of their barbarous neighbors, the Franks marched straight against the principal sanctuary of the Saxons, where was their chief idol, and with which were connected the dearest remembrances of Germany—the Herman-saul,¶ a mysterious symbol, in which might be seen the image of the world or of one's country, of a god or of a hero. This statue, armed *cap-a-pie*, bore in its left hand a balance, in its right a flag, on which figured the rose;

\* Capitular ann. 779 c. 7. "Of tithes—each must give his tenth to be disposed of as the pontiff, other readings exist as to the bishop," adds. —Capitularies de Saxon, ann. 791 c. 16. "Whosoever taxes be paid into the treasury, let the tenth be given to the churches and the priests." C. 17. "All are to give a tenth of their substance and labor as well nobles as freemen, and the lands as well." See also Capit. Francorum ann. 794, c. 23. As early as the year 567 we find mention of tithes in a pastoral letter of the bishops of Tournai. They are the subject of express enactment in a Constitution of Clovis, and in the Acts of the Council of Meuse, held in 585. Duange, c. 1734 c. De sac.

† In Washington in his History of the Church, p. 231, says with respect to the quotation from Charlemagne's Capitularies given above, namely:—That every one should give his tenth, and that it should be disposed of according to the ord. of his bishop. "This must be understood with some limit, since the tripartite division of tithes seems to be properly ascribed to Charlemagne; that of one share for the bishop and clergy, a second for the poor, a third for the labor of the Church. It seems uncertain what part of these was at first intended for the monastic, and a resident clergy. Parochial dues, such as they may exist, were still not very common though they may be traced to the endowment of churches by individuals as early as the time of Justinian. The rural churches were, in the first instance, chiefly dependent on the neighboring cathedral, and were served by itinerant ministers of the bishop's appointment. It was some time before any of them obtained the privileges of baptism and burial: but these were indeed secured by a fixed share of the tithes, and appear to have secured in each case the independence of the Church and the residence of a minister." Washington.

\* Capit. add. vol. 1 Longob. ann. 601 c. 1. "It is our practice that neither monks nor presbyters, nor deacons, nor abbots, nor any priest whatever, be brought before the public and secular tribunals, but be delivered for trial to the bishop." Cf. Capit. Aquilon. ann. 749 c. 37.

† Capit. Francorum ann. 794 c. 4. "Our lord the king and the holy synod decree, that the bishops are to exercise justice in their parishes. Our counts also must attend the tribunal of the bishops."

\* See Grimm, Deutsche Rechts Alterthümer.

† Id. p. 336.

‡ Id. p. 314.

§ St. Labuin Vita apud Pagi, Crit. 772, § 3.—Rusmann, ii. 234.

¶ Ibid. They attempted to burn down a church which St. Boniface had built at Fritzlar, in Hesse. But when he built it, the saint had prophesied that it would never be destroyed by fire. Two angels, clad in white descended to protect it, and a Saton, who had knelt down to blow the fire, was found dead in the same attitude, and with his cheeks still puffed out. Annales de Fulde, ap. Per. B. Fr. v. 29.

¶ A column or statue of Germany, or of Arminius.



on its buckler a lion, lording it over the other animals, and at its feet a field sown with flowers. All the spots in the vicinity were consecrated by the remembrance of the first and great victory of the Germans over the empire.\*

If the Franks had borne in mind their German origin, they would have respected this sacred spot. They violated it, and dashed in pieces the national symbol. A miracle sanctified this easy victory. A spring of water gushed out on purpose to refresh the soldiers of Charlemagne.† The Saxons, surprised in their forests, gave a dozen hostages—one, each tribe. But they soon thought better of the matter, and ravaged Hesse. It would be wrong from this and numerous facts of the same kind, to charge the Saxons with perfidy. Independently of the instability of purpose peculiar to barbarians, the probability is, that those who submitted to the law of the conqueror, were generally that part of the population which was fixed to the soil by its weakness—the women and aged men. The young, flying into the marshes and mountains in the northern cantons, would return and renew the war. They were only to be kept under by dwelling in the midst of them. Therefore, Charles took up his residence on the Rhine, at Aix-la-Chapelle, to whose hot baths he was also partial, and built and fortified in Saxony itself the castle of Ehresburg.‡

The year following (A. D. 775) he crossed the Weser; when the Saxon Angarians submitted to him, as did part of the Westphalians. He devoted the winter to chastising the Lombard dukes, who had recalled Didier's son. The ensuing spring, the assembly or counsel of Worms took a solemn oath to prosecute the war until the Saxons should be converted. Under the Carolingians the bishops are known to have taken the lead in these assemblies. Charles penetrated as far as the sources of the Lappe, and built a fort there.§ The Saxons appeared to give way. All of them who abided in their settlements suffered themselves to be baptized without difficulty; and, indeed, this ceremony, of which, undoubtedly, they hardly understood the meaning, never seems

to have inspired the barbarians with any particular repugnance. More proud than fanatical, they, perhaps, prized their religion much less than their resistance would lead us to conclude. In the reign of Louis the Debonnaire, (the Meek,) the Northmen flocked in crowds to be baptized, the only difficulty being to find white dresses enough for the proselytes: some of whom would be baptized three times in order to gain three dresses.\*

Thus, while Charlemagne supposes his work finished, and is baptizing the Saxons by thousands at Paderborn, Witikind, the leader of the Westphalians, returns with his warriors who had taken refuge in the north, and even with Northmen who then, for the first time, meet the Franks. Defeated in Hesse, he withdraws into his forests, and retires among the Danes—but soon to re-appear.

This was in the very year 778, when the arms of Charlemagne received so memorable a check at Roncesvalles. The weakness of the Saracens, the friendship of the petty Christian kings, and the prayers of the revolted emirs of the north of Spain, had favored the progress of the Franks, who had pushed as far as the Ebro, and had effected their encampments in Spain into a new province, under the names of the March of Gascony and March of Gothia. On the east they were completely successful, being supported by the Goths: but, on the west, the Basques, Hunald's and Guaifer's soldiers, and the kings of Navarre and Asturias, who saw Charlemagne taking possession of the country, and securing all the forts in the hands of the Franks, took up arms under Lope, Guaifer's son†. The Franks being attacked by these mountaineers on their return, sustained a considerable loss in those difficult *ports*, those gigantic ladders, only to be scaled in single file, either on foot or on a mule's back, where the rocks tower above, and seem ever on the point of crushing the violators of the solemn limit of the two worlds.‡

The defeat of Roncesvalles is said only to have been a rear-guard affair. However, Eginhard confesses that the Franks lost many men in it, with several of their most distinguished chiefs, and, among them, the famous Roland. It may be that the Saracens took a share in the engagement, and that

\* Stapler. art. Arnulfus in the Biographie Universelle. "The neighborhood of Dethmold is still full of the recollection of this memorable event. The field at the foot of the Teufberg is still called Witikind, or Victory Field, and is crossed by the Rodenbeck or Stream of Blood, and the Knochenbeck or Stream of Bones—recalling the bones found six years after the defeat of Varus by the soldiers of Germanicus. Close by, is Feldrom, the Field of the Romans, a little further, near Pymont, is Hermannsburg, or the Hill of Arminius, crowned by the ruins of a castle, called Hermannsburg. On the borders of the Weser, in the same county of Lappe, is Varenholz, the wood of Varus."

† Eginhard. Annal. Ap. Ser. R. Fr. v. 201. "Ne distans sit, confusus laborant exercitus, divinitus factum creditur ut quiescente cum pax nonem tempore meridiano cuncti quiescent atque montem qui castus erat contigens tanta vis aquarum in concavitate rupium torrentis erupit, ut cuncti cum eo suffocentur."—Petr. Saxones, Annal. l. i.

‡ Annal. Franc. ibid. 27.—Reedificavit ipsum castellum, et basilicam ibidem construxit. Annal. Fuld. ibid. 334. Ehresburgum reedificat.

§ Annal. Franc. ibid. 29. Et fecit castellum super fluvium Lypia.

\* On one occasion that some Northmen were being baptized, there was a deficiency of linen dresses, and an indifferently made shirt was given to one of them. Looking at it for some time with great indignation, he said to the curate—"I have been washed here twenty times, and have always had given me fine linen, white as snow. Is a sack like this fit for a warrior or a swineherd? Were I not ashamed to go naked, having now no dress of my own and spurning yours, I would turn my back upon your cloak and your Christ." Monachus, S. Gall. l. ii. c. 59, ap. Ser. R. Fr. v. 134.—The Avars, Charlemagne's allies, perceiving that he teased their Christian countrymen in the hall, while the rest eat at the door, received baptism in numbers in order to have a seat at the imperial table as well. Pagi Critica, ad ann. 304.

† Rimondt confounds him with Lope, a son of Hato's, p. 361.

‡ See book the third of this History.



terminated to prosecute the war through the winter; and the forests stripped of their leaves, and the marshes frozen over, no longer screening the fugitives—each isolated in his hut, with his wife and children, falls the prey of the soldiery, like the deer crouching in its lair over the tender hind.

Saxony remained undisturbed for eight years—Witiking having surrendered; but, nevertheless, the Franks were not left tranquil, the nations dependent on them being any thing but resigned. Nay, the Thuringians drew the sword in the very palace against the Franks, who, on the occasion of the marriage of one of their chiefs, sought to subject them to the Salic law.\* For this, and other causes with which we are unacquainted, a conspiracy was formed against Charlemagne by the nobles; who were, besides, excessively irritated by the pride and cruelty of his young wife Fastrade,† to whom a husband of fifty could refuse nothing. On the discovery of the plot, the conspirators were so far from seeking to deny it, that one of them audaciously exclaimed, "Had my counsel been taken, thou wouldst never have passed the Rhine alive." The only punishment imposed upon them by the easy-mannered monarch, was to order them to undertake distant pilgrimages to tombs of the saints—but he had every one of them murdered on his journey.‡ Some years after this, a natural son of Charlemagne's joined in a conspiracy with some nobles to dethrone his father.§

Abroad, too, the tributary princes conspired. The Bavarians and Lombards were almost one and the same people, the first having long given kings to the second. Tassillo, duke of Bavaria, had married a daughter of Didier's—sister to that wife whom Charlemagne had ignominiously sent back to her father; and, by this connection, had become brother-in-law of the Lombard duke of Beneventum. The latter was on friendly terms with the Greeks, who were masters of the sea, and Tassillo called in the Slaves and Avars. Some movements at the same time among the Bretons and Saracens gave them additional hope.|| But Tassillo was surrounded by three armies; and, on his surrendering himself, was cited as a common criminal before the assembly of Ingelheim, found guilty, and sentenced to death. He was final-

ly forced to submit to the tonsure, and shut up in the monastery of Jumieges. Bavaria lost her independence as a nation, as did the kingdom of the Lombards—with the exception of the mountain duchy of Beneventum, which Charlemagne was never able to subdue, but which he weakened and disturbed by raising a rival to Didier's son, whom the Greeks had brought back.

Charlemagne thus had one more tributary, and one more war. It was the same in Germany. For having advanced to the Elbe, and being thus in presence of the Slaves, he found himself constrained to interfere in their quarrels, and to second the Abodrites against the Wiltzi, (or Weletabi.) The Slaves placed hostages in his hands; and the empire, always extending its limits, but always growing weaker, appears to have gained the whole of the country between the Elbe and the Oder.

Between the Slaves settled on the Baltic as those on the Adriatic, and beyond Bavaria, which, as we have just seen, had become a mere province, Charlemagne encountered the Avars, whose indefatigable cavalry, intrenched in the marshes of Hungary, swept thence as pleasure upon the Slaves and the Greek empire. Every winter, says the historian, they used to go and lie with the wives of the Slaves. Their camp, or *ring*, was a huge village of wood covering a whole province, and encircled by hedges of trees with their branches interlaced. Here was amassed the plunder of centuries, the spoils of the Byzantines—a strange heap of the most brilliant objects, and, at the same time, the most useless to barbarians; a fantastic museum of robberies. According to an old soldier of Charlemagne's, this camp must have been twelve or fifteen leagues in circumference,\* like the eastern cities, like Nineveh or Babylon. Such is the Tartar habit—the people collected into one camp, while part are scattered over desert pastures. The visitors of the chagan of the Turks in the sixth century, found the barbarian sitting on a golden throne in the midst of the desert. The chagan of the Avars, in his wooden village, rested on beds of massive gold, which he forced from the weakness of the emperors of Constantinople.†

These barbarians, now neighbors of the Franks, sought to exact tribute from them as they had done from the Greeks. Charlemagne attacked them with three separate armies, and

\* *Secundum legem Francorum.* Annal. Nazir. ap. Ser. R. P. A. 11.

† *Legib. Kar. M. c. 20.* lib. 97. *Harum conjunctionum Fœderis credidit ex causa et ergo cathese credidit; et plerum in ambobus conjunctionibus, contra regem conjunctionum et quod unus credidit, consentiens a sua natura benevolentia, et solita mansuetudine immo etiam a violentia credidit.* Egm. Annal. stud. 210. "Charlemagne's eldest son, Pippin, and certain Franks conspired against him, alleging that they could no longer endure the cruelty of Queen Fastrade."

‡ *Entholph a Lombard.* Having detected the plot was rewarded with the monastery of St. Denis."

§ *Annal. Nazir.* ap. Ser. R. P. A. 12.

|| *Annal. Franc.* lib. 63. *Filius regis Pippinus, ex concubina Humberthi, cum aliquibus comitibus Francorum consursum.*

\* *Legib. Kar. M. c. 10.* *Damnit ann. 796, et Brittones quoque adit ad audientes non erant.*

\* *Monarch. S. Galli.* l. ii. c. 2. "The country of the Huns was marked by nine circles. One circle was as wide as the distance between Tours and Combrée. The woods and houses were so far apart, that a shout could hardly be heard from one to the other. Over against these buildings, and between the same impregnable enclosures, gates of no great width were constructed. Likewise from the second circle formed like the first, it was twenty German, which is equal to fifty Italian miles, to the third, and so on to the ninth, only each circle being much smaller than the one before it. They had heaped up in these fortifications, by two hundred years and more, riches of every kind from all the western countries, almost stripping the whole west."

† *Proc. Marcandri.* p. 106-104. *Theophalet.* lib. ii. c. 8. 17.—*Gibbon.* ch. 42, 46.

advancing as far as the Raab, burnt the few habitations he met with ; but what did the burning of these huts signify to the Avars ! Charlemagne's cavalry was worn out in seeking through this desert region an invisible enemy, encountering in his stead marshy plains, bogs, and overflowing rivers ; among which the Frank army lost all its horses.\*

We say the Frank army : but the Frank nation is like Theseus' ship, for, renewed piece by piece, scarcely any thing remains of its original self. Charlemagne's armies were recruited in Frisia and in Saxony quite as much as in Austrasia, and it was these nations which really suffered from the losses sustained by the Franks. They had not only to bear the yoke of the clergy, but, what was intolerable to these barbarians, were forced to forsake the dress, manners, and language of their fathers, to bury themselves in the battalions of the Franks, their enemies, and to conquer and die for them. And they seldom saw their country again, being sent three or four hundred leagues off against the Spanish Moors, or the Lombards of Beneventum. Death being their fate, the Saxons preferred facing it in their own land. They massacred Charlemagne's lieutenants, burnt the churches, expelled or slaughtered the priests, and returned enthusiastically to the worship of their old gods. They made common cause with the Avars, instead of furnishing an army against them. The same year, the army of the caliph Hixem, finding Aquitaine drained of its garrisons, passed the Ebro, crossed the *marches* and the Pyrenees, burnt the faubourgs of Narbonne, defeated with great slaughter the troops drawn together by William (au Court-Nez) count of Toulouse and regent of Aquitaine, and then withdrew into Spain, carrying off with them a whole nation of prisoners, and laden with rich spoils with which the caliph adorned the magnificent mosque of Cordova.† The world was in arms against Charlemagne, and even nature herself. When he received this disastrous news he was in Suabia, hurrying on the works of a canal which was designed to connect the Rhine with the Danube, and which, in case of invasion, would have facilitated the defence of the empire. But the humidity of the ground and the constant rains prevented its being carried into execution.‡ and so with the

great bridge of Mentz, which was to have secured the communication between France and Germany, and was burnt down by the boatmen on either side of the river.

Notwithstanding these various reverses, Charlemagne soon resumed the ascendant over enemies at such distant points from each other. He determined to unpeuple Saxony, since he could not subdue it. Encamping on the Weser, and perhaps, by way of convincing the Saxons that he would not relax his hold on them, calling his camp Heerstall, after the name of the patrimonial castle of the Carolingians on the Meuse, he thence carried his incursions on every side, and forced, from more than one canton, as many as a third of the inhabitants to be delivered up to him. These flocks of captives were then driven southward and westward, and settled in strange lands, in the midst of Christian and hostile populations, and speaking a different tongue. In like manner, the Babylonian and Persian monarchs had transported the Jews to the Tigris, and the people of Chalcis to the shores of the Persian gulf ; and so had Probus transported colonies of Franks and Frisians as far as the shores of the Euxine sea.

At the same time, a son of Charlemagne's, taking advantage of a civil war among the Avars, invaded them on the south with an army of Bavarians and Lombards. He crossed the Danube and the Theiss, and at length laid his hands on that precious *ring*, in whose enclosure slumbered such vast riches. So great was the booty, says the annalist, the Franks were poor in comparison with what they became from that moment. It would seem as if this hoarding race had lost its life with the gold over which it brooded—like the dragon of Scandinavian poetry, for it at once fell into a state of pitiable weakness. Its chagan turned Christian ; and they who remained Pagans, were constrained to eat out of wooden platters along with the dogs, at the gates of the bishops sent to convert them.\* Some years afterwards, they humbly sought from Charlemagne refuge in Bavaria, alleging their inability to make head against the Slaves, whom they formerly had the upper hand of.

Now, at last, Charlemagne began to hope that he should enjoy some rest. To judge by the extent of his dominion, if not by his real strength, he must have been the most powerful monarch at this time on the face of the globe. Why then should he not accomplish what Theodoric had been unable to effect—the resurrection of the Roman empire ! Such seems to have been the thought of the priestly counsellors by whom he was surrounded. In the year 800, Charle-

place was sure to be filled up by an equal quantity in the night. While engaged in this undertaking two very un-pleasant pieces of news were brought to him : first, that the Saracens were everywhere up in arms, secondly, that the Bulgarians had invaded Rumania, encountered the counts and guards of that frontier, slain numbers of the Franks, and returned home in triumph.

\* Page 171, ad ann. 694, p. 125.—Mamoudi, ii. 683.

\* Hist. Nat. de l'emp. R. Fr. v. 135.

† Chron. Moiss. v. 74.—Hist. du Languedoc, l. ix. c. 26.—G. H. Histoire de la domination des Arabes et des Maures en Espagne.—Translated from the Arabic into French by J. de la Harpe, Paris, 1784.

‡ Page 171, ad ann. 793.—The king had been persuaded that by forming between the Rednitz and the Altmühl a canal large enough for vessels navigation might easily be effected on between the Rhine and the Danube, one of these rivers falling into the Danube and the other into the Meuse. Charlemagne immediately repaired to this district with the whole of his court and collected an immense number of slaves whom he kept at work the whole of the autumn. They dug about two thousand paces of the canal, with a width of three hundred yards, but unsuccessfully. The work came to nothing, owing to the marshy nature of the soil which was rendered more so, by continual rains, so that whatever earth was dug out in the day time, its





them to be madmen, conveyed information of the circumstance to king Charles, always a passionate lover of wisdom. He sent for them with all haste, and asked them if it were true, as fame had reported to him, that they had wisdom with them! They replied, 'We have it, and we give it, in the name of the Lord, to those who seek it worthily.' And, on his asking what they sought in return, they said—'A convenient place, rational creatures, and—what cannot be done without in this earthly pilgrimage—food and raiment.' Filled with joy, the king at first kept them some time with him. Then, being compelled to undertake certain military expeditions, he ordered one of them, named Clement, to remain in Gaul, and intrusted to him a number of children of all ranks of society, high, low, and of the middle class, and found them in such things as were necessary, as well as provided them with a comfortable abode. The other, John Mailros, (Melrose!) a disciple of Bede's, he sent into Italy, giving him St. Augustin's monastery, near Pavia, that he might open a school there. On hearing of these things, Albinus, of the nation of the Angles, one of the learned Bede's disciples, seeing the warm reception given to wise men by Charles, the most religious of kings, embarked and repaired to him. . . . Charles gave him St. Martin's abbey, near Tours, in order that, during his absence, he might repose himself there, and teach those who hastened to hear him.\* And such fruits did his learned labors produce, that the modern Gauls or Franks were thought to equal the ancient Romans or Athenians.

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ing to my orders, and for your own good. Proceed; endeavor to perfect yourselves, and I will reward you with magnificent bishoprics and abbeys, and you shall be ever honorable in my sight.' Then he bent an angry countenance on those on his left hand, and troubling their consciences with a lightning look, with bitter irony, and thundering rather than speaking, he burst upon them with this terrible apostrophe—'But for you nobles, you sons of the great, delicate and pretty minions as you are, proud of your birth and your riches, you have neglected my orders, and your own glory, and the study of letters, and have given yourselves up to ease, sports, and idleness, or to worthless exercises!' After this preamble, raising on high his august head and his invincible arm, he fulminated his usual oath—'By the King of Heaven, I care little for your nobility and beauty, however others may admire you, and hold it for certain, that if you do not make amends for your past negligence by vigilant zeal, you will never obtain any thing from Charles.'

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\* Eginhard, *in* Kar. M. c. 28. Albinus, cognomento Alcinus, abbas sancti Martini de Britannia, Saxorum generis hominem. Alwin wrote to Charlemagne:—Send me from France some herb or tree as excellent as those of which I have the care here, in the library at York, and which were collected by my master, Eberht, and I will send some of my young people to bear into France the flowers of Britain, so that there may no longer be only an enclosed garden at York, but that some offshoots from Paradise may blossom at Tours as well. Epist. 1.—Summoned to France, he became the master of Rabanus Maurus, the Scot, who founded the great school of Friburg.—Eginhard says, c. 16, that Charlemagne bestowed honors and ministerial offices on the Scots from the sense he entertained of their industry and worth, and that the Scottish kings were much devoted to him. In his letter to St. Cesarius, dedicated to Charlemagne, Hieron says, "Almost the whole nation of the Scots, braving the dangers of the sea, come to settle in our country with a numerous train of philosophers."

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and forming his staff of officers on the model of that of the imperial ministers. Nothing can be more imposing than the picture left us by Hincmar of Charlemagne's administration. The general assembly of the nation, regularly held twice a year, deliberated, (the churchmen and the laymen, in separate bodies)—on the matters laid before it by the king. They then met in committee; with a master, whose sole desire was to gain correct information. Four times a year, provincial assemblies were held, with *missi dominici* (royal commissioners) as presidents. These *missi* were the eyes of the emperor—the quick and faithful messengers who, incessantly traversing the empire, reformed and denounced every abuse. Under them, the counts presided over inferior assemblies, in which they rendered justice, assisted by the *boni homines*, jurymen chosen among the landed proprietors. Under these, again, were other assemblies, as those of the vicars or viscounts, and of the centenarii or governors of hundreds; what do I say—the humblest beneficed clergyman, and the overseers of the royal farms, held courts like the counts.\*

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Aditus linguæ super et orare Latine,  
Nec Germanæ parvas accipere citharas.

\* Capitul. ann. 810, c. 2. ap. Ser. R. Pr. v. 661.—Hincmar, or Adlard's letter, (edit. 1643.) p. 388, 389.

† Compare Savigny and Grimm.



them to be madmen, conveyed information of the circumstance to king Charles, always a passionate lover of wisdom. He sent for them with all haste, and asked them if it were true, as fame had reported to him, that they had wisdom with them! They replied, 'We have it, and we give it, in the name of the Lord, to those who seek it worthily.' And, on his asking what they sought in return, they said—'A convenient place, rational creatures, and—what cannot be done without in this earthly pilgrimage—food and raiment.' Filled with joy, the king at first kept them some time with him. Then, being compelled to undertake certain military expeditions, he ordered one of them, named Clement, to remain in Gaul, and intrusted to him a number of children of all ranks of society, high, low, and of the middle class, and found them in such things as were necessary, as well as provided them with a comfortable abode. The other, John Mailros, (Melrose?) a disciple of Bede's, he sent into Italy, giving him St. Augustin's monastery, near Pavia, that he might open a school there. On hearing of these things, Albinus, of the nation of the Angles, one of the learned Bede's disciples, seeing the warm reception given to wise men by Charles, the most religious of kings, embarked and repaired to him. . . . Charles gave him St. Martin's abbey, near Tours, in order that, during his absence, he might repose himself there, and teach those who hastened to hear him.\* And such fruits did his learned labors produce, that the modern Gauls or Franks were thought to equal the ancient Romans or Athenians.

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¶ *Palatium linguæ arce et cruce Latinæ.  
Nec Germanæ pueris auribus extulit.*

\* Capitul. ann. 810, c. 2. ap. Scr. R. Fr. v. 651.—Hincmar, op. Adm. lib. (edit. 1643), p. 286, 287.

† Compare Savigny and Götman.

in order to withdraw themselves from the overwhelming obligations which it imposes on them, stand in the place of the Roman *curiales*\*—those free proprietors, whose only safety consisted in deserting their property and in flying, or in turning soldiers or priests, and whom the law was unable to confine to their homes.

The desolation of the empire is here reproduced. The enormous price of corn and cheapness of cattle are clear proofs that the land remains in pasture.† Slavery, mitigated, it is true, is greatly increased. Charlemagne gratifies his master, Alcuin, with a farm of twenty thousand slaves.‡ The nobles daily force the poor to give themselves up to them, body and goods. Slavery is an asylum where the freeman daily takes refuge.

No legislative genius could have stayed society on the rapid hill down which it was descending. Charlemagne could only confirm the laws of the barbarians. "When he had taken the name of emperor," says Eginhard, "he designed to fill up omissions in the laws, to correct them, and to make them consistent and harmonious. But all he did was to add some articles, which nevertheless were imperfect."§

Generally speaking, the capitularies are administrative laws—civil and ecclesiastical ordinances. They contain, it is true, a considerable mass of legislation, which seems intended to supply the omissions alluded to by Eginhard; but, perhaps, these acts, though all bearing Charlemagne's name, are only repetitions of the capitularies of the ancient Frankish kings. It is unlikely that the Pepins, that Clotaire II., and Dagobert, should have left so few capitularies; and that Brunehaut, Fredegonda, and Ebroin, should have left none.¶ That must have happened to Charlemagne which would have occurred with respect to Justinian, had all the monuments of Roman law, previous to his time, been lost—the compiler would have been taken for the legislator. This conjecture derives confirmation from the striking differences of language and form presented by the capitularies.

The original portion of the capitularies is the administrative, which provides for the wants of society according to the conjuncture. It is im-

possible not to admire the activity, though fruitless, of that government which made every effort to reduce to some degree of order the immense disorder of such an empire, and to introduce some degree of unity into an heterogeneous whole, all whose parts tended to isolate themselves and fly off from each other. The large share occupied by canonical legislation\* shows, although we derive the knowledge from no other source, that the priests had a principal hand in all this: and the fact is rendered plain: still, by the moral and religious counsels with which the laws abound. They reflect the pedantic tone of the Visigoth laws, made, as is well known, by the bishops. Charlemagne, like the Visigoth monarchs, gave the bishops an injudicious power, by investing them with the right of pursuing criminals within the boundaries of their dioceses. A few passages of the capitularies, condemnatory of the abuses of the episcopal privileges, cannot invalidate our belief in the supremacy of the clergy during this reign. They may have been dictated by priests attached to the court, by chaplains, and by the central clergy, naturally jealous of the local power of the bishops. The friend of Rome, and surrounded by priests like Leidrad, and so many others who considered episcopacy equivalent to retirement from the world, Charlemagne would naturally concede much to this untitled clergy, who composed his ordinary council.

The feeling of Byzantine and Gothic petulancy, observable in the capitularies, is conspicuous in all Charlemagne's conduct relative to matters of doctrine. He ordered a long letter to be written in his name to the heretic Felix of Urgel, who, with the church of Spain, maintained that Jesus, as man, was simply the adopted son of God. In his name, too, appeared the famous *Caroline* books against the adoration of images.‡ Three hundred bishops condemned at Frankfort, what three hundred and fifty bishops had just approved of at Nice.§ The north of the West, who struggled in the North against Pagan idolatry, necessarily denounced image worship; while those of the East justified it through hatred of the image-breaking Arabs. The pope, who coincided with the Eastern

\* See Guizot, 21<sup>st</sup> leçon.

\* The curial was to have at least twenty-five acres of land, the Roman from thirty-six to forty-eight.

† "One ox, or six bushels of wheat, were worth two sous. Five oxen, or a single robe, or thirty bushels of wheat, ten sous. Six oxen, or a curass, or thirty-six bushels of wheat, twelve sous." M. Desmichels, *Hist. du Moyen Age*, &c. Truly for those prices on the exultitude of this conscientious writer. But he commits a mistake in referring for proof to the Canons of the Council of Frankfort.

‡ Pref. of Eginhard. Epist. 37. ap. Fleury. *Hist. Eccles.* l. xiv. c. 17.

§ Eginhard in Kar. M. c. 21. Post susceptum imperiale nomen cum diversis multa legibus populi sui decessit, nam Franci cum valent leges plurimas in locis valde diversas, cogitavit eas debere addere, et discrepantes unire, prava quoque in personarum proditi corrigere. Sed de his nihil aliud oblatum est, quam quod pauca capitula, et ea imperator legibus addidit.

¶ See the *Recueil de Baluze*.

\* Numerous examples might be cited.—*Capital*, ann. 402. ap. Ser. R. l. v. 659. "It has been thought fit that every one should use his best endeavors to preserve himself wholly the servant of his God, according to God's word and his baptismal vow, as far as his understanding and his strength permit; because our lord the emperor cannot see necessary need to each separately."—*Capital*, ann. 800. lib. 677. "Desire may be either laudable or culpable. Laudable, according to the apostle, &c."—*Avarice* is seeking what is another's, and giving nothing of one's own. And, according to the apostle, it is the root of all evil. They follow base lucre, who seek by fraud of every kind, for the sake of gain, to heap up all manner of things dishonestly."

‡ Carol. lib. ii. c. 21. "God alone, therefore, is to be worshipped, adored, and glorified, of whom it is spoken by the prophet—His name alone is to be exalted." &c.

§ This was the seventh general council—but second of Nice—held a. d. 787, for the restoration of images. The council of Frankfort against image-worship, was held seven years afterwards, a. d. 794.—TRANSLATOR.

Christians, durst not speak out in opposition to Charlemagne; and manifested equal prudence when the French church, in imitation of that of Spain, added to the Nicene creed that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Son, (*Filioque*), as well as from the Father.

While Charlemagne is lecturing on theology, dreaming of the Roman empire, and studying grammar, the power of the Franks is quietly crumbling away. Charlemagne's young son having, in his kingdom of Aquitaine, either through weakness or a sense of justice, given up and restored all that Pepin\* had laid violent hands on, incurs his father's displeasure; still he only did that voluntarily which was taking place of itself. The work of conquest was naturally going to pieces; men and lands gradually slipped away from the monarch's hands into those of the nobles, and, particularly, of the bishops, that is to say, of the local authorities who were soon to constitute the feudal republic.

Abroad, the empire manifested a similar decay. In Italy, its efforts against Beneventum and Venice had been fruitless. In Germany, it had retreated from the Oder to the Elbe, and suffered the Slaves to divide its power. And, indeed, how could it forever contend and struggle with new enemies! Beyond the Saxons and the Bavarians Charlemagne had found the Slaves, and then the Avars; beyond the Lombards, the Greeks; beyond Aquitaine and the Ebro, the caliphate of Cordova. This cincture of barbarians, which he conceived to be single, and which he at first broke through, doubled and tripled itself before him; and when his arms dropped down through weariness, then there appeared, with the Danish fleets, that restless and fantastic image of the Northern world, which had been too much forgotten. These, the true Germans, come to demand a reckoning from those hasty Germans who have turned Romans, and who call themselves the empire.

One day that Charlemagne happened to be in a city of Narbonne Gaul, some Scandinavian barks boldly entered the port for plunder. Some took them for Jewish or African, others for British merchants; but Charles recognised who they were by the speed of their vessels. "Those are not merchants," he exclaimed, "but cruel

enemies." As soon as pursued, they disappeared. But the emperor, rising from table, stationed himself, says the chronicler, at the window looking towards the East, and remained there a long time with his face bathed in tears. No one durst question him, but, turning to the nobles around him, he said, "Do you know, my faithful friends, the reason of these bitter tears! Certes, I can have no fear of injury from these wretched pirates; but I deeply mourn that they should dare, in my lifetime, all but to land on these shores, and I am overcome with agony of grief when I foresee all the mischief they will do to my successors and their subjects."<sup>1</sup>

Thus the fleets of the Greeks, Danes, and Saracens are already prowling round the empire, as the vulture hovers over the dying in expectation of his corpse. Once, two hundred armed barks fall upon Frisia, laden themselves with booty, and disappear. Nevertheless, Charlemagne "collected men" to repulse them. On the occasion of another invasion, "the emperor assembles men in Gaul and in Germany,"<sup>2</sup> and builds in Frisia the town of Eselsfeld. Unhappy athlete—he slowly moves his hand to his wounds, to parry blows already received.

"Godfried, king of the Normans, promised himself the empire of Germany, and looked upon Frisia and Saxony as his own. He had already subdued his neighbors, the Abotrites, and compelled them to pay tribute. He even boasted that at the head of a numerous army he would soon visit the king in his court of Aix-la-Chapelle. However vain and empty these threats might be, they were not altogether disbelieved; and it was supposed that he would have made some attempt of the kind, had he not been cut off by a premature death."<sup>3</sup>

The aged empire proposes to protect herself. Armed barks defend the mouths of the rivers; but how fortify the whole coast! He who has dreamed of unity, is, like Diocletian, obliged to divide his dominions in order to provide for their safety; to one of his sons he intrusts Italy; to another Germany; to a third, Aquitaine. But every thing is against Charlemagne. His two eldest die; and he is forced to leave this weak and immense empire in the pacific hands of a saint.

\* I conceive that this is the view to be taken of that disposition of his domain, with which Charlemagne reproaches his son. This domain must have been constructed out of the robberies of conquest. The scrupulous character of Louis, and the restitutions which, at a later period, he made to other nations which had been ill treated by the Franks, authorize this interpretation of his conduct in Aquitaine. The following is the text of the contemporary historian. In tantum largus, ut antea nec in antiqua libro nec in modernis temporibus auditum est, ut villas regias que erant et aut et tritari: Pippin et Charles Martel, fidelibus suis tradidit eas in possessiones emptorum. . . . Forit enim hoc die tempore. Thagmas, de Gestis Ludov. PI., c. 19, ap. Scr. R. Fr. vi. 78.

<sup>1</sup> Mon. Sangall. l. ii. c. 32. . . . Scitis, O fideles mei, quid tantopere pleruerim? Non hoc timeo quod isti singuli mihi aliquid nocere possint: alium contritus quod, ne vivente, aut sunt litte totum attingere; et maximo dolore torqueri, quia prevideo quanta mala posteris meis et eorum sint facturi subjectis.

<sup>2</sup> Annal. Franc. ad ann. 810, ap. Scr. R. Fr. v. 38. Numquam accepit classem et: navium de Nortmannia Frisiam appulisse. . . . Missis in omnes circumquaque regiones ad congregandum exercitum militum. . . . Ibid. ad. ann. 809. Cumque ad hoc per Galliam atque Germaniam homines congregasset. . . .

<sup>3</sup> Eginh. in Kar. M. c. 14. Godfridus adeo vani spe inditus erat, ut totius sibi Germanie promitteret protectionem. &c.—Ibid. also, Annal. Franc. ap. Scr. R. Fr. v. 37. Hermann. Contad. lib. 308.

## CHAPTER III.

## DISSOLUTION OF THE CARLOVINGIAN EMPIRE.

THE disruption and divorce of the heterogeneous parts which constituted the vast whole of the empire, were to be consummated under the rule of Louis the Debonnaire, (the meek,) or which is the more faithful translation of his name, of *Saint Louis*. These various parts suffered from their union: the evil to which it gave rise being the obligation it imposed of keeping up one immense war, so that the reverses sustained in one part were felt in those most distant from it—the disasters of Austrasia shaking the banks of the Loire. This was the result of the tyrannous effort to bring about a premature centralization; and the nearer Charlemagne attained this end, the more intolerable was the grievance. No doubt Pepin, and his father—*of the smith's hammer*, had rained hard blows on the nations; but, at least, they had not undertaken to reduce them, discordant as they still were, to this insufferable unity—which, at first, however, was simply administrative, though Charlemagne was contemplating to render it legislative: while his son affected unity in matters of religion by naming Benedict of Aniane to be reformer of the monasteries of the empire, and to bring them all back to the rule of St. Benedict.

An expiring world always breathes its last and expiates its faults in the arms of a saint—this is an invariable law of history. The purest of the race has to bear their faults, and the punishment devolves on the innocent, whose crime is the carrying on of a system condemned to perish, and the cloaking with his virtues the long-continued injustice that oppresses his people. Advantage is taken of one man's virtue, to revenge the social wrongs of a nation! 'Tis an odious means; and, in the case of Louis the Debonnaire, it was parricide—since his children headed the different races, who sought to separate themselves from the empire.

The hapless being who lends his life to this immolation of a social world—whether he be called Louis the Debonnaire, Charles the First, or Louis the Sixteenth—is, however, not always free from reproach. His fate would be less touching were he less mortal. No, he is a man of flesh and blood like ourselves—tender-hearted, weak-willed, desiring good, sometimes committing evil, unbounded in his repentance, trusting those who surround him, and betrayed by them.

The Saint Louis of the ninth century,\* like

\* There is a singular resemblance between the portraits left us by the artists of Louis the Debonnaire and of St. Louis. "The emperor had long hands, straight fingers, long and slender legs, and long feet." *Theganus de Gest. Ludov. P. c. 19*, ap. Ser. R. Fr. vi. 74—"Louis St. Louis was then slender in body, of good length, and of angelic look and graceful countenance." *Salubertin*, 302, ap. Rumer, *Geschichte der Hohenstaufen*, iv. 271.—Both sedulously avoided loud and hearty laughter. "Never did the emperor raise his voice in laughing, not even on occasions of public

his successor of the thirteenth, was reared in the thoughts of a holy war. While still young, he headed many expeditions against the Spanish Saracens, and took from them the important city of Barcelona, after a two years' siege. Educated by St. Gulielmus, of Toulouse, just as St. Louis was by Blanche of Castile, he mingled in his religion, like him, the fervor of the south with the candor of the north.

His instructors, the priests, succeeded better with him than they wished. Their pupil was more a priest than they, and, in his intractable virtue, began by reforming his masters. He would reform the bishops—no more arms, horses, or spurs.\* He would reform the monasteries—and so subjected them to the scrutiny of the severest of monks, St. Benedict of Aniane, who found the Benedictine rule itself only calculated for babes and sucklings† The new king dismissed to their monasteries Adalhart and Wala,‡ two clever and intriguing monks.

rejoicing, when jesters and buffoons, minstrels and harpers played at his table to amuse the people, who laughed measuredly in his presence, he not even smiling so as to show his white teeth." *Thegan. ibid.*—With regard to the gravity of St. Louis, and his aversion to mountebanks and minstrels, see the Second Part of this History.—To coincide the same desire was displayed by both saints, to repair the wrongs done by their fathers.

\* *Astronomi Vita Ludov. Pil. c. 24*, ap. Ser. R. Fr. vi. 101. "Tunc eperunt deponi ab episcopis et clericis cingula bellica aureis et gemmis cultus onerata, equos, vestes, sed et cetera talia onerantia relinqui."

† *Acta SS. Ord. S. Bened. ser. iv. p. 145*. "Convictus that the rule of St. Benedict was given only for clerics and the weak, he strove to attain to the strictness of the rules of St. Basil and of Pachomius."—*Astronomi. c. 24*, ap. Ser. R. Fr. vi. 100. "Louis caused a book, setting out the rule of monical life, to be drawn up, and copiously made. . . . He also appointed the abbot Benedict, and with him monks of approved life, who, going to and through all the religious houses, should bring them, as monasteries as monasteries, to one uniform and unchanged practice and observance of the rule of St. Benedict."

‡ *Dean Waddington*, in his *History of the Church*, &c. "When Benedict of Aniane undertook to establish a system, he found it prudent to relax from that extreme severity, which as a simple monk he had both professed and practiced. As his youthful enthusiasm abated, he became gradually convinced that the rule of the Nuns—born of St. Benedict, was as severe as the common infirmities of human nature could endure. He was therefore contented to revive that rule, or rather to enforce its observance; and the part which he particularly pressed on the practice of his disciples, was the obligation of manual labor. To the neglect of that essential portion of monastic discipline, the successive corruptions of the system are with truth attributed; and the regulations, which were adopted by the reformers of Aniane, were confirmed (in 817) by the council of Aix la Chapelle. From this epoch we may date the renovation of the Benedictine order; and though, even at that age, it was grown perhaps too rich to adhere very closely to its ancient observance, yet the sons who were nourished may nevertheless be accounted, without any exaggeration of their merits, among the most industrious, the most learned, and the most pious of their own generation."—*TRANSLATOR.*

§ *Adalardi Vita*, ap. Ser. R. Fr. vi. 277. "Enviously despoiled of his power, stripped of his dignities, and degraded in the opinion of the people, he was dismissed into retirement."—*Acta SS. Ord. S. Bened. ser. iv. p. 144*. Wala. . . . With whose ability Augustus was familiar he determined at some one's instigation, to humble and relegate among the lowest, although he was his own cousin, the son of his uncle.—*Ibid.* p. 422. "One day he said to Louis. 'Pray, most revered emperor Augustus, tell us wherever you have so utterly abandoned your own duties, to under take divine ones.'"*Astronomi. c. 21*. "There was great apprehension felt that Wala, who had enjoyed high authority in Charlemagne's time, would make some attempt against the emperor."



down to consent to Bernard's being de-  
prived of sight; but had the operation performed  
in such a manner that he died of it in three  
days.

It was not solitary in this movement. All  
the military nations had taken up arms. The  
Slaves of the north had the Danes to support  
them; those of Pannonia counted upon the  
Bulgarians; the Basques of Navarre extended  
the hand to the Saracens;\* and the Bretons  
relied upon themselves. These insurrections  
were all quelled. The Bretons saw their coun-  
try completely occupied, perhaps for the first  
time; the Basques were defeated, the Saracens  
repulsed; the Slaves were overcome and com-  
pelled to serve against the Danes, and one of  
the Danish kings even embraced Christianity.  
Louis rewarded the archbishopric of Hamburg;  
and a bishop whose metropolitan was the arch-  
bishop of Reims, was given to Sweden.† It  
is true that these first conquests of Christianity  
were not lasting; and his subjects rose up and  
expelled the Christian king of the Danes.

Up to this period, Louis's reign, it must be  
acknowledged, flourished in strength and in  
justice. He had maintained the integrity of  
the empire, and extended its influence. The  
barbarians feared his arms, and venerated his  
sanctity. Fortune being all smiles, the soul  
of the saint was softened, and he discovered  
that he had human wants. His wife being  
dearly beloved, it is said, the daughters of the  
nobility of his empire, and chose the most  
beautiful.‡ In Judith, daughter of count Welf,  
was blended the blood of the nations most odious  
to the Franks. Her mother was a Saxon, her  
father a Bavarian—one of that people who  
were allied with the Lombards, and who had  
summoned the Slaves and Avars into the em-  
pire. § Learned, says history, even too learned,

et in matrem, in eos tota severitate legum expulsi.—  
Thegan. c. 29. Judicium mortale immaniter exerce-  
re mox, ut in bellum Bernhardum lunibus privavit.

¶ Bernhart's death. "On hearing of Bernard's death,"  
says the chronicler, "the empire wept long and bitterly."

\* Astrucum. c. 37. Eginh. Annal. ap. Ser. R. Fr. vi. 145.

† Astrucum. Vita. ibid. 305. In civitate Hammaburg  
sedem sancti archiepiscopalem.—Ibid. 306. Elio archiepi-  
scopo Remensi, archiepiscopatum . . . pontificatus insignium honore,  
ad portum sancti Suevum, &c.

‡ Astrucum. c. 40. Undeunque adulescentium filias  
inspicere Judith . . . Thegan. c. 26. Accepti filiam Welfi  
duci, et ex nobilissima stirpe Ravensburg, et nomen  
virginis Judith, que erat ex parte matris nobilissimæ  
generis Saxonum, et inque regnum constituta. Erant enim pul-  
cherrime.

§ Bishop Proul wrote to her: "As to  
personal merits you excel every queen whom it has been  
the lot of this feeble soil to see or hear of." Ser. R. Fr.  
vi. 335.

¶ Besides, they had been allies of the Aquit-  
anians. Hist. vi. 147.

§ Astrucum. epistles of the celebrated Ratnauus  
of Rheims to Bishop Proul. The latter writes: "When  
I thought of the goodness of your condition in divine and hu-  
man things, I was amazed." Ser. R. Fr. vi. 355, 356.—  
See also the verses of Walstuf, ibid. 360—

quædam cithara sonans perennis pectus Judith  
et cithara loquax, ut non inviseret Holda  
Fidem, tam potius  
ut cithara sonaret, ut non substrat cithara,  
Hoc illud ingenium culta atque exercita vita."

'Judith runs over the organ with sweetly sounding touch.

she brought her husband under the influence of  
the elegant and polished natives of the south.  
Louis was already well inclined to the Aquita-  
nians, among whom he had been brought up.  
Bernard, the son of his old preceptor, St. Gui-  
elmus of Toulouse, became his favorite, and  
still more the favorite of the empress. A beau-  
tiful and dangerous Eve, she degraded and  
ruined her husband.

After this fall, Louis, weaker, because he had  
ceased to be pure; more human and more sen-  
sitive, because he was no longer a saint, opened  
his heart to fears and scruples. He felt him-  
self sunk—*virtue had gone out of him*. He  
began to repent of his severity towards his  
nephew Bernard, and towards the monks Wal-  
and Adalhard—whom, however, he had only  
dismissed to the performance of their duties.  
His heart yearned for relief. He asked and  
was allowed to submit to public penance. Since  
Theodosius, this was the first time that the  
great spectacle of the voluntary humiliation of  
an all-powerful man had been witnessed. The  
Merovingian kings, after committing the great-  
est crimes, had contented themselves with  
founding religious houses. Louis's penitence  
may be deemed the new era of morality—the  
advent of conscience.

But the brutal pride of the men of the day  
blushed for royalty, and for its humble ad-  
mission of its weakness and mortality. They re-  
ceived that he who had bowed his head before  
the priest would be unfit to command warlike  
troops. The empire, likewise, appeared degraded and  
disarmed by the act; and the first beginnings  
of its inevitable dissolution were ascribed to the  
weakness of a monarch who had figured as a  
penitent. In 820, thirteen Norman vessels rav-  
aged the coast for three hundred leagues, and  
amassed such quantities of booty, that to make  
room for it, they were obliged to release the  
prisoners they had made.\* In 824, the Frank  
army having invaded Navarre, was defeated at  
Roncesvalles. In 829, apprehensions were  
entertained that the Normans, whose least  
barks were so formidable, would attempt an in-  
vasion by land, and the people were ordered to  
be ready to march *en masse*.† Thus the public  
discontent gained ground. The nobles and bi-  
shops encouraged it. They accused the emperor,  
and also the Aquitanian, Bernard. They were  
confined and circumscribed by the central power,  
and longed to break in upon the unity of the  
empire. Each wished to be king in his own  
domain.

¶ Of the eloquent Sappho or Holda should visit us—  
dance . . . whatever thou hast lost by thy own  
weakness, thou hast gained in mental cultivation and ele-  
gance.

Annal. Met. ibid. 212. "She was too beautiful, and  
adorned with all the flowers of wisdom."

\* Astrucum. c. 33. Eginh. Annal. ap. Ser. R. Fr. vi.  
180.

† Eginh. Annal. ibid. 149. Quo auxilio commotum, nihil  
in omnes Francie regiones, et jussu ut omnium Rusticorum  
in tota populi sui multitudo in Rationem venisset.





sweeping the dust with his hoary locks; how he had inquired into the sins of his father—a second Ham, exposing to derision his father's nakedness; how he had drawn up his confession, and such a confession!—stuffed with lies and calumnies. It was archbishop Hebo, who had been brought up with Louis, and was his foster-brother—one of those sons of serfs whom he loved so well,\* who had torn his baldric from him, and clad him in sackcloth. But in depriving him of his belt and sword, and stripping him of the dress of tyrants and of nobles, they had shown him to the people as one of themselves, and both as saint and man. Nor was his history any other than that of the biblical man. His Eve had ruined him, or, if you will, one of those daughters of the giants who, in the book of Genesis, seduce the sons of God. Besides, in this marvellous example of suffering and of patience, in this wronged and spat-upon man, who returned blessings for insults, men thought they recognised the patience of Job, or rather an image of the Saviour—nothing was wanting to complete the likeness, neither gall nor vinegar.

So the aged emperor found himself exalted by his very humiliation—all avoided the paricide. Abandoned by the nobles, (A. D. 834-5.) and unable, this time, to suborn his father's partisans,† Lothaire fled to Italy. Sick himself,

he saw in the course of one year (836) all the chiefs of his party die—the bishops of Amiens and of Troyes, his father-in-law Hugh, counts Matfried and Lambert, Agimbert of Perche, Godfried and his son Borgarit—his warden of the chase—and numerous others.\* Hebo, deprived of the see of Reims, passed the rest of his life in obscurity and exile. Wala withdrew to the monastery of Bobbio, to the tomb of St. Columbanus, (a brother of St. Arnulph—the bishop of Metz, and progenitor of the Carlovingians, had been abbot of this monastery,) and died there this very year, which proved so fatal to numbers of his party, exclaiming every moment, "Why was I born a man of strife and discord!"† This grandson of Charles Martel's, this political monk, this factious saint, this hard,‡ ardent, and impassioned man, who had been confined by Charlemagne in a monastery, had then been made his counsellor, and who afterwards became all but king of Italy under Pepin and Bernard, had the misfortune to lend a name, previously unsullied, to the parried revolts of the sons of Louis.

However, the Debonnaire, following the same counsels as before, did what he could to renew the revolt, and to be again deposed. On the one hand, he summoned the nobles to restore to the churches the estates which they had usurped;§ on the other, he lessened the shares of his eldest sons, who, it is true, well deserved the loss, and elevated at their expense the son of his choice, the son of Judith—Charles the Bald. The children of Pepin, who had just died, were stripped of their inheritance, and Louis the German was reduced to the possession of Bavaria alone. All was divided betwixt Lothaire and Charles. The aged emperor is reported to have said to the first—"See, my son, all the kingdom is before thee, divide, and let Charles take his choice; or, if you desire the choice, we will make the division."|| Lo-

\* Thegan. c. 44. "Hebo, bishop of Reims, who was a serf by birth, . . . O, what a return hast thou made him! He arrayed thee in purple and in the pallium, thou hast clad him in sackcloth. . . . Thy fathers were good herds, not princes' counsellors. . . . But the trial of the most pious king . . . just like the patience of the blessed Job. They who insulted the blessed Job are said to have been kings; but they who afflicted him were his own lawful servants and the servants of his fathers. . . . All the bishops molested him, and chiefly those whom he had raised from a servile condition, together with such of the barbarians as were similarly honored."—Id. c. 30. "It had long been a mischievous habit to make bishops of the lowest slaves, and this did not hinder, &c." Then follows a long invective against upstarts.—Many facts prove Louis's predilection for the serfs, for the poor, and the conquered races. One day he gave the dress he had on to a serf, a glazier belonging to the monastery of St. Gall. Mon. Sangall. ad calc.—His affection for the Saxons and Aquitanians has been noticed. In his youth he wore the Aquitanian dress. "The young Louis, in compliance with his father's commands, which he observed with all his heart and to the best of his power, repaired to him to Paderborn, attended by a company of young people of his own age, and attired in the Gascon dress, that is to say, wearing the little round surcoat, a shirt with long sleeves and hanging down to his knees, his spurs laced on his boots, and a javelin in his hand. Such was the king's pleasure and desire." Astronom. c. 4.—Mon. Sangall. l. ii. c. 31. "Moreover, finding himself absent, king Louis chose to have the trials of the poorer classes so regulated that one of their own order, who, although completely infirm, appeared endowed with superior energy and intelligence, was authorized to inquire into their crimes, prescribe what restitution should be made in cases of theft, order the lex talionis for injuries and deeds of violence, and, taking cognizance even of the most serious matters, should order a limb to be struck off, or beheading, or the punishment of the galleys as the case might require. This individual established dukes, tribunes, and centurions, gave them deputies, and discharged with firmness the duties intrusted to him."

† Nithard. Histor. l. i. c. 4, ap. Ser. R. Fr. vii. 12. "Rheims and repentance acted all the people for having twice deposed the emperor."—Id. 5. "The Franks, having twice deserted the emperor, were filled with compunction, and refused again to be driven into rebellion."—All the nations returned to their allegiance.—"The people as well of

France as of Burgundy, and both of Aquitania and Germania, united in loud complaints of the misfortunes of the emperor, &c." Astronom. c. 49.—All were of one accord—undoubtedly, through discontent with Lothaire, that is, with the unity of the empire. Bernard seems to have sided with the emperor against his sons, but with Pepin, that is to say, with Aquitania, even against the emperor.

\* Astronom. c. 56. "It is marvellous how Lothaire's followers were swept off, &c." "He himself died not long afterwards."

† Act. 88. Ord. S. Bened. sec. iv. p. 453. Virum ruz virumque discordias se progenitum frequenter ingement.—Paschrois Radbertus, author of the Life of Wala, and who wrote in the reigns of Louis the Debonnaire and of his son Charles the Bald, thought it prudent to disguise his personages under fictitious names. Wala he called *Arcadius*, Adalard, *Antonius*; Louis the Debonnaire, *Justinianus*; Judith, *Justina*; Lothaire, *Honorius*; Louis the German, *Gratianus*; Pepin, *Melanus*; Bernard of Septimania, *Naz* and *Amazarius*.

‡ Ibid. p. 454.—A monk having tried to escape from the monastery in order to avoid some punishment, Wala placed soldiers at the gates, p. 465.

§ Annal. Bertiniani, ann. 837, ap. Ser. R. Fr. vi. 193.—Astronom. c. 53. Mandavit Pipino . . . res ecclesiasticas restitui. See, also, c. 56.

|| Nithard. l. i. c. 7. Ecce, fili, ut promissionem regnum omne coram te est: divide illud prout libuerit. Quod si in diviseris, partium electio Caroli erit. Si autem non illud diviserimus, similiter partium electio tua erit.—Wala



in quant Deus savir et podir me dunat, si salva-reio cist meon fradre Karlo et in adjudha, et in cadhuna cosa, si cum om per dreit son fradre salvar dist, in o quid il mi altre si fazet. Et ab Ludher nul plaid numquam prindrai, qui meon vol cist meo fradre Karle, in damno sit." Louis having sworn, Charles repeated the oath, but in German:—"In Godes minna indum tes christianes folches, iud unser bedhero gehaltnissi, fon thesemo dage frammordes, so fram so mir Got gewizei indi madh furgibit so hald in tesian minan broodher soso man mit rehtu sinan bruder seal, inthui thaz er mig soso ma duo; indi mit Lutheren inno kleinnin thing ne geganga zhe minan vvilun imo ce scadhen vverhen."\* The oath taken by the people of the two countries, each in their vernacular tongue, is as follows in the Romance language:—"Si Lodhuwigs sacrament que son fradre Karlo jurat, conservat, et Karlus meos sendra de suo part non los tanit, si io retornar non lint pois, ne io ne nueli cui eo retornar int pois, in nulla adjudha contra Lodhuwig nun lin iver"†

This oath is as follows, in the German:—"Oba Karl then eid then er sineno broodher Ludhuwige gessuor geleistit, ind Luduwig min herro then er imo gesuor forbrühchit, ob ina ih nes irrwenden ne mag, nah ih, nah theru, noh hem then ih es irrwenden mag, vvrindhar Karle imo ce follust ne wridht."

"The bishops," adds Nithard,‡ "declared that Lothaire had fallen under the just judgment of God, who had transferred his kingdom to the most worthy. But they did not authorize either Charles or Louis to take possession of it, until they had inquired of them whether they would reign after the example of their de-throned brother, or according to the will of God. The monarchs having replied, that so long as God should give them the power, to the best of their knowledge they would order both themselves and their subjects in obedience to his will, the bishops pronounced:—'In the name and power of the Most High, take the kingdom, and govern it according to his will; we advise, exhort, command you so to do.' Both brothers

chose twelve of their adherents, (I was of the number,) and intrusted them with the division of the kingdom."

The conduct of Lothaire and of Pepin in endeavoring to support themselves by aid of the Saxons and Saracens, gave the advantage to Charles and Louis, since the Church declared against the two first. Lothaire, therefore, had to content himself with the title of emperor, without the authority. "All the bishops deciding that the three brothers ought to be at peace, the two kings sent for Lothaire's deputies, and granted him what he asked. They passed four days, and more, in dividing the kingdom. It was at length concluded that the whole country between the Rhine and the Meuse,\* as far as the source of the latter river, thence as far as the source of the Saône, along the Saône to its confluence with the Rhone, and along the Rhone as far as the sea, should be offered to Lothaire as the third of the kingdom; and that he should hold all the bishoprics, all the abbeys, all the counties, and all the royal domains of the countries on this side of the Alps, with the exception of† . . . (Treaty of Verdun, A. D. 843.)

"Louis and Charles's commissioners having made various objections to the proposed division, they were asked if any one of them were thoroughly acquainted with the whole kingdom. No one answering in the affirmative, they were then asked why they had not taken advantage of the time allowed for consideration, to send parties throughout the provinces, to draw up a description of them. It was discovered that this was what Lothaire did not want to be done, and they were told that it was impossible for men to make an equal division of a thing they were ignorant of. They were then asked whether they could conscientiously have taken oath, that they would divide the kingdom equally and impartially, when they were aware that not one of them knew its extent—and the question was referred for decision to the bishops."

Lothaire's odious application to the Pagans‡

\* Nithard, l. iii. c. 5, ap. Ser. R. Fr. viii. 27, 35. I borrow M. Aug. Thierry's translation of these oaths. Lettres sur l'Hist. de France; but do not adopt his restoration, thinking it too hazardous to change the Latin words met with in the monuments of such an epoch. Latin must have entered in indolent proportions, into all the early languages of Europe. See in the Appendix, the barbarous poem on the captivity of Louis II.

† For the love of God and for the Christian people, and our common safety, from this day forward, and as long as God shall give me understanding and power, I will support my brother Karl here present, by aid and in every thing, as it is right that one should support one's brother, so long as he shall do the same for me. And never will I make any agreement with Lothaire which by my will shall be to the detriment of my brother."

‡ If Ludwig keep the oath which he has sworn to his brother Karl, and if Karl, my lord, on his part does not keep it, if I cannot bring him back to it—and neither I nor any others can bring him back to it, I will aid him in nothing against Ludwig now or ever."

The Germans repeated this in their tongue, only changing the order of the names. Nithard, l. iii. c. 5.

§ Id. iv. c. 1.

\* The countries watered by the Meuse had declared openly for Charles. "All the people who dwell between the Meuse and the Seine sent messengers to Charles, A. D. 840, beseeching him to come before Lothaire should wage their country, and promising to meet him on his arrival. Charles, accompanied by a few followers, hastily set out and, on his reaching Quierzy, is warmly welcomed by the people from the forest of Ardennes and from the countries below. As to the dwellers beyond the forest—Hereniz, Gisbert, Boyon, and others, seduced by Odulf—they failed in the allegiance which they had sworn." Nithard, l. ii. c. 2.

† Id. l. iv. c. 3.

‡ Id. ibid. c. 4.

§ Id. ibid. c. 2. "He sent messengers into Saxony, to promise both freemen and serfs (friliga et laza), who are most numerous, that if they would support him, he would restore the laws which their ancestors had enjoyed at the time they worshipped idols. The Saxons, eagerly desiring this consummation, took the new name of *Stodunga*, banded together, expelled nearly all their lords, and each, according to ancient custom, began to live as he liked best. Lothaire also called the Northmen to his aid. He subjected some tribes of Christians to their rule, and had even allowed them to plunder the rest of the people of Christ. Louis feared that the Northmen and Slaves might be induced,

for aid—an example afterwards followed by his ally Pepin in Aquitaine—seemed to bring down misfortune on his family. Charles the Bald and Louis the German, supported by the bishops of their kingdoms, perpetuated the name of Charlemagne, and, at least, founded the monarchy, which, long eclipsed by feudalism, was one day to become so powerful. Lothaire and Pepin were unable to found any thing. Charles the Bald, who was supposed to be the son of Bernard of Languedoc, the favorite of Louis the Debonnaire, and of Judith, and who resembled Bernard,\* seems, indeed, to have had all his southern address. At first, he is the man of the bishops, of Hincmar, the great archbishop of Reims, and, in some sort, it is in the name of the Church that he wars on Lothaire and Pepin, the allies of the Pagans. Pepin, governed by the counsels of a son of Bernard's, did not hesitate to invite the Saracens and Normans into Aquitaine. It has been seen by the marriage of Eud's daughter with an emir, that the Christianity of the men of the south was by no means shocked at these alliances with unbelievers. The Saracens invaded Septimania in Pepin's name, and the Normans took Toulouse. It is asserted that he went so far as to deny Christ, and ratified his oaths by adorning Woden and the horse. Such means must have been more fatal than serviceable to him. The people detested the friend of the barbarians, and imputed all the ravages committed by them to him. Given up to Charles the Bald by the leaders of the Gascons, often a prisoner, and often a fugitive, anarchy was all he wrought.

Lothaire's family was hardly more fortunate. On his death, A. D. 855, his eldest son, Louis II., became emperor. His two other sons, Lothaire II., and Charles, became—the first, king of Lorraine, the provinces between the Meuse and Rhine, the second, king of Provence. Charles died early. Louis, harassed by the Saracens, and taken prisoner by the Leonards, was always unfortunate, despite his victories. As to Lothaire II., his reign seems to be the advent of the Papal supremacy over kings. He had put away his wife, Teutberge, in order to live with the archbishop of Cologne's sister, and was, too, the bishop of Treves, acting as protector of adultery and incest. For a long time he denied the charge, and

then confessed it—undoubtedly through intimidation. Pope Nicholas I., to whom she first addressed herself, refused to credit her confession, and compelled Lothaire to take her again. The latter repaired to Rome to justify himself, and received the communion from the hands of Adrian II.; who, however, at the same time threatened him, unless he repented, with the vengeance of Heaven. Lothaire died within the week, and most of his supporters within the year.† Charles the Bald, and Louis the German, profited by this judgment of God's, and divided Lothaire's dominions between them.

On the contrary, the king of France, at least in the earlier reigns, was the man of the Church; for since France had escaped the influence of Germany, the Church alone possessed power within it, a power which the secular clergy were unable to counterbalance. Germans, Aquitanians, and even Irish and Lombards, seem to have been more favored at the Carolingian court than the Neustrians. Governed and defended by foreigners, Neustria had long only moved and breathed through her clergy. Her population would appear to have consisted of slaves, scattered over the immense and half-cultivated estates of the nobles of the country; of whom the greatest and richest were the nobles and abbots. With the exception of the episcopal cities, the towns were nothing; but around each abbey was clustered a town, or at least a small burgh.‡ The richest abbays were those of St. Medard of Soissons, and of St. Denys, founded by Dagobert, the cradle of our monarchy, and the tomb of our kings.

Above the whole land there domineered—by its density as a sect, by its doctrine, and by its miracles—the great metropolis of Reims, as great in the north as Lyons was in the south. Through wars and ravages, the sees of St. Martin of Tours, and of St. Hilary of Poitiers, had lost much of their pristine splendor; and under the second race, Reims succeeded to their influence, and extended its possessions into the most distant provinces, even into the Vosges and Aquitaine. It was pre-eminently the episcopal city. Laon, on its inaccessible hill, was the royal city, and enjoyed the melancholy honor of defending the last of the Carolingians. Our kings of the third race waited till the incursions of the Normans ceased, before

\* Agost. Mart. ap. Ser. R. Fr. vi. 226.

† The death of Lothaire II. in the West, which took place the second of September, made his name famous, and it is the first of the reign of St. Louis, in the Annals of St. Remy, p. 441. The Annals of St. Remy, p. 442, and the Chronicon of Hincmar, p. 442, ap. Ser. R. Fr. vi. 222 & 223.

‡ The monks of St. Denis were the first to bring it out of the hands of the heathen, and it was by Duke Bernard, A. D. 863, ap. Wadding, Ser. R. Fr. vi. 229. Agost. Mart. ap. Ser. R. Fr. vi. 229. Agost. Mart. ap. Ser. R. Fr. vi. 229. The monks of St. Denis were the first to bring it out of the hands of the heathen, and it was by Duke Bernard, A. D. 863, ap. Wadding, Ser. R. Fr. vi. 229. Agost. Mart. ap. Ser. R. Fr. vi. 229.

† Agost. Mart. ap. Ser. R. Fr. vi. 229. The monks of St. Denis were the first to bring it out of the hands of the heathen, and it was by Duke Bernard, A. D. 863, ap. Wadding, Ser. R. Fr. vi. 229. Agost. Mart. ap. Ser. R. Fr. vi. 229.

† Nicolas, Epist. ap. Mann, iv. p. 372.

‡ The monks of St. Denis were the first to bring it out of the hands of the heathen, and it was by Duke Bernard, A. D. 863, ap. Wadding, Ser. R. Fr. vi. 229. Agost. Mart. ap. Ser. R. Fr. vi. 229. The monks of St. Denis were the first to bring it out of the hands of the heathen, and it was by Duke Bernard, A. D. 863, ap. Wadding, Ser. R. Fr. vi. 229. Agost. Mart. ap. Ser. R. Fr. vi. 229.

† Frodoard, Hist. Eclési. Rem. lib. i. c. 10. l. iii. c. 20.

they ventured to descend to the plains, and establish themselves at Paris, in the island of the City, close to St. Denys, as the Carlovingians had chosen for their last asylum Laon, close to Reims.

Charles the Bald was, at first, only the humble client of the bishops. Before and after the battle of Fontenai, he complains, in his negotiations with Lothaire, of the latter's disrespect for the Church.\* Therefore is he protected by God. When Lothaire arrives on the banks of the Seine with his barbarous and pagan army, partly consisting of Saxons, the river miraculously overflows its banks and protects Charles the Bald.† The monks, before they set Louis the Debonnaire free, had asked him whether he would re-establish and maintain Divine worship.‡ In like manner the bishops interrogated Charles the Bald and Louis the German, and then conferred the kingdom upon them.§ Later still, the bishops are of opinion that *peace should prevail among the three brothers.*|| After the battle of Fontenai, the bishops, in full assembly, declare that Charles and Louis have fought for equity and justice, and command a three days' fast.¶ "The Franks, as well as the Aquitanians," says Charles's partisan, Nithard, "despised the small number of Charles's followers. But the monks of St. Medard of Soissons came to meet him, and prayed him to bear on his shoulders the relics of St. Medard, and of fifteen other saints, which they were removing to their new basilica; and, with all veneration, he bore them on his shoulders, and then repaired to Reims."\*\*

The creature of the bishops and of the monks, he conferred on them the greatest share of his power, as indeed was right and fit, for they alone had both the knowledge and the means to regulate, in some degree, the wild disorder that prevailed throughout the land.†† Thus the powers of the king's commissioners are divided between bishops and laymen by the capitulary of Epernay, (A. D. 816;) and by that of Kiersy.

\* "He required him to forbear persecuting God's holy Church, and to pity the poor, the widow, and the orphan." Nithard l. iii. c. 3.

† Id. ibid. "Wonderful to tell, the Seine, although the weather was perfectly tranquil, began to rise."

‡ Id. l. iii. c. 3. Per omnia . . . sacre publice rei statu-  
retur, an concilio . . . fieri vellet, maximeque cultum  
divinum.

§ Id. l. iv. c. 1. Palam illi percentati sunt . . . an se-  
cundum Dei voluntatem in regem volissent. Re-pendit an-  
te . . . . . sunt. Et auctoritate divina ut illud  
suscepit, et secundum Dei voluntatem illud regis, no-  
menque, hortumur, stupre gratipsum.

|| Id. ibid. c. 3. "As usual, the matter is referred to the  
priests and bishops, on whose unanimously consenting  
peace, they consent, expedite ambassadors, and come to an  
agreement."

¶ Id. l. iii. c. 1.

\*\* Id. ibid. c. 2.—Before leaving Angers, A. D. 873,  
Charles the Bald would assist at the ceremonies of the  
inhabitants on their return to their city, in order to replace  
the bodies of St. Aubin and of St. Lezin in the silver shrines  
which they had carried off. Annal. Bertin. ap. Ser. R. Fr.  
vii. 117.

†† A recent historian is mistaken in supposing this power  
to have been transferred to the bishops exclusively. Baluz.  
t. ii. p. 31. Capitul. Spiran. ann. 843, art. 30. Missus ex  
utroque ordine . . . militatis . . . .

(A. D. 857,) the right of proceeding against all evil-doers\* is conferred on the cures. This thoroughly ecclesiastical legislation prescribes as a remedy for the troubles and robberies that distract the kingdom—the oaths, to be sworn on relics, of the freemen and hundredors; and recommends brigands to episcopal exhortation, threatening them, if they persist in their course of life, with the spiritual sword of excommunication †

The bishops, then, were the masters of the land. The real king, and the real pope of France, was the famous Hincmar,‡ archbishop of Reims. He was born in the north of Gaul, but an Aquitanian by descent, being related to St. Gulielmus of Toulouse, and to Bernard, that favorite of Judith's, who was thought to be Charles's father. No one contributed more to increase the power of the latter, or exercised more authority under him in the first years of his reign. It was Hincmar, apparently, who, at the head of the French clergy, hindered Louis the German from establishing himself in Neustria and in Aquitaine, whither he had been invited by the nobles. When Louis invaded Charles's dominions in 859, the council of Metz

\* Capitul. Car. Calvi. ap. Ser. R. Fr. vii. 630. Ut unus-  
quisque presbyter inbreviet in sua parrochia omnes male-  
factores, etc., et eos extra ecclesiam faciat. . . . "If they  
do not reform, they must be cited before the bishop."

† A treaty of alliance and mutual aid was entered into  
(A. D. 851) by the three sons of Louis the Debonnaire, to  
the signing of such as fled from episcopal excommunication  
into the kingdoms of the others, and for the capture of  
such as had been guilty of incest, erring nuns, and adverse  
epises.

‡ Ibid. . . . Si quis hoc transgressus fuerit, ecclesi-  
am anathematice feratur.

§ "Hincmar," says Dean Waddington.—History of the  
Church, p. 252—"was descended from a noble family, and  
the early part of his life he so divided between the court  
and the cloister, and displayed so much ability and enthu-  
siasm in the discharge of the duties attached to either  
situation, as to combine the practical penetration of a states-  
man with the vigor of a zealous ecclesiastic. He was  
raised to the see of Reims in the year 845, at the age of  
thirty-nine, and filled it for nearly forty years with firmness  
and vigor. In the ninth century, when the darkest  
events were brought about by ecclesiastical guidance, he  
stands among the leading characters, if, indeed, we should  
not rather consider him as the most eminent. He was the  
great churchman of the age; on all public occasions of  
weighty deliberation, at all public ceremonies of consecration  
or consecration, Hincmar is invariably to be found as the  
active and directing spirit. His great knowledge of canon  
and law enabled him to rule the councils of the clergy; he  
universal talents rendered him necessary to the state, and  
gave him more influence in political affairs than any other  
subject; while his correspondence—Frodoard mentions 62  
letters of Hincmar's, besides many others not specified—  
attests his close intercourse with all the leading characters  
of his age. In the management of his diocese he was so  
less careful to instruct and enlighten than strict to regulate  
and while he insisted and enforced his capitularies of disci-  
pline with the air and authority of a civil despot, he was  
incessant warfare with ignorance. It is indeed probable  
that he possessed less theological learning than his less  
celebrated contemporary, Rabanus Maurus; but he had  
much more of that active energy of character so seldom  
associated with contemplative habits. It is also true that  
he was crafty, ungenerous, and intolerant; that he paid his  
sedition, deviations to the Virgin, and was infected with  
other superstitions of his age. His occasional resistance to  
the great Rome has acquired for him much of his celebrity,  
but a Divine Providence had so disposed that Hincmar had  
been bishop of Rome for as long a space as he was primate  
of France; he would unquestionably have excited papal  
supremacy with more courage, consistency, and success  
than he opposed it."—TRANSLATOR.



infinity in an atom.\* The ancient fathers had had glimpses of this doctrine, but the time was not come. It was not till the ninth century, and till the eve of the last trials of barbaric invasion, that God deigned to descend in order to strengthen mankind in their extreme of misery, and suffered Himself to be seen, touched, and tasted. Vainly did the Irish church protest in the name of logic—it did not hinder the doctrine from pursuing its triumphant progress through the middle ages.

The question of liberty originated a livelier controversy. A German monk, a Saxon,† named Gottschalk, (i. e., God's glory,) had proclaimed the doctrine of predestination‡—

\* (C) Mosheim asserts without hesitation that it had been hitherto the unanimous opinion of the Church, that the body and blood of Christ were really administered to those who received the sacrament, and that they were consequently present at the administration, but that the sentiments of Christians concerning the nature and manner of this presence were various and contradictory. No council had yet determined with precision the manner in which that presence was to be understood; both reason and folly were hitherto left free in this matter; nor had any imperious mode of faith suspended the exercise of the one, or controlled the extravagance of the other. The historian's first position is laid down, perhaps, somewhat too peremptorily, for though many passages may be adduced from very ancient fathers in affirmation of the bodily presence, the obscurity or different tendency of others would rather persuade us that even that doctrine was also left a good deal to individual judgment. The second is strictly true; and the question which had escaped the vain and intrusive curiosity of oriental theologians was at length engendered in a convent in Gaul. In the year 811, Paschasius Radbert, a Benedictine monk, afterwards abbot of Corbie, published a treatise 'concerning the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ,' which he presented, fifteen years afterwards, carefully revised and augmented, to Charles the Bald. The doctrine advanced by Paschasius may be expressed in the two following propositions:—First, that after the consecration of the bread and wine, nothing remains of those symbols except the outward figure, under which the body and blood of Christ were really and locally present. Secondly, that the body of Christ, thus present, is the same body which was born of the Virgin, which suffered upon the cross, and was raised from the dead. Charles appears decidedly to have disapproved of this doctrine; and it might perhaps have been expected that, after the example of so many princes, he would have summoned a council, stigmatized it as heresy, and excommunicated its author. He did not do so; but, on the contrary, adopted a method of opposition worthy of a wiser prince and a more enlightened age. He commissioned two of the ablest writers of the day, Ratramn and Johannes Scotus, to investigate by arguments the suspicious opinion. The composition of the former is still extant, and has exercised the ingenuity of the learned even in recent times; but they have not succeeded in extracting from the perplexities of his reasoning, and perhaps the uncertainty of his belief, the real opinions of the author. The work of Johannes Scotus is lost, but we learn that his arguments were more direct, and his sentiments more pronounced and consistent: he plainly declared that the bread and wine were no more than the symbols of the absent body and blood of Christ, and in moralized of the Last Supper. Other theologians engaged in the dispute, and a decided superiority both in numbers and talents, was opposed to the doctrine of Paschasius; yet so opposite that there was little unanimity among its adversaries, and no very perfect conclusions even in their several writings." Waddington, History of the Church, pp. 257, 8.—[Translated.]

† See the facts relative to this, collected by Gieseler, Kirchengehichte, ii. 101, sqq. In his profession of faith Gottschalk offered to prove his doctrine by passing through four barrels filled with boiling water, oil, and pitch, and afterwards through a large fire.

‡ The subject of predestination and Divine grace, which had already in the fifth century been controverted in France with some bitterness, and what is much sadder, with candor and charity, was subjected to another investigation in the ninth century. Gottschalkus, otherwise called Fulgenius, was a native of Germany, and a monk of Orbais,

that religious fatalism which offers up human liberty a sacrifice to Divine prescience. Germany thus became heir to St. Augustine, and plunged into that career of mysticism which she has since but seldom quitted. The Saxon Gottschalk foreshadowed the Saxon Luther. Like Luther, he repaired to Rome, and did not return the more tractable for it. Like him, too, he disavowed his monastic vows.

Having sought refuge in northern France, he was ill received there. German doctrines were not calculated to win a favorable welcome in a country which had just separated from Germany, and a new Pelagius arose against the new predestination.

And first, the Aquitanian Hincmar, archbishop of Reims, entered his protest in favor of free-will and of endangered morality. A violent and tyrannic defender of liberty, he caused Gottschalk, who had taken refuge in his diocese, to be seized, and had him condemned, scourged, and imprisoned. But Lyons, always mystical, and the rival, too, of Reims—with

in the diocese of Sens. He was admitted to orders, during the vacancy of the see, by the chorepiscopes—a circumstance to which the subsequent animosity of Hincmar is sometimes attributed. He possessed considerable learning, but a mind without too prone to pursue abstruse and unprofitable inquiries. Early in life he consulted Lupus, abbot of Ferrières, on the question, whether, after the resurrection, the blessed shall see God with the eyes of the body? The abbot concluded a reluctant reply to the following effect:—"I exhort you, my venerable brother, no longer to weary your spirit with such-like speculations, lest, through too great devotion to them, you become incapacitated for examining and teaching things more useful. Why waste so many researches on matters which it is not yet, perhaps, expedient that we should know? Let us rather exercise our talents in the spacious fields of Holy Writ; let us apply entirely to that meditation, and let prayer be associated to our studies. God will not fail in his goodness to manifest Himself in the manner which shall be best for us, though we should cease to pry into things which are placed above us." The speculations of Gottschalkus were diverted by this judicious rebuke, but not repressed; and the books of Scripture were still rivalled or superseded in his attention by those of Augustine. Accordingly he involved himself deeply and extremely in the mazes of fatalism. About the year 846 he made a pilgrimage to Rome, and on his return, soon afterwards, he expressed his opinions on that subject very publicly in the diocese of Verona. Information was instantly conveyed to Rabanus Maurus, archbishop of Mayence, the most profound theologian of the age. That prelate immediately replied, and in combating the error of a professed Augustinian, protected himself also by the authority of Augustine.

"Happy had it been for the author of the controversy if his adversary had allowed it to remain on that footing; but the doctrine was becoming too popular, and threatened moral effects too pernicious to be overlooked by the Church. Rabanus assembled, in 848, a council at Mayence, at which the king was present, and Gottschalkus was summoned before it. Here he defended, in a written treatise, the doctrine of double predestination,—that of the elect to eternal life by the free grace of God,—that of the wicked, in everlasting damnation through their own sins. His explanations did not satisfy the council, and the tenet was rejected and condemned, but his advocate was not considered amenable to that tribunal, so he had been ordained in the diocese of Reims; who, before Rabanus consigned him to the final custody of Hincmar, who then held that see. . . . It is certain that he was confined to the walls of a convent for almost twenty years; and that at length, during the agonies of his latest moments, he was required to subscribe a formula of faith as the only condition of reconciliation with the Church,—that he disclaimed to make any sacrifice, even at that moment, to that consideration,—and that his corpse was deposited of Christian sepulture by the unrepentant bigotry of Hincmar." Waddington, History of the Church, pp. 258-260.—TRANSLATOR.

whom she contested the title of metropolis of Gaul—Lyons sided with Gottschalk; and men of eminence in the Gallic church—Prudentius, bishop of Troyes, Lupus, abbot of Ferrières, and Ratramnus, a monk of Corbie, whom Gottschalk called his master, endeavored to justify him by putting a favorable construction on the terms in which he had advanced his doctrine. There were saints against saints, and councils against councils. Hincmar, who had not foreseen the storm, at first sought the assistance of the learned Rabanus, the abbot of Fulda,\* to which monastery Gottschalk had belonged, and who had been the first to denounce his errors. Rabanus hesitating, Hincmar applied to an Irishman who had engaged in controversy with Paschasius Radbertus on the question of the Eucharist, and who was then in high credit with Charles the Bald. Ireland was always the school of the West—the mother of monks, and, as it was termed, *the Isle of Saints*. It is true that its influence on the continent had dwindled, since the Carolingians had supplanted the rule of St. Columbanus by that of St. Benedict. However, even in Charlemagne's time, the school of the palace had been intrusted to Clement, an Irishman, with whom had been associated Dungal and St. Virgilius. The Irish were in still higher favor with Charles the Bald, who, a patron of literature, like his mother Judith, intrusted the school of the palace to John of Ireland, (otherwise called the Scotch *Erigena*)—and attended his lessons, and admitted him to the greatest familiarity. The palace was no longer the *school of the palace*, but the *palace of the school*.

This same John, who was acquainted with Greek, and, perhaps, with Hebrew, had become celebrated by his translation, undertaken at Charles's request, of the writings of Dionysius the Areopagite, the manuscript of which had just been presented by the emperor of Constantinople to the French king. It was supposed that these writings, which had in view the reconciliation of the neoplatonism of Alexandria with Christianity, were the production of Dionysius the Areopagite, spoken of by the apostle Paul, with whom the Gallic apostle was connected.

The Irishman did as Hincmar desired. He wrote against Gottschalk, in favor of liberty, and did not confine himself within the limits to which the authorities of Rome would no doubt have restricted him. Like Pelagius, from whom he derived his opinions, and like Origen,

their common master, he relied less on authority than on reason. He admitted faith—but as the beginning of knowledge. Scripture, with him, is simply a text for interpretation: religion and philosophy are the same word.† It is true that he only defended liberty against the predestination of Gottschalk, to absorb and lose it in the pantheism of Alexandria: however, the violence with which Rome attacked John Scotus, proves the alarm authority felt at his doctrines. The disciple of the Breton, Pelagius, and predecessor of the Breton, Abelard, he marks at once the regeneration of philosophy, and the revival of the free Celtic genius in opposition to the mysticism of Germany.

#### INCURSIONS OF THE NORMANS. (A. D. 819-20.)

At the very moment in which philosophy aimed at extricating herself from theological despotism, the temporal government of the bishops became paralyzed. France slipped out of their power. She needed stronger and more warlike hands to defend her from new invasions of the barbarians. Hardly freed from the rule of the Germans, who had so long governed her, she found herself weak and incapable under the administration and protection of priests. Yet she was invaded by her every river and her every shore with other Germans, whose savageness was of a very different kind from that of those she had just escaped from.

The incursions of these brigands of the north (Northmen, Normans) differed widely from the great German migrations that had taken place from the fourth to the sixth centuries. The barbarians of this earlier period, who settled on the left bank of the Rhine, or who established themselves in England, have left their language there. The petty Saxon colony of Bayeux preserved their own tongue for at least five hundred years. On the contrary, the Northmen of the ninth and tenth centuries adopted the speech of the people among whom they settled. Their kings, Rurik, both of Russia and of France, (R. Rik, Rolla) did not introduce the language of Germany into their new country. And from this essential distinction between the invasions of the two epochs, I am led to believe that those of the first, which were carried on by hordes, consisted of whole families—of warriors, followed by their wives and children. They would not be so inclined with the conquered by intermarriage, and would thus the better pre-

\* According to some, both Rabanus and his master Alcuin were of Irish birth.

† William of Malmesbury relates the following anecdote: "When John was sitting at table, opposite to the king, he began by having been removed, and the wine going round, he rose with a sword, and after some other persons had done the same thing, which excited the king, he began to defend himself by asking, 'Quid dicitur inter philosophos?' where the doctrine heaven and earth are one." A later scholar than John's reply, who thus related the result.

\* *J. Erigena de Predestinatione et Gratiâ* (Vergil *neque enim* *liberum est*), "Philosophy is true religion, and religion is true philosophy." De Nat. Divin. c. 1. p. 10. "It is not to be supposed that Hincmar's words are to be taken as precise and specific words and signs to be correlated with the Divine nature. But by the use of such words and of such and such figurative terms, shape to our weakness, and by its simple teaching elevated our gross and childish minds." In the treatise *How Philosophy and Authority is derived from reason*, but by no means reason from authority. All authority not recognized by reason seems worthless &c. See Guizot, *ibid.* 164 sqq.



serve the purity of their race and language. The pirates of the epoch at which we are now arrived, appear to have been for the most part exiles, banished men who aspired to be *sea-kings*, for lack of land whereon to reign. Furious wolves,\* whom hunger had driven from their paternal lair,† they landed alone, and without families; and when they were satiated with plunder, when, by dint of annual visitations, they had come to look upon the land which they pillaged as their country—these new Romuluses repeated the tale of the Sabine women.‡ They took wives; and the children, of course, spoke the language of their mothers. It is conjectured by some that these roving bands were increased, in Charlemagne's time, by fugitive Saxons. For my part, I can readily believe that not only Saxons, but that every fugitive, every bandit, every stout-hearted serf, was welcomed by these pirates, commonly few in number, and who would gladly strengthen their bands with any bold and robust volunteer. Tradition will have the most terrible of the sea-kings, Hastings, to have been originally a peasant of Troyes.§ Such fugitives must have been valuable to them as interpreters and as guides; and often, perhaps, the fury of the Northmen, and the atrocity of their ravages, were inspired less by the fanaticism of the worshippers of Odin, than by the vengeance of the serf, and the rage of the apostate.

Far from keeping up the armament of barks with which Charlemagne had sought to bar the mouths of the rivers against them, his successors called in the barbarians as auxiliaries. The

younger Pepin employed them against Charles the Bald, and hoped, it is said, to secure their assistance by worshipping their gods. They took the faubourgs of Toulouse, thrice pillaged Bordeaux,\* and sacked Bayonne and other cities at the foot of the Pyrenees. However, they were soon discouraged (from A. D. 861 by the mountains and torrents of the south. They could not sail up the rivers of Aquitaine so easily as they had ascended the Loire, the Seine, the Scheldt, and the Elbe.

They succeeded better in the north. Since their king, Harold, had obtained from the pope Louis a province for a baptism, (A. D. 826,) they all resorted to the same gainful trade. At first, they got themselves baptized for the sake of the dresses: which could not be provided in sufficient quantities for the crowd of neophytes. In proportion as they were refused the administration of a sacrament which they at once mocked and made a source of gain, they became the more furious. As soon as their *dragons*, their *serpents*,† ploughed the rivers, as soon as the *ivory-horn*‡ re-echoed on the banks, no one stayed to look behind him. All fled to the nearest town or abbey, hastily driving their flocks before them, and hardly taking time for this. Vile flocks themselves, without strength, unity, or guidance, they crouched at the altars under the relics of the saints, which, however, did not stop the barbarians. On the contrary, they seemed wild to violate the most venerated sanctuaries. They broke into those of St. Martin of Tours, St. Germain-des-Prés, and numerous others. So great was the terror they inspired, that the harvest was left neglect-

\* *Wargen*, wolf; *wargus*, banished. See Grimm.

† Famine was the prevailing genius of these sea-kings. A dearth which desolated Jutland gave rise to a law, which condemned every five years all eldest sons to exile. (Odo Cluniac. ap. Ser. R. Fr. vi. 319.—Dudo de Mor. Duc. Normann. l. i. c. 1. § 1. Gesta. l. i. c. 4. § 5.—According to an Irish Saga, parents used to have their gold and silver, &c., burnt with them when they died, in order to compel their children to seek their fortunes by sea. Vætzslætt. ap. Barth. 49.)

‡ Oliver Birkakill, an intrepid pirate, was the first to forbid his comrades to toss infants from one to another on the points of their spears, which was the usual practice, and hence his name of Birkakill—'saviour of children.' Barthol. p. 47.—When the warlike enthusiasm of the companions of the chief rose to phrensy, they took the name of *Berserkir*, madmen, infuriates. The Berserkir's poet was the prow. The ancient Sages gave the name to their heroes as an honorific appellation; see the Eddi Samundar, the Hervarar Saga, and several of Snorro's Sagas; but in the Vætzslætt Saga the name of Berserkir becomes a reproach. Barthol. 31.—He is to be punished, who runs rampant with the meekness of a Berserkir." Ann. Kristni Saga.—Turner, Hist. of the Anglo-Saxons, i. 463, sup.

§ The poet of the tradition which assigns them as companions to *the legend of the buckler*, clearly proves that this was an exception, and that they seldom had women with them. See Depping, Expéditions des Normands.

¶ Rolf Ganger, l. i. c. 5, ap. Ser. R. Fr. x. 9. "In course of time there was born, near Troyes, a man, in the lowest class of the peasantry, named Hastings. He belonged to a village called Troyes, three miles from the city, and was strong and bold, but of a perverse disposition. In his youth, his pride rendered him with contempt for the poverty of his parents, and, being to his ambition, he voluntarily expelled himself, and managed to fly to the Normans. There, he commenced his career by taking service with those who devoted themselves to constant piracy in order to supply the rest of the nation with food, and who formed what was called the *flott*, *flotta*."

\* Frasn. Hist. Armor. ap. Ser. R. Fr. vii. ad ann. 863.—Annal. Bertin. ibid. ad ann. 848, 855.

† Thegan, c. 33, ap. Ser. R. Fr. vi. 80. . . . . Quem s. pater elevavit de fonte baptismatis. . . . . Tunc magnam partem Francorum deit ex. Astrucum, c. 40, ibid. 167.—Eginh. Annal. ind. 167.—Annal. Bertin. ann. 870. . . . . Mox while some Normans were baptized, brought for this purpose to the emperor by Hugh, who was both abbot and marquis. Presents were made them, and they returned to their countrymen; when, after baptism, they considered themselves as before, like Normans and like pagans."

‡ *Drakara*, *Snekara*—these were the names they gave their barks.

§ The ivory horn figures conspicuously in the legend relating to the Normans; for instance, in the Armoric legend of St. Florentius. Tum Gavillo monachus apud Florentium dirigitur . . . . . postquam monasterium subintravit, illius cryptas tum silvaticis scrofas quam illorum tabulis plenas exaravit. . . . . Deum . . . . . Hæstremum et Normannorum ducem . . . . . adhuc morantem in urbe Nemetica . . . . . Quem ut dux ad se cum doctis agnovit, advenisse, potius surgit erecta sede, orique illius in suis oculis imponere. Illam utrumque Christianus dux se posse . . . . . Tulum claustrum longitruum puerumque didi monacho, huc illi addens, ut suis in prædium cælestibus ea bene custodiret, et nequiquam de suis Lincolniæ abbatibus prædioribus audire posset. The monk Gaville was sent to St. Florentius. . . . . When he entered the convent he drove out of the vaults the wild scows, with the young, that had taken possession of them. . . . . Then he reported to Hastings, the Norman chief, who still abode in Nantes. . . . . When the chief saw him arrive with presents, he forthwith arose and left his seat, and kissed him on the mouth—for he is said to have professed Christianity after a fashion. . . . . He gave the monk an ivory horn, called the horn of thunder, adding, that whenever his men came to plunder he the monk should sound it, and fear nothing for his property whenever he could be heard by them.) B. Morice. Preuves de l'Hist. de Bretagne, p. 128.

ed; and men would eke out the flour with earth. The woods between the Seine and Loire grew denser. A flock of three hundred wolves\* devastated Aquitaine without interruption; and the wild beasts seemed to have taken possession of France.

And, meanwhile, what was done by the sovereigns of the country, the abbots and the bishops? They took to flight—carrying off with them the bones of the saints, and, powerless as their relics, left the people without guide or asylum. At the most they sent some armed serfs to Charles the Bald—to watch timidly the march of the barbarians, to negotiate, but at a distance, with them, and to seek from them for how many pounds of silver they would quit such a province, or deliver up such a captive abbot. A million and a half of our money was paid for the ransom of the abbot of St. Denys.†

These barbarians laid waste the north, while the Saracens infested the south.‡ I pass over the monotonous history of these incursions, to specify their three principal stages—the incursions themselves, the posts or stations taken up by the marauders, and thirdly, their places of final settlement. The usual stations of the Northmen were islands at the mouths of the Scheldt, the Seine, and the Loire. Those of the Saracens were at Fraxinet (Garde Frausnet) in Provence, and at St. Maurien-en-Valais—such was the activity of these pirates, that they had thus dared to leave the sea behind them, and pitch even in the heart of the Alps, in the passes commanding the high roads of Europe. The Saracens had no settlements of consequence except in Sicily. The Northmen, the more preferable of the two, ended by adopting Christianity, and settled in several parts of France, particularly in the province which is named after them, Normandy.

The following passages from the annals of St. Bertin show the want of the Northmen, the helplessness and humiliation of the king and of the bishops, and their vain attempts to combat these barbarians or to oppose them to one another.

"It was stipulated in the year 866 that all lands taken by the Normans, who might make themselves good, should either be restored to their owners, or that the crown should buy them, and that if any Normans were slain, a fine should be paid as the price of his life.

"In 861, the Danes who had recently burnt the city of Combray, coming by Kænabur their chief city, from the country of the Angles, carrying off some prisoners, more than two hundred slaves, and besieging the Northmen in the castle which they had built on the island of Ouessé.

Charles ordered there to be raised—in order to give to the besiegers as a guerdon—five thousand pounds of silver, with a considerable quantity of cattle and of grain, so that his kingdom might not be laid waste; then, crossing the Seine, he repaired to Mehun-sur-Loire, and received count Robert with the stipulated honors. However, Gunfrid and Gozfrid, by whose advice Charles had received Robert, deserted him, together with their companions, according to the ordinary inconstancy of their race and of their native habits, and joined Salomons, the duke of the Bretons. Another band of Danes ascended the Seine with sixty ships, and entering the river of Hieres, joined the besiegers. The besieged, overcome by famine and the most fearful misery, gave the besiegers six thousand pounds, as well of gold as of silver, and join them.

"In 869, Louis, son of Louis king of Germany, undertaking a war with the Saxons against the Wends, who dwell in the country of the Saxons, gained a kind of victory, with great slaughter on both sides. On his return, Roland, archbishop of Arles, who (but not empty-handed) had obtained from the emperor Louis, and from Ingelberga, the abbey of St. Cesarius, erected in the island of Camargue—which is on every side extremely rich, and where is most of the property of the abbey, and in which the Saracens were accustomed to have a port—a fortress, of earth alone, hastily thrown up, and imprudently threw himself into it when he learned the arrival of the Saracens, who, landing there, slew more than three hundred of his retainers, and taking the archbishop prisoner, led him to their vessel, and put him in chains. To the said Saracens were given as ransom a hundred and fifty pounds of silver, a hundred and fifty cloaks, a hundred and fifty large swords, and a hundred and fifty slaves, exclusive of what was given by common consent. Meanwhile, the bishop died on board.

The Saracens eagerly hastened the collection of his ransom, saying that they could stay no longer, and that, if they wished to have him again, his ransom must be paid, his price—which was done, and the Saracens having received it, seated the bishop in a chair, clad in the sacerdotal vestments which he wore when they took him prisoner, and, as if to do him honor, carried him some distance from the ship to the shore. When they who had ransomed him desired to speak with him, and congratulate him, they found him to be dead. Bearing him off with great mourning, they buried him on the 23d of September, in the sepulchre which he had had made for himself."

This was proved the inability of the episcopal power to defend and govern France. In 870, the head of the Gallican church, the archbishop of Reims, Hincmar, made the following painful confession to the pope—"These are the complaints addressed to us by the people, 'Cease to take our defence upon yourselves, content

\* *Arct. Beron*, cap. 41.

† *N. de l'abb. de St. Denys*, in the French Archives, fol. 107. *Arct. Beron*, lib. 2, cap. 20, § 1. *Arct. Beron* and *22. Chron. Norm.*, cap. 12, § 1.

‡ The incursions of the Saracens in the south of France have already been described and characterized with more judgment and talent than in *M. Dromscholtz's Histoire du Royen Age*, &c., 1801.

yourselves with contributing to it by your prayers, if you desire our assistance for the common defence. . . . Beg the apostolic lord not to impose upon us a king who cannot aid us in distant parts against the frequent and sudden incursions of the pagans."\*

These grave words are equally the condemnation of the local power of the bishops and of the central power of the sovereign, who, a cipher in the Church, will only be the weaker for separating from it. He may dispose of some bishoprics, humble the bishops,† and oppose the pope of Rome to the pope of Reims. He may accumulate empty titles, have himself crowned king of Lorraine, and divide with the Germans the kingdom of his nephew, Lothaire II.; he will not be the stronger. When he becomes emperor, his weakness is at its height. In 875, the death of his other nephew, Louis II., left Italy vacant, and the imperial dignity as well. Anticipating the sons of Louis the German at Rome by his greater speed,‡ he filches, if I may so speak, the title of emperor; but the very Christmas-day on which he triumphantly arrays himself in the Greek Dalmatic,§ his

brother, for the moment master of Neustria, triumphs in Charles's own palace. The poor emperor flies from Italy at the approach of one of his nephews, and falls ill and dies in a village of the Alps, (A. D. 877.)\*

His son, Louis the Stammerer, cannot even retain the shadow of power preserved by his father. Italy, Lorraine, Brittany, and Gascony will not hear him spoken of. Even in the north of France he is compelled to acknowledge before the prelates and nobles, that he holds the crown only by election.† His life is short, those of his sons, shorter. In the reign of one of these—that of the young Louis—the annals cursorily let fall this terrible fact, which enables us to estimate the depth of the abyss into which France had sunk—"He built a fort of wood, but it rather served to strengthen the pagans than to defend the Christians, for the said king could find no one to whom he could intrust the charge of it."‡

However, in 881, Louis gained a victory over the Northmen of the Scheldt, and the historians were at a loss how to celebrate so rare an event. A poem, in the German tongue, which was composed on this occasion,§ is still extant. But this reverse only rendered them the more terrible. Their chief Gottfried, who had espoused Gizla, the daughter of Lothaire II., required Frisia to be ceded to him; and when Charles the Fat, the new king of Germany, consented, he demanded in addition a settlement on the Rhine, in the very heart of the empire. Frisia, he said, did not yield well. He wanted Coblenz and Andernach. Being admitted to an interview with the emperor on an island in the Rhine, he advanced new pretensions in the name of his brother-in-law, Hugh; until the imperial retainers lost patience and assassinated him. Either to avenge this murder, or in concert with Charles the Fat, his successor, Siegfried, associated himself with the Northmen of the Seine and invaded Northern France—which submitted with an ill grace to the yoke of the king of Germany. Charles the Fat, who had become king of France by the extinction of the French branch of the Carolingians,

\* Et vos ergo solis orationibus vestris regnum contra Normannos et alios impetentes defendite, et nostram defensionem nolite querere; et si vultis ad defensionem habere nostrum auxilium, sicut volumus de vestris orationibus habere adiuturum, nolite querere nostrum dependium, et petite dominum apostolicum . . . ut non precipiat nobis habere regnum quod nos in longinquis partibus adiuvare non posset contra subitaneos et frequentes paganorum incursus, &c. Epist. Hinc. ap. Ser. R. Fr. vii. 340.

† Ann. d. Bertin, ann. 850. "Charles gave certain monasteries to laymen which had never been bestowed save on priests."—Ann. 862. "He bestowed the abbey of St. Martin, which he had unreasonably given his son, Hludowic, without any more reason, on Hubert, a married priest." For a long time he did not fill up the vacant abbodship, in order that he might enjoy the revenues himself. In 861, he did the same with the abbey of St. Quentin and St. Wandr. Ann. 876. He rewarded with abbots the deserters who passed over to his party.—Ann. 883. "He nominated Vulfid, of his own authority, before any decision was come to in the case, to the archbishopric of Bourges, &c."—Friedord, l. ii. c. 17. The synod of Troyes, which had disapproved of Vulfid's nomination, sent a report of its proceedings to the pope. Charles required it to be sent to him, and to read it, broke the seals of the archbishops, &c.—See, also, in the Annals of St. Bertin, his harsh and haughty conduct to the bishops assembled in the council of Pontion.—In 867, he required from the bishops and abbots an account of their possessions, that he might know how many serfs to exact from them to employ in building. Ten years afterwards, he assessed the clergy for the payment of a tribute to the Normans. Ann. Bertin.—In his military expeditions his scruples did not restrain him from plundering the churches. Ibid. ann. 851.—Hebils were even raised as to the purity of his faith. Lotharais adversus Karolum occasione suspecta fides querebatur. . . . Multis catholicis fides contra in regno Karoli, quæque non nescio, concutitur. Ibid. ann. 855. He even humbles the archbishop of Reims, to whom he owed all, by giving the primacy to the archbishop of Sens. Hincmar was weak and vulnerable on many points. He had succeeded archbishop Hebo, whose deposition was much disapproved of. He had compromised himself in Gottschalk's business, both by his illegal proceedings against the heretic, and his connection with Joannes Erga. His violence towards his nephew Hincmar, the bishop of Laon, a young and learned prelate, who was not sufficiently submissive to the pretensions of Reims, was also objected to him.

‡ Ann. d. Fuld. ap. Ser. R. Fr. vi. 1-1. Quamta potuit velocitate Romam profectus est.

§ Ibid. Returning from Italy to Gaul, he is said to have assumed new and unusual garments; for, arrayed in the Dalmatic, which flowed down to his heels, and girt, moreover, with a belt that hung as low, (halteo pendente usque ad pedes,) and with his head wrapped in a silken veil,

turban? and wearing his crown, he was wont so to proceed to church on the Lord's day and on holidays. . . . he thought Greek garbs the best. . . .

\* Ann. d. Fuldens. ap. Ser. R. Fr. vi. 103.—According to the annalist of St. Bertin, ibid. 124, he was poisoned by a Jew physician. See, also, the Annals of Metz, ibid. 30.

† Ann. d. Bertin, ap. Ser. R. Fr. vii. 27. "I, Louis, appointed king by the mercy of the Lord our God, and by the election of the people . . . do promise the people that I will keep the laws and statutes." &c.

‡ Ann. d. Bertin, ann. 881, ibid. 33. Castellum munita ligna . . . quod ingens ad munimen paganorum quam ad auxilium Christianorum factum fuit, quoniam invenire non potuit cum illud castellum ad custodiendum committere posset.

§ Ser. R. Fr. ix. 99.—

"Einen Kuning weiz ich  
Heisset er Ludwig  
Der gerne Gott dienet, &c."

A chronicler, two centuries later, roundly affirms that Endes, Louis's general in this war, slew a hundred thousand of the Normans. Marianus Scottus, ap. Ser. R. Fr. vii.



Cisjurana, (on this side of the Jura.)\* Not long afterwards, (A. D. 888,) Rodolph Welf occupies Burgundy Transjurana, (beyond the Jura,) which he erects into a kingdom.† These are the barriers of France on the southeast. Here the Saracens will have to contend with Boson, with Gerard of Roussillon—the celebrated hero of romance—with the bishop of Grenoble, and the viscount of Marseilles.

That family of Hunald's and of Guaifer's,‡ so ill-treated by the Carolingians on whom it brought the disaster of Roncesvalles, re-establish, at the foot of the Pyrenees, the duchy of Gascony; and, in Aquitaine, arise the powerful families of Gothia, (Narbonne, Roussillon, Barcelona,) of Poitiers, and of Toulouse. Those of Gothia and of Poitiers trace their origin to St. Gulielmus, the patron saint of the south, and conqueror of the Saracens. In like manner all the kings of Germany and Italy claim to descend from Charlemagne; and the heroic families of Greece, the kings of Macedon and of Sparta, the Aleuadae of Thessaly, and Baccinidae of Corinth, referred their original to Hercules.

On the east, Regnier, count of Hainault, will dispute Lorraine with the Germans—with Swinibald, the ferocious son of the king of Germany. Regnier-*Renard* will remain the type and popular name of that strife of stratagem with brute force, which eventually terminates in its favor.

On the north, France takes for its twofold defence against the Belgians and the Germans—the *four-sters* of Flanders,§ and the counts of Vermandois, kindred and allies, more or less faithful, of the Carolingians.

But the great struggle is on the west, towards Normandy and Brittany, where the Northmen are accustomed to land yearly. The Breton, Nomenoe, puts himself at the head of the people, defeats Charles the Bald, defeats the Northmen, defends the independence of the Breton church against Tours, and desires to erect Brittany into a kingdom. On his decease, the Northmen return

in greater numbers, and the country is reduced to a desert, when one of his successors, (A. D. 937,) the heroic Allan Barbetorte, takes Nantes from them; on which occasion he has to cut his way with his sword through the brambles to get to the cathedral to return thanks for his victory to God. This time, however, the country is delivered. The Northmen and the Germans—called in by the king against Brittany—are alike repulsed. For the first time Allan convenes the states of the countship, and the contest between him and the king ends by the recognition, on the part of the latter, that every serf who takes refuge in Brittany becomes, by that act alone, a freeman.\*

In 859, the lords had hindered the people from taking up arms against the Northmen.† In 864, Charles the Bald had forbade the barons to build castles. A few years elapse; castles arise in every direction, and in every direction the barons arm their followers. The barbarians begin to feel the obstacles that spring up against them. Robert the Strong falls in a battle with the Northmen, near Brissearte. (A. D. 866.) His son Eudes, with better success, defends Paris against them in 855; and, sailing from the town, cuts his way back to it through their camp.‡ They raise the siege, and, attacking Sens, fail there as well. In 891, Arnulph, king of Germany, forces their camp near Louvain, and drives them into the Dyle. In 933 and 955, the Saxon emperors, Henry the Fowler, and Otto the Great, gain their famous victories of Merseburg and Augsburg over the Hungarians; and about the same period, (A. D. 965–972,) bishop Izarn drives the Saracens out of Normandy, and William, viscount of Marseilles, delivers Provence from them.

Gradually the barbarians lose confidence, and sink into peace. Forsaking their life of pillage, they ask for lands whereon to settle. The Northmen of the Loire, so terrible under the aged Hastings, who led them as far as Tuscany, are repulsed from the shores of Britain by king Alfred. They care not to stay and die there, like their hero, Regnar Lodbrog, in a cavern swarming with serpents, but prefer settling in France, on the beautiful Loire. Chartres, Tours, and Blois become theirs. Theobald, their chief, the progenitor of the house of Blois and of Champagne, closes the Loire against new invasions, as Rad-holf or Rollo presently will the Seine, where he settles with the consent of the king of France, Charles the Simple or the

\* He was chosen king at the council of Mantaille by twenty-three bishops of the south and east of Gaul. See the Acts of the Council, ap. Ser. R. Fr. ix. 304.

† Annal. Met. ap. Ser. R. Fr. viii. 64. Provinciam inter Jurum et Alpes Penninus occupat, regemque se appellavit.

‡ See the charter of 845, by which Charles the Bald refuses to ratify the vast gifts which the count of the Gascons, Vandegeat, and his family, counts of Bigorre, &c., had conferred on the church of Alaiou, (in the diocese of Urgel; Hist. du Lang. i. note at p. 608 and p. 83, of the proofs.—He did not give less than the whole of the ancient patrimony of his ancestors in France—all their property and rights in the Toulouse, the Agout, the Quers, the pays d'Arles, Perigord, Narbonne, and Poitou. The Benedictines do not see either in the material or the form of this document, any reason to doubt its authenticity. It may be considered the testament of the ancient Aquitanian dynasty, which having sought refuge among the Basques, had willed to the Spanish church all it ever possessed in France. The gift was noticed by Charles to some estates in Spain, to which, indeed, he had no great pretensions.

§ The counts of Flanders at first bore this name as well as the counts of Anjou.

|| Hist. Britann. ap. Ser. R. Fr. vii. 49. . . . In condicio cogitavit ut se regem faceret. According to the chronicler, he thought of removing from their sees the bishops

nominated to them by the kings of the Franks, and re-appointing bishops of his own choice in their stead, so as to ensure his own election to the throne.

\* See the authors cited by Baro, Hist. of Brittany, i.

† Annal. Bertin. ap. Ser. R. Fr. vii. 74. Vulgus promissum inter Sequanum et Ligurim, inter se conjurans adversus Danos in Sequana consistens, fortiter resistit. Sed quia incaute suscepti est eorum conjuratio, a potentioribus nostris facile interheluitur.

‡ Annal. Vedast. ap. Ser. R. Fr. viii. 83. Nortmanni, cum pedibus presentibus, accurrerunt et ante portam Turris; sed ille, emissis equis, a dextris et sinistris adversarios cadentes, civitatem ingressus.



cannot resist the temptation of borrowing a few pages from his spirited narrative.\* The question is treated under one point of view only; but with singular clearness:—

"To the revolution of 888, there corresponds in the exactest manner a movement of another kind, which raises to the throne a man who is an entire stranger to the Carolingian family. This king—the first to whom our history can assign the title of king of France, as opposed to that of king of the Franks, is Ode, or according to the Roman pronunciation which then began to prevail, Eudes, son of Robert the Strong, count of Anjou. Elected to the disadvantage of an heir who was legitimately qualified, Eudes was the national candidate of the mixed population which had fought for fifty years to form a kingdom by itself; and from his reign dates the commencement of a second series of civil wars, which, after the struggle of a century, terminated by the definitive exclusion of the family of Charles the Great. In fact, the French could only regard this race, which was thoroughly German, and attached by the ties of remembrance and of family affection to the countries of the German tongue—as an obstacle to that separation, on which their independent existence had just been founded.

"It was not through caprice, but policy, that the barons of the north of Gaul, Franks by origin, but attached to the interests of the country, violated the oath taken by their ancestors to the family of Pepin, and consecrated king at Compiègne a man of Saxon descent. Charles, surnamed the Simple or the Foolish†—the heir dispossessed by this election—was not slow to justify his exclusion from the throne by placing himself under the protection of Arnulph, king of Germany. 'Not being able to hold out,' says an ancient historian, 'against the power of Eudes, he went, as a suppliant, to petition the protection of king Arnulph. A public assembly was convened in the city of Worms, to which Charles repaired; and, after having offered large presents to Arnulph, was invested by him with the sovereignty whose title he had assumed. Commands were issued to the counts and bishops who dwelt near the Moselle to lend him every aid, and to marshal him back to his kingdom in order that he might be crowned there; but all was of no avail.

"The Carolingian party, though aided by German intervention, did not gain the day over that which may be called the French party. They and their chief were several times de-

feated; and, after each defeat, he placed himself in safety under cover of the Meuse, out of the limits of the kingdom. Nevertheless, Charles the Simple, thanks to the vicinity of Germany, managed to obtain some degree of power in the territory between the Meuse and the Seine. A remains of the old German belief—that the Welskes or Walloons were natural subjects of the sons of the Franks, contributed to render this contention for the throne popular in all the countries adjoining the Rhine. Under pretext of supporting the rights of legitimate royalty, Swintibald, natural son of Arnulph, and king of Lorraine, invaded the French territory in the year 895. He penetrated as far as Laon with an army composed of Lorrains, Alsacians, and Flemings, but was soon compelled to beat a retreat before the army of king Eudes. On the failure of this great attempt a kind of political reaction took place in the court of Germany, in favor of him who, up to this event, had been termed a usurper. Eudes was acknowledged king, and a promise was given that no further assistance should be furnished the pretender. In fact, so long as his opponent lived, Charles obtained nothing; but when the death of Eudes renewed the question of a change of dynasty, the *Kaiser*, or emperor, again sided with the descendant of the Frank kings.

"Charles the Simple, received as their king in 898, by numbers of those who had labored to exclude him, reigned at first two-and-twenty years without any opposition. It was during this period that he abandoned all his rights to the territory bordering on the mouth of the Seine to the Norman chief Rolf, and conferred upon him the title of duke, (A. D. 912.) Later still, the duchy of Normandy served to cover the kingdom of France against the attacks of the German empire, and of its Lorraine or Flemish vassals. The first duke was faithful to the treaty of alliance which he had contracted with Charles the Simple, and supported him, though feebly enough, against Rodbert, or Robert, king Eudes' brother, who was elected to the throne in 922. His son, William I., at first pursued the same policy; and when the hereditary monarch was dethroned and imprisoned at Laon, he declared for him against Radulf or Raoul, Robert's brother-in-law, who had been elected and crowned king through hate of the Frank dynasty; but some years afterwards, changing sides, he forsook the cause of Charles the Simple, and entered into an alliance with King Raoul. In 936, expecting greater advantages from a return to his early track, he lent an energetic assistance to the return of Charles's son, Louis, surnamed d'Outremer, (from beyond the sea.)

\* The only alteration which I have allowed myself to make, as in the German orthography adopted by M. Thierry for the proper names. All trace of German is almost entirely lost under the later Carolingians.

† Chron. d'Anjou, ap. Scr. R. Fr. x. 119. Fuit in occiduis partibus quidam rex ab incolis Karolus, id est *Stolidus*, romus ab illis. Rad. Glaber, l. i. c. 1. and 4. Carolus *He. Aeterni cognominatum*.—Chron. Stronian. *ibid.* 273. . . . Carolus *Sempiternus*.—Chron. R. Movent. ap. Scr. R. Fr. ix. 8. Karolus *Fidus*.—Richard. Pictav. *ibid.* 22. Karolus *Simplex* sive *Stultus*.

\* Eudes must not be magnified into the sovereign of a well defined empire, like Hugh the Great and Hugh Capet after him. His kingdom, or rather his army, was a fluctuating one. He is a partisan-chief, fighting now in the north, now in the south, in Flanders and in Aquitaine.

"The new king, to whom the French party, either through exhaustion or from motives of prudence, opposed no competitor, influenced by hereditary inclination to seek friends beyond the Rhine, contracted a strict alliance with Otho, first of that name, king of Germany, the most powerful and most ambitious prince of the day. The barons, who entertained a great aversion to the Teutonic influence, were much discontented with this alliance. The representative of this national feeling was Hugh, count of Paris, surnamed the Great from his immense possessions, and who was the most powerful man between the Seine and the Loire; and, as soon as their mutual distrust had brought about a new war between the two parties, (A. D. 940,) who for fifty years had been arrayed against each other, Hugh the Great, though not assuming the title of king, played against Louis d'Outremer the same part which had been played by Eudes, Robert, and Raoul, against Charles the Simple. His first care was to deprive the opposite faction of the support of the duke of Normandy, and, succeeding in this, he managed to neutralize the effects of the German influence by Norman intervention. The whole strength of Louis and the Frankish party was dashed to pieces, in 945, against the little duchy of Normandy. The king, overcome in a pitched battle, was taken prisoner, together with sixteen of his counts, and confined in the tower of Rouen, from which he was only released to be delivered up to the chiefs of the national party, who imprisoned him at Laon.

"In order to cement the recent alliance between this party and the Normans, Hugh the Great promised his daughter in marriage to their duke. But this confederation of the two Gallic powers nearest to Germany drew down upon them a coalition of the Teutonic powers, the chief of which at this time were king Otho and the count of Flanders. The deliverance of king Louis was the ostensible motive of the war, but the confederates promised themselves results of a very different nature. Their aim was to annihilate the Norman power by annexing the duchy to the crown of France, on the restoration of their ally, Louis, expecting in return a large accession of territory at the expense of the French kingdom.\* Under the leading of the king of Germany, they invaded France in 946. Otho, say the contemporary historians, advanced at the head of thirty-two legions as far as Reims. The national party, which kept a king in prison, and had no king at its head, could not assemble sufficient forces to repulse the invaders. King Louis was restored to liberty, and the confederates advanced even up to the walls of Rouen, but this brilliant campaign was attended by no decisive result. Normandy remained independent, and the liberated monarch had no more friends than

before. On the contrary, the miseries brought in the train of invasion were imputed to him; and, soon threatened with a second deposition, he retired beyond the Rhine to implore fresh succor.†

"In the year 948, a council of the German bishops met at Ingelheim, by order of king Otho, in order to take into consideration, among other matters, the griefs of Louis d'Outremer against Hugh the Great and his party. The king of the French appeared as a suppliant before this foreign assembly. After the pope's legate had announced the object for which the synod was convened, he rose from his seat by the side of the king of Germany, and spoke as follows:—'None of you are ignorant that messengers from count Hugh and the other lords of France sought me out in the country beyond the sea to invite me to return to the kingdom which was my paternal inheritance. I was consecrated and crowned by the wishes and amidst the acclamations of all the chiefs, and of the army of France; but, shortly afterwards, count Hugh traitorously got possession of my person, deposed, and imprisoned me for a whole year, and, at last, I only obtained my deliverance by putting in his power the city of Laon, the only city of my crown still faithful to me. If there be any one who maintains that all these misfortunes which have fallen upon me since my accession to the throne, have happened to me through my own fault, I am ready to answer the charge either by submitting to the judgment of the synod, and of the king here present, or in single combat.' As may be imagined, neither pleader nor champion of the opposite party presented himself to submit a national difference to the judgment of the emperor of the land beyond the Rhine; and the council, transferred to Treves at the instance of Leodulf, the Cæsar's chaplain and delegate, pronounced the following sentence:—'By virtue of the apostolical authority, we excommunicate count Hugh, king Louis's enemy, on account of the ills of every kind which he has wrought upon him, until such time as the said count repent, and give full satisfaction to the legate of the sovereign pontiff. If he refuse to submit, he will have to proceed to Rome to procure absolution.'

"On the demise of Louis d'Outremer, in the year 954, his son Lothaire succeeded him without any apparent opposition. Two years afterwards count Hugh died, leaving three sons, the eldest of whom, who was named after him, inherited the countship of Paris, also called the duchy of France. Before his death, his father had recommended him to Rickard or Richard, duke of Normandy, as to the natural defender of his family and of his party.‡ This party seemed to slumber until the year 960."

\* Rev. R. Pr. viii. 288.

† Richards dicitur alicuius Hugonem communi-  
cavit ut ejus personam suam, inimicorum transire non  
reperiret. Id. ibid. 287.

\* Rev. R. Pr. viii. 288.



This slumber, which M. Thierry forgets to explain, was nothing else than the minority of king Lothar and of Hugh Capet, duke of France, under the guardianship of their mothers Hedwige and Gerberge, both sisters of the Saxon Otho, king of Germany.\* This powerful monarch seems at this time to have governed France through the intermediation of his brother, Bruno, archbishop of Cologne and duke of Lorraine, and of the Low Countries.† These relations account for the Germanic character which M. Thierry notices in the later Carlovingians. Louis d'Outremer, brought up among the Anglo-Saxons, and Lothaire, the son of a Saxon princess, naturally spoke the German tongue. The preponderance of Germany at this period, and the renown of Otho, the conqueror of the Hungarians and master of Italy, will likewise justify the predilection of these princes for the language of the great king of his day. The later Carlovingians and first Capetians were not a whit the more warlike for their consanguinity with the Othos. Hugh Capet and his son Robert, princes devoted to the Church, are little calculated to remind one of the adventurous character of Robert the Strong and of Eudes, their ancestors, who felt no scruple at waging war with bishops; as, for instance, against the archbishop of Reims.‡ But to resume M. Thierry's narrative.

After the death of Otho the Great, "king Lothaire, abandoning himself to the impulse of French feeling, broke with the German powers, and endeavored to push the frontier of his kingdom as far as the Rhine. Suddenly invading the empire, he sojourned as conqueror in the palace of Aix-la-Chapelle. But this adventurous expedition, which flattered French vanity, only served to bring the Germans, Almans, Lorrains, Flemings, and Saxons, to the number of sixty thousand, to the heights of Montmartre, where this vast army chanted in chorus one of the verses of the *Te Deum*.§ Their general, the emperor Otho, as it often happens, was more successful in invasion than in retreat. Defeated by the French at the passage of the Aisne, he was only enabled to

regain the frontiers through the medium of a truce with king Lothaire. According to the Chronicles, this truce, concluded against the will of the French army, revived the quarrel of the two parties, or rather supplied a new pretext for resentments which had not ceased to exist.\*

"Threatened, like his father and his grandfather, by the implacable enemies of the Carlovingian race, Lothaire looked towards the Rhine for aid in course of distress. He resigned in favor of the imperial court his conquests in Lorraine, and all the pretensions of France over a part of the kingdom. This, says a contemporary writer, seriously saddened the heart of the lords of France. Nevertheless, they did not betray their discontent in a hostile manner. Instructed by the ill success of attempts reiterated during nearly a hundred years, they would undertake nothing against the reigning dynasty except sure of gaining their end. King Lothaire,—to judge by his conduct, more able and active than his two predecessors,—took a clear view of the difficulties of his position, and neglected no means of overcoming them. In 983, taking advantage of Otho's death, and of the minority of his son, he suddenly dissolved the peace which he had concluded with the empire, and again invaded Lorraine; an aggression which restored him some of his popularity. Thus, he avoided any open rebellion until the end of his reign. Each day, however, his power diminished. The power which he lost passed into the hands of Hugh—the son of Hugh the Great—count of the isle of France and of Anjou, surnamed in the French of the time *Capet* or *Chapel*. 'Lothaire,' writes one of the most distinguished individuals of the tenth century, 'is king only in name. Hugh, without the title, is king in truth and deed.'"

The German princes were deterred by the difficulties of every kind which opposed a fourth restoration of the Carlovingians, (A. D. 987,) and sent no army to the assistance of Charles, brother of the last king but one, and holding the dukedom of Lorraine of the em-

\* *Almane. Tr. Font. ap. Ser. R. Fr. ix. 66.* "Louis d'Outremer married Gerberge, sister of the emperor Otho. Duke Hugh the first, seeing this, and in order to be even with him, and to counterbalance the credit which Louis had obtained with Otho, took to wife the other sister, Hedwige. From these two sisters sprang the imperial race of Germany and the royal races of France and England."

\* Hedwige and Gerberge both put themselves under Bruno's protection and he restored peace between his nephews. *Frederick. Chronic. ap. Ser. R. Fr. viii. 211.* Vita S. Brunonis, ap. Ser. R. Fr. ix. 124. The two sisters visited Otho when he came to Aix, in 963, and never, says the Chronicle, did they experience the like joy. *Chronic. Tunon. ap. Ser. R. Fr. ix. 54.*

† *Frederick. Liv. ap. Ser. R. Fr. viii. 157.* "For Otho besieged Reims, committed immense slaughter and plundered the town, and gave up the property of the church of Reims to his followers, insisting upon the plunder of the church."

‡ As many priests as possible being brought together, he ordered the *Te Deum* to be sung so loudly that Hugo and all the Parisians marvel thereat. *Ser. R. Fr. viii. 222.*

\* *Pacificatus est Lotharius rex cum Othone rege Romanorum, contra voluntatem Hugonis et Hainrici, fratris eius, et contra voluntatem exercitus sui.* *Ser. R. Fr. viii. 224.*

† With regard to this observation of M. Thierry's we may observe that the Carlovingians did not degenerate in the same extreme as the Merovingians. If Louis the Stammerer were surnamed *Nihil-fecit*, 'He-Nothing,' we must bear in mind that he reigned only eighteen months, and the Annals of Metz boast his mildness and his sense of justice.—Louis III. and Carloman gained a victory over the Northmen. (A. D. 879.—Charles the Not concluded an advantageous treaty with them. (A. D. 911.) He defeated his rival king Robert, and slew him, it is said, with his own hand. (*Chronic. Tur. ap. Ser. R. Fr. ix. 51.*)—Louis d'Outremer evinced a courage and an activity which ought not to have drawn upon him the satirical proverb—"Inimicus in convivio, rex in cubiculo," 'lord of the feast and king of the chamber.'—*Misc. S. Bened. lib. ix. 140.*—Finally, as D. Vaissette observes, the youth of Louis le Pieux (the Stammerer) the shortness of his reign, and the value which he displayed at the siege of Reims, did not deserve this surname of the later Merovingians.

‡ *Gerberti Epist. ap. Ser. R. Fr. x. 367.*

pire—who aspired to the French throne. Reduced to the poor assistance of his partisans within the kingdom, the utmost of Charles's success was the gaining possession of Laon, where the strength of the place enabled him to sustain a blockade until he was betrayed and given up by one of his own party. Hugh Capet confined him in the tower of Orleans, where he died. His two sons, Louis and Charles, born in prison, and banished from France after their father's death, found an asylum in Germany, where their connections and family ties secured them a welcome.

"Although the new king was of a German stock—his want of relationship with the imperial dynasty, and the very obscurity of his origin, which could not be traced beyond the third generation, pointed him out as a candidate to the native race, whose restoration had been preparing since the dismemberment of the empire.

"In our national history, the accession of the third race far exceeds in importance that of the second. Strictly speaking, it constitutes the end of the reign of the Franks, and the substitution of a national monarchy for a government founded on conquest. Henceforward, our history is unmixt, and we follow and recognise the same people, despite the changes that take place in manners and civilization. This national identity is the foundation on which the dynastic unity has for so many ages rested. The people seem to have had a singular presentiment of this long succession of kings, on the accession of the third race. The report ran that in 981, St. Valery, whose relics Hugh Capet, then count of Paris, had just had translated, appeared to him in a dream, and said—'For what thou hast done, thou and thy descendants shall be kings to the seventh generation—that is, forever.'"

"This popular legend is repeated by all chroniclers without exception, even by those few who, disapproving of the change of dynasty, assert the cause of Hugh to be bad, and accuse him of treason to his lord, and disobedience to the decrees of the Church.† The belief was very generally diffused among the commonsalty, that the new reigning family had issued from their own class, nor was its cause injured by this belief, which prevailed for several centuries."‡

The accession of a new dynasty was hardly

\* Chronic. Mathieu ap. *Rec. R. Fr.* s. 37.  
† Actus et *Rec. R. Fr.* s. 37.  
‡ Kéon: (elder monk of Cluny) who died in 1046 contents himself with saying: "Hugh Capet was the son of Hugh the Great and grandson of Robert the Strong, but I postpone relating his origin because the higher it is traced the more it becomes." *Rec. R. Fr.* s. 37.  
§ *Rec. R. Fr.* s. 37.  
¶ *Rec. R. Fr.* s. 37.  
‡ *Rec. R. Fr.* s. 37.

In me son nati Philippus et Louis.  
Per carum avellamento e Francissem.  
Fugit fides unum heres de Paris.  
Quand il regne antichit venit natus.  
Tutit fides ch'on remanet in panni hui.

*Pugliese, c. 22. v. 60.*

noticed in the distant provinces.\* What matter was it to the lords of Gascony, of Languedoc, and of Provence, to know whether he who bore towards the Seine the title of king, was called Charles or Hugh Capet?

For a long time the monarch will have little more influence than a duke or a mere count. It is, however, something for him to be the equal of the great vassals, and for monarchy to have descended from the lofty summit of Laon, and to have walked forth free from the guardianship of the archbishop of Reims.† The later Carolingians were often at a loss to make head against the pettiest barons. The Capets are powerful lords, capable of resisting by themselves the count of Anjou or the count of Poitiers. They hold many countships in their own hands. Each accession to the throne is worth a new title to them, as the ransom of royalty, as the indemnification for the crown which they still forbore seizing. Hugh the Great obtains from Louis IV. the duchy of Burgundy, and the title of duke of Aquitaine from Lothaire.

Abased as the latter Carolingians were, royalty was but a name—an all-but-forgotten remembrance. Transferred to the Capets, it becomes a hope, a living right, which slumbers, it is true, but which, when needful, will awaken. With the third race, as with the second, royalty was renewed by a family of large proprietors—friendly to the church. Property and the church, the land and God, form the deep foundations on which monarchy will once more rise and flourish.

Arrived at the term of the German sway and accession of French nationality—let us pause a moment. The year 1000 draws nigh—the great and solemn epoch at which the middle ages expected the end of the world to arrive. In truth, the end did come. Let us cast our looks backward. France has already lived two ages of its life as a nation.

In the first, the races deposited themselves one upon the other, so as to fertilize the Gallic soil with their alluvions. Above the Celts are placed the Romans, and, last deposit of all, the

\* A monk of Mellevalle Pouton says in his Chronicle, ap. *Rec. R. Fr.* s. 102. "It was said that king Robert reigned over the Franks."—The duke of Aquitaine, at this time, a p. 1016. William of Poitiers, recognized the king of Arles as his sovereign. See the Chronicle of Othmar, l. vii. ap. *Rec. R. Fr.* s. 122, 123.

† Charles the Bald, on his accession to the throne, only saw with Hincmar's eyes. "Non solum de rebus ecclesiasticis, etc." *Prodrom.* l. iii. c. 10. It was Hincmar, again, who governed Louis the Stammerer. Hincmar, *epist.* ap. *Rec. R. Fr.* s. 374. and who, as he himself boasted, made Louis III. king.—His successor, Poth, was the protector of Charles the Simple in his minority. He crowned him in the year 903, when he was fourteen years of age, treated in his name with king Arnulph and with Eudes, and at last made him king in 908. *Chronic. Mathieu.* ap. *Rec. R. Fr.* s. 72. *Prodrom.* l. iv. c. 23. —After him, Heriveus, in 909, won back to their allegiance the royal vassals who had revolted, and confirmed the wavering monarchy. *Chronic. Tur.* ap. *Rec. R. Fr.* s. 30. *Prodrom.* l. iv. c. 15. He came along, with his retainers, to protect him against the invasion of the Hungarians. *Prodrom.* l. iv. c. 10. —Louis d'Outremer made war on Herbert with archbishop Arnoul, to whom he granted the privilege of raising money. *Alberic.* ap. *Rec. R. Fr.* s. 66. *Prodrom.* l. iv. c. 20, seq.)

Germans—the latest comers into the world. Such are the living elements and materials of society.

In the second age begins the fusion of these races: society seeks to settle down. France would feign become a social world; but the organization of such a world presupposes fixity and order. Fixity—that attachment to soil and to property which cannot be felt so long as the immigrations of new races continue—scarcely exists under the Carlovingians, and will only be completely established by the influence of feudalism.

Seemingly, order and unity had been attained by the Romans, and by Charlemagne. But wherefore were they so evanescent? Because they were altogether material and external, concealing the utter disorder and obstinate discord of heterogeneous elements, that had only been bound together by force. Under the magnificent and deceitful unity of the Roman administration, more or less revived by Charlemagne, were concealed differences of race, of language, and of feeling, want of communication, mutual ignorance, and instinctive antipathies;—"mortua quiescit jungebat corpora vivis, tormenti genus,"—this tyrannical junction of antagonist natures was torture. Its agony may be inferred from the eagerness and violence with which the nations tore themselves from the empire.

Matter tends to dispersion; spirit to unity. Matter, essentially divisible, seeks disunion and discord. Material unity is a contradiction in terms, and, in policy, is tyranny. Spirit alone has the right to effect union. It alone comprehends, embraces, and, to say all in one word—loves. As has been so well put by the metaphysics of Christianity—Unity implies Power, Love, and Spirit.

Unity must begin through the spirit—through the Church. But, to enable it to give unity, the Church herself must become one. In the organization of the Carlovingian world, the episcopal aristocracy has utterly failed. It must humble itself, learn subordination, accept the hierarchy, and, to rise from powerlessness to strength, become the pontifical monarchy. Then, amidst the dispersion of material things, will appear the invisible unity of mutual understanding, the only real unity—that of minds and of wills. Then will

feudalism, apparently a chaos, contain a substantial and potent harmony, whereas in the pompous deceit of imperial unity lurked anarchy alone.

Waiting the advent of the spirit, and the breath of God from on high—matter is dispersed towards the four quarters of the world. Division is subdivided; the grain of sand seeks to part into atoms. Men abjure, and curse, and refuse to know one another. Each asks, 'Who is my brother?' and becomes fixed by isolating himself. One will perch with the eagle; another will intrench himself behind the torrent. Soon, man no longer knows whether there exist a world beyond his canton, or his valley. He takes root, and strikes into the earth—"pes, modo tam velox, pigris radicibus, hæret." But lately, he classified himself, and would be judged by the law peculiar to his race—Burgundian, Lombard, or Gothic. Man was a person, the law personal. Now, man becomes land—the law is territorial. Jurisprudence becomes a matter of geography.

At this stage, nature takes upon herself to regulate the affairs of men. They fight; she divides. At first, she tries her strength, and maps out kingdoms on the empire with bold and free strokes. The basins of the Seine and Loire, those of the Meuse, the Saône, and the Rhone—here are four kingdoms; they only want names; you can call them, if you so will, the kingdoms of France, of Lorraine, of Burgundy, and of Provence. It is sought to unite them. Far from it; they divide themselves. Rivers and mountains enter their protest against unity. Division triumphs; each point of space asserts its independence. The valley becomes a kingdom; the mountain, a kingdom.

History should obey this movement, disperse herself as well, and trace on every point where they arise all the feudal dynasties. Let us endeavor to disentangle this vast subject, by clearly defining the original characters of the provinces in which these dynasties have come to land. In its historical development, each was clearly modified by the different influence of its respective soil and climate. Liberty is potent in civilized ages, nature in barbarous ones. In these the accidents of locality are all-powerful as the laws of fate; and mere geography becomes a history.

## BOOK THE THIRD.

## PICTURE OF FRANCE.

THE history of France begins with the French language. Language is the distinguishing mark of nationality. The earliest monument of our language is the oath dictated by Charles the Bald to his brother, at the treaty of 843.\* In the half century following, the different countries of France, up to that time confounded in a vague and obscure unity, assume distinctive characters from the feudal dynasties established in them. Their population, so long floating and unsettled, is fixed and seated. We know where are the respective people of each: and at the same time that they all begin to exist and act apart, they gradually acquire a voice: each has its history, which each relates for itself.

Through the infinite variety of the feudal world, and the multiplicity of objects with which it at first distracts the eye and the attention, France nevertheless stands manifest. For the first time she displays herself under her geographic form. When the wind dissipates the vain and fantastic fog with which the German empire had covered and obscured every thing, the country comes out into full light, with all its local differences defined by its mountains and its rivers. The political correspond with the physical divisions. Far from there having been, as is commonly stated, confusion and chaos, all was order—inevitable and fated regularity. Strange!† our eighty-six departments correspond, or very nearly so, with the eighty-six districts of the Capitularies, whence sprang most of the feudal sovereignties; and the revolution which gave the death-blow to feudalism was fain to imitate it.

The true starting-point of our history is a political division of France, founded on its natural and physical division. At first, history is altogether geography. It is impossible to describe the feudal or the *provincial* period, (the latter epithet is equally characteristic,) without first tracing the peculiarities of the provinces. Nor is it sufficient to define the geographical form of these different countries. They are to be thoroughly illustrated by their fruits alone—I mean by the men and the events of their history. From the point of view where we are about to place ourselves, we shall predict what each of them will do and produce, we shall indicate to them their destiny, and dower them in the cradle.

And first, let us view France in its whole, that we may see how it will divide of itself.

Let us ascend one of the highest summits of the Vosges, or, if you choose, let us seat ourselves on the Jura—our back to the Alps. Could our sight take in an horizon of three hundred leagues, we should distinguish an undulating line, extending from the wood-crowned hills of Luxembourg and of Ardennes to the balloon-shaped hills of the Vosges, and thence along the viny slopes of Burgundy to the volcanic crags of the Cevennes, and to the vast wall of the Pyrenees. This line marks the great water-shed. On its western side descend to the ocean the Seine, the Loire, and the Garonne; on the other, the Meuse flows to the north, the Saône and Rhone to the south. In the distance are two continental islands, as it were—Brittany, low and rugged, of quartz and granite only, a huge shoal placed at the angle of France to sustain the shock of the current of the strait; and Auvergne, green and rude, a vast extinct fire, with its forty volcanoes.

The basins of the Rhône and of the Garonne, notwithstanding their importance, are only secondary. In the north alone life exists in the fulness of strength; and in it was wrought the great movement of the nations. In ancient times there set a current of races from Germany into France; the grand political struggle of modern times has lain between France and England. These two nations are placed facing each other, as if to invite to contest. On their most important sides the two countries slope towards each other, or you may say that they form but one valley, of which the Straits of Dover are the bottom. On this side are the Seine and Paris; on that, London and the Thames. But England presents to France that portion of her which is German—keeping behind her the Celts of Wales, Scotland, and Ireland. France, on the contrary, backed by her Germanic provinces, (Lorraine and Alsace,) opposes her Celtic front to England. Each country views the other on its most hostile side.

Germany is not opposed to France, but rather lies parallel with her. Like the Meuse and the Scheldt, the Rhine, Elbe, and Oder run into the northern seas. Besides, German France sympathizes with Germany, her parent. As for Roman and Iberian France, notwithstanding the splendor of Marseilles and of Bordeaux, she only faces the old world of Africa and of Italy, or else the vague abyss of ocean. From Spain we are severed by the Pyrenees even more com-

\* See p. 131.

† See H. Pr. v. 616, 617. Capitularies ann. 883.—See, also, General Course of 1862, L. III. p. 87.

pletely than she is by the sea from Africa. Rising above the region of rain and of the lower clouds to the *por* of Venasque, and prolonging our view over Spain, we see that there Europe ends. A new world opens; before us is the blazing sun of Africa; behind, a fog undulating with a constant wind.

Looking at France in its latitude, its zones are at once discriminated by their products. In the north are the low and rich plains of Belgium and of Flanders, with their fields of flax, hops, and of colewort, and the bitter northern vine. From Reims to the Moselle begins the region of the true vine and of wine; all spirit in Champagne, and good and warm in Burgundy, it grows heavier and duller in Languedoc, to awaken again at Bordeaux. The mulberry and the olive appear at Montauban; but these delicate children of the south are ever exposed to risk in the unequal climate of France.\* Longitudinally, the zones are not less distinct. We shall presently see the intimate relations which connect, as in one long belt, the frontier provinces of Ardennes, of Lorraine, of Franche-Compte, and of Dauphiny. The oceanic zone, formed on the one hand by

Flanders, Picardy, and Normandy, and, on the other, by Poitou and Guienne, would float at its immense length, were it not bound tightly round the middle by the hard knot of Brittany.

It has been said, *Paris, Rouen, and Harre are one city, of which the Seine is the high street*. Betake yourself to the south of this magnificent street, where castles join castles, villages join villages. Pass from the lower Seine to Calvados, and from Calvados to the Channel—whatever be the richness and fertility of the country, the towns become fewer, arable decreases, pasture increases. The aspect of the country is serious; it soon becomes wild and gloomy. To the lofty castles of Normandy succeed the humble manor-houses of the Bretons. The costume seems to follow the change of architecture. The triumphal bonnet of the women of Caux, which bespeaks so fitly the daughters of the conquerors of England, widens out towards Caen, grows flat at Ville-Dieu, divides and figures in the wind at St. Malo; sometimes like the sails of a mill, at others like those of a ship. On another side, dresses of skins begin at Laval. The increasing density of the forests, the solitude of La Trappe—where the monks lead together a savage life—the expressive names of the towns Fougères and Rennes, (both signifying heath or fern,) the gray waters of the Mayenne and the Villaine—all announce the wildness of the country.

It is here, however, that we wish to begin our study of France. The Celtic province, the eldest born of the monarchy, claims our first glance. Hence we will pass on to the old rivals of the Celts, the Basques and the Iberians, not less obstinate in their mountains than the Celt in his heaths and marshes. Then we may proceed to the countries blended and confounded by the Roman and German conquests. We shall thus have studied geography in chronological order, and have travelled at once in space and in time.

Brittany, poor and hard, the resistant element of France, extends her fields of quartz and of schistus from the slate-quarries of Chateaulin, near Brest, to the slate-quarries of Angers. This is her extent, geologically speaking. However, from Angers to Rennes, the country is a *debatable* land, a *border* like that between England and Scotland, which early escaped from Brittany. The Breton tongue does not even begin at Rennes, but about Elven, Poutivy, Loudéac, and Châteaulaudren. Thence, as far as Cape Finisterre, it is true Brittany—*Breton* Brittany, (Bretagne bretonnante,) a country which has become altogether foreign from ours, exactly because it has remained too faithful to our primitive condition, the more unlike the French that it is like the Gaul, and which would have slipped from us more than once, had we not held it grasped, as if in a vice, between four French cities of rough and de-

\* Arthur Young, in his *Agricultural Tour through France*, says, (vol. i. p. 253,) "France admits a division into three capital parts. 1st, of vines; 2dly, of maize; 3dly, of olives—which plants give the three districts of, 1st, the northern, where vines are not planted; 2dly, the central, in which maize is not planted; 3dly, the south, in which olives, mulberries, vines, and maize are all found. The line of separation between vines and no vines, as I observed myself, is at Courcy, ten miles to the north of Soissons; at Clermont, in the Beauvoisins; at Beaumont, in Maine; and Herbagnac, near Guermont, in Bretagne." This limitation, though perhaps too rigorous, is, generally speaking, exact.

The following account of the importations by which the vegetable kingdom has been enriched in France, gives a high idea of the infinite variety of soil and of climate that distinguishes our country:—

"Charlemagne's orchard at Paris was considered unique from its containing apple and pear trees, the walnut, service trees, and chestnuts. The potato, now the staple food of a large part of our population, was not brought to us from Peru till the close of the sixteenth century. We are indebted to St. Louis for the modicum of ranunculus of the plains of Syria. Ambassadors had to employ their influence to procure France the garden ranunculus. Provence is indebted for her gardens of roses to the *trouvateur* Thibaut, count of Champagne and of Briet, joining the crusades. Constantinople supplied us with the horse chestnut at the beginning of the seventeenth century. We long envied Turkey the tulip, of which we now possess nine hundred species, of greater beauty than those of any other country. The elm was hardly known in France before the time of Francis the First: nor the artichoke before the sixteenth century. The mulberry was not planted here till the middle of the fourteenth century. *Entomoblean* is indebted for its delicious *chasselas*, a species of grape, to the island of Cyprus. We have fetched the weeping willow from the neighbourhood of Babylon, the acacia from Virginia; the black ash and the lignum vitae from Canada, the myrtle of Peru from Mexico; the sun flower, from the Cordilleras; magnonerie from Egypt. Indian corn, from Guinea; the remains of palm-bread, and the Indian date-plum, from Africa; the passion flower and the Jerusalem artichoke, from Brazil; the gourd and the agave from America; tobacco, from Mexico; ananaim, from Madag; the songsters, from the mountains of England; the yellow dry hily, from Siberia; the balsamum, from India; the tobacco, from the island of Cayenne; the barberry and the conf-flower, from the East; horse radish, from China; rhubarb from Tartary; huss-chest, from Greece; the plumum berry, from Australia." Depping, *Description de la France*, t. i. p. 51. See, also, De Candoille, *Sur la Statistique Végétale de la France*, and Alex. Humboldt's *Botanical Geography*.



Nothing can be more sinister and formidable than the coast of Brest; it is the extreme limit, the point, the prow of the old world. Here the two enemies, land and sea, man and nature, are face to face. When the sea madly lashes herself into fury, you should see what monstrous waves she hurls on point St. Matthew, fifty, sixty, eighty feet high. The spray is flung as far as the church, where mothers and sisters are at prayers.\* And even in those moments of truce, when the sea is silent, who has passed along this funereal coast without exclaiming or feeling—*Tristis usque ad mortem!* (the shadow of death is here!)

'Tis that there is here what is worse than shoal or tempest. Nature is fierce, man is fierce; and they seem to understand each other. As soon as the sea casts a hapless vessel on the coast, man, woman, and child hurry to the shore, to fall on their quarry. Hope not to stay these wolves. They plunder at their ease under the fire of the coast-guard.† It would be something if they always waited for shipwreck, but it is asserted that they often cause it. Often, it is said, a cow, led about with a lighted lantern at its horns, has lured vessels on the rocks. God alone knows the night-scenes that then take place! A man has been known to gnaw off a finger with his teeth, in order to get at a ring on the finger of a drowned woman.‡

On this coast, man is hard. The accursed son of creation, a true Cain, wherefore should he spare Abel? Nature spares not him. Does the wave spare him, when in the fearful nights of winter he roams the shoals to gather the floating sea-weed which is to fertilize his sterile field—when the billow which bears the plant so often carries off the man? Does it spare him when he tromblingly glides beneath Cape Raz, by the red rocks, where the *hell of Plougoff* yearns for its prey; or along *Deadman's Bay*, whose currents have for so many centuries swept corpses with them! The Breton proverb says, "None pass the Raz without hurt or a fright;" another, "Help me, great God, at Cape Raz,—my ship is so small, and the sea is so great!"§

Here nature expires; humanity becomes mournful and cold. There is no poetry, little religion, and Christianity dates but from yesterday. Michel Noblet was the apostle of

Batz in 1648.\* In the islands of Sein, Batz, and Ushant, the wedding festival itself is sad and severe. The very senses seem dead; and there is no love, nor shame, nor jealousy. The girls unblushingly make the marriage proposals.† Woman labors there harder than man, and in the Ushant isles she is taller and stronger. She tills the land, while the man remains seated in his boat, rocked and cradled by the sea, his rough nurse. The animals also degenerate, and seem to change their nature. Horses and rabbits are wonderfully diminutive in these islands.

Let us seat ourselves on this formidable Cape Raz, upon this overhanging rock, three hundred feet above the sea, and whence we descry seven leagues of coast-line. This is, in some sort, the sanctuary of the Celtic world. The dot you discern beyond *Deadman's Bay* is the island of Sein, a desolate, treeless, and all but unsheltered sand-bank, the abode of some poor and compassionate families, who yearly save the shipwrecked mariners. This island was the abode of the sacred virgins who gave the Celts fine weather or shipwreck. There they celebrated their gloomy and murderous orgies; and the seamen heard with terror, far off at sea, the clash of barbaric cymbals.‡ This island is the traditionary birth-place of Myrddyn, the Merlin of the middle age. His tomb is on the other side of Brittany, in the forest of Broceliande, under the fatal stone where his Vyvyan has enchanted him. All these rocks around us are towns which have been swallowed up—this is Douarnenez, that is, the Breton Sodom; those two ravens you see, ever flying heavily on the shore, are the souls of king Grallo and his daughter; and those shrill whistlings, which one would take for the voice of the tempest, are the *crierien*, the ghosts of the shipwrecked clamoring for burial.§

At Lanvau, near Brest, there rises, as if to mark the limit of the continent, a large unhewn stone. From this spot as far as Lorient, and from Lorient again as far as Quiberon and Carnac, you cannot walk along the southern coast of Brittany without meeting at every step one of those shapeless monuments which are called druidical. You often descry them from the road on *landes* covered with briars and thistles. They consist of huge low stones, placed upright, and often a little rounded at top; or else of a stone laid flat on three or four

*Giulius, gaudere,*

*Romane: non nos maris, nos amans.*

Barks, barks, bring us back our hi-lands, our lovers. — Apparently, the burden of a local song — *THE COAST-GUARD.*

\* The fact is vouched for by the coast-guard themselves. — The Bretons seem to consider the *bris* wreck, as a sort of alluvial right. This terrible right of the *bris* was, as is well known, one of the most lucrative of the feudal privileges. The viscount de Leon, alluding to a reef, said, "I have a stone there more precious than those which enrich a king's crown."

† I give the tradition of the country, without guaranteeing it. It is needless to add, that the remains of these barbarous customs are daily disappearing.

§ Voyage de Cambry, t. ii. p. 241-257

\* Id. t. i. p. 109. I give my authority. The other facts, for which I am indebted to this agreeable work, have been confirmed to me by natives.

† Id. t. ii. p. 77. — Toland's Letters, p. 23. In the Hebrides, and other islands, the men took the women on trial for a year, when if she did not suit him, he resigned her to another. Miriam's Hebrides. No very long time since, the peasant who wished to marry applied for a wife to the lord of Barra — the lords of which had reigned over these islands for thirty-five generations. Solinus (c. 22) asserts that the king of the Hebrides takes no wives of his own, but makes free with those of his subjects.

‡ See above, book ii. c. 2.

§ Cambry, t. ii. p. 253-264.





eral parts of the province serfhood was unknown. The domaniers and quevaisiers, however hard their condition might be, were personally free, though the land was in bondage. They would stand up in presence of the haughtiest Rohan,\* and say, in their solemn manner—*Me zo dezuz ar morig*—I, too, am a Breton. A profound reflection has recently been made with regard to Vendée, and it is applicable to Brittany as well—"The people are at heart republicans."† Social, not political republicanism, is here meant.

We need not be surprised that the Celtic race, the most obstinate of the ancient world, made some efforts in later times to prolong its nationality, just as it defended it in the middle ages. It required the Plantagenets to become, by two marriages, kings of England, and dukes of Normandy and of Aquitaine, before they could subject Brittany to Anjou, an event which did not take place till the twelfth century, when Brittany, to escape them, threw herself into the arms of France, but only after the French and English parties, the Blois and the Montforts, had carried on the war for a century longer. After the marriage of Anne of Brittany with Louis VII. had united the province to the kingdom, and Anne had written on the castle of Nantes‡ the old device on the castle of the Bourbons—*Qui qu'en grogne, tel est mon plaisir*, (Let who will grumble, such is my will)—there began the legal struggle of the states, of the parliament of Rennes, its defence of the common law of the country against the Roman,§ and the war between provincial rights and monarchical centralization. Sternly coerced by Louis XIV.,|| the struggle recommenced in his successor's reign; and La Chalotais, in his dungeon in Brest, wrote with a toothpick his courageous plea against the Jesuits.

Resistance is now dying away, and Brittany is being gradually absorbed into France. Its language, undermined by the constant infiltration of the French tongue, recedes step by step.¶ Even the talent for poetic improvisation, which has endured so long among the Celts of Ireland and of Scotland, and which is not altogether lost among the Bretons, is become rare and unusual. Formerly, when a girl was sought in marriage, the bazvalan\*\* would sing stanzas

of his own composition, to which she would respond; but this has now degenerated into a set form, learned by rote.\* The attempts, rather bold than successful, which have been made by some of the natives to revive, by instruction, the nationality of their country, have only been received with laughter. I have myself seen at T\*\*\*, Le Brigant's learned friend, the aged M. D., (known here only by the name of M. Système.) The poor solitary old man, sunk in an old armchair, with five or six thousand volumes scattered round, childless, and without a relative to care for him, was dying of fever, with an Irish grammar on one side, and a Hebrew one on the other. He rallied so as to repeat to me some stanzas in the Breton tongue, of emphatic and monotonous rhythm, which, however, was not without its charm. It touched me to the heart to see this representative of Celtic nationality—this dying champion of a dying language and dying poetry.† and ‡

We may trace the Celtic world along the Loire, as far as the geological limits of Brittany to the slate-quarries of Angers; or else, to the great druidical monument at Saumur, the most important, perhaps, of all that still exist, or else, to Tours, the ecclesiastical metropolis of Brittany in the middle ages.

Nantes is a semi-Bordeaux, less showy and more staid—a mixture of colonial opulence and Breton sobriety—standing civilized in the midst of two scenes of savage atrocity, carrying on commerce in the midst of two civil wars,§ and thrown where it stands as if to break off all communication. The great Loire runs through it, sweeping with its eddies between Brittany and La Vendée—the river of the *Noyades*. "What a torrent," wrote Carrier, drunk with the poetry of his crime: "what a revolutionary torrent is this Loire!"

It was at St. Florent, at the very spot marked by the column in honor of the Vendean Bonchamps, that in the ninth century the Breton Nomenoe, the conqueror of the Northmen, had reared his own statue; which faced Angers, faced France, that he looked upon as his prey. But the day was Anjou's. Its more disciplined population was under the sway of the great feudal barons; while Brittany, with its innumerable petty nobility, could carry on no great war, nor effect any great conquest. The black city of Angers bears, not alone on its vast castle,

\* The pretensions of this family, which is descended from the Mar. Tern of Leon, are well known. In the sixteenth century the Rohans took this motto, which may serve as an index to their history—"Roi je ne suis, prince ne daigne, Rohan je suis." King I'm not, prince I scorn to be, Rohan I am.

† As stated in his evidence by captain Gallern at the Nantes assizes, October, 1832.

‡ Darn. Histoire de Bretagne, t. ii.

§ This point will be noticed hereafter.

|| See Madame de Sévigné's Letters from September to December, inclusive, for the year 1675. Great numbers were broken on the wheel, hung, or sent to the galleys. She mentions those things with a carelessness which is painful.

¶ According to M. de Romeu, sub-prefect of Quimper, one may measure how many leagues the Breton tongue loses in a given number of years. See this gentleman's ingenious articles in the *Revue de Paris*.

\*\* The bazvalan was the person deputed to ask girls in

marriage, and was, usually, a tailor, who presented himself with one stocking blue, the other white.

\* I give this and several other facts on the authority of M. le Lédan, bookseller, of Morbihan, and a celebrated antiquarian. Other details I am indebted for to various natives of the country, and, among others, to M. de R., jun., who belongs to one of the most distinguished families in Brest. I place implicit confidence in the veracity of this honest young man.

† See Appendix.

‡ Those of the League and of the Revolution! The barbarous acts alluded to, seem to be the revocation of the edict of Nantes, and the *Noyades*.—TRANSLATOR.

§ D. Maurer, *Preuves de l'Hist. de Bretagne*, t. i. p. 284. Charles the Bald, in his turn, had one of himself crowned with the face towards Brittany.

and its Devil's Tower, but on its very cathedral, this feudal impress. The church of St. Maurice is crowded, not with saints, but with knights armed cap-à-pie—and in its halting spires, the one charged with sculpture, the other plain, is typified the unfulfilled destiny of Anjou. Despite its fine situation on the triple stream of the Maine, and close to the Loire—where one can distinguish by their color the waters flowing from four provinces, Angers is now asleep. It is enough for it to have united for awhile, under its Plantagenets, England, Normandy, Brittany, and Aquitaine, and, at a later period, under the good René and his sons, to have possessed, contended for, or, at the least, claimed the thrones of Naples, of Arragon, of Jerusalem, and of Provence, while his daughter Margaret supported the red against the white rose, and Lancaster against York. And here slumber, likewise, to the murmurings of the Loire, the cities of Saumur and of Tours—the one, the capital of Protestantism—the other, that of Catholicism\* in France—Saumur, the little kingdom of the Calvinist preachers and of the aged Duplessis Mornay, in opposition to whom their good friend, Henri IV., built La Flèche for the Jesuits. The castle of Mornay and its vast *défilé*, will always render Saumur of historical import. And important historically, though in a different way, is the good city of Tours, with its tomb of St. Martin—the ancient asylum, the ancient oracle, the Delphi of France, where the Merovingians came to consult the host†, the great and lucrative resort of pilgrims, for the possession of which the counts of Blois and of Angou, splintered so many lances. Mans, Angers, and the whole of Brittany, were included in the see of the archbishopric of Tours. The Capets, and the dukes of Burgundy and of Brittany, and the count of Flanders, and the patriarch of Jerusalem, and the archbishops of Mainz, of Cologne, and of Compostella were patrons. Money was coined here, as well as at Paris, and here were early manufactured cloaks, the precious tissues, and, if it must be owned, the sweetmeats and *recollets*, for which Tours and Reims, cities of priests and cloistered life, have been equally famous. But the trade of Tours has been injured by Paris, Lyons, and Nantes. Something may be ascribed, too, to the influence of the mild sun, and the soft Loire, for it seems unmarred in the climate of Tours, of Blois, and of Orléans, the country of Reclus, and near the tomb of Anne, Sœur de Clément VII., Chambord, Montargis, Langeais, and Loches, all favored by our kings or their mistresses, have their several castles seated on the Loire. It is the country of knights, and of the *far niente*. The

verdure is fresh in August as in May—fruits succeed fruits, trees succeed trees. Look into the river from the bank—the opposite bank seems hung in air, so faithfully is the sky reflected by the water. The sand glistens at the bottom; then comes the willow, bending down to drink of the stream; next you see the poplar, the aspen, and the walnut, and then islands floating in the midst of islands, and beyond, tufted trees, gently waving to and fro, and saluting each other. A soft and sensual country! the very spot to give birth to the idea of making woman queen of the monasteries, and of living under her in a voluptuous obedience, a compound of love and of holiness. And never was abbey so splendid as that of Fontevrault.‡ Five of its churches still remain. More than one king desired to be buried there. Even the fierce Richard Cœur-de-Lion willed the nuns his heart, thinking, that murderous and parricidal as it was, it would win repose in woman's gentle hand, and sheltered by the prayers of virgins.

To find on this Loire something less soft and more severe, you must proceed up it to the angle by which it sweeps round towards the Seine, as far as the serious Orléans—in the middle ages, the city of legists, afterwards Calvinistical, then Jansenist, and now a manufacturing town. But I defer for the present speaking of the centre of France, in order to hurry to the South. I have spoken of the Celts of Brittany, and would now proceed to the Iberians, to the Pyrenees.

Poitou, which we meet with on the other side of the Loire, facing Brittany and Angou, is a country composed of very different but still distinct elements. Three distinct races occupy three distinct belts of land, stretching from north to south, and hence the apparent contradictions presented by the history of this province. In the sixteenth century, Poitou is the centre of Calvinism, recruits the armies of Coligny, and attempts to found a protestant republic. In our own time, Poitou originated the Catholic and royalist opposition of la Vendée. The natives of the coast figure in the former attempt, those of the Vendean Boscage in the latter. Both, however, may be referred to the same principle, of which republican Calvinism and royalist Catholicism have been but the form—an indomitable feeling of opposition to the central government.

Poitou is the battle field of the South and of the North. It was near Poitiers that Clovis defeated the Goths, that Charles-Martel repulsed the Saracens, and that the Anglo-Norman army of the Black Prince took king John prisoner. Bending the Roman with the common

\* As it stood during the Merovingian era.

† The *host* did not always signify the host, but long before the Christian era, it had the meaning of a deity. The Gauls, who were polytheists, were in the habit of consulting the *hostes*, or deities, in order to know the future.

‡ Fontevrault, the seat of the abbacy of Fontevrault.

See above, book ii. c. 1.

\* Richard I. de Bœuf, surnommé Lionceau, Angou et Vendée, 1192. At this date the kingdom of the abbey comprised all the counties supported by nobles and knights, the *seigneuries*, churches, and several villages, among others, that of Henry II. There was no trace of the tomb of his son Richard Cœur-de-Lion.

law, giving her legists to the North and her troubadours to the South, Poitou is like its own Melusina,\* a compound of different natures, half-woman, half-serpent. The myth could have originated only in a mixed country—in a country of mules† and of vipers.‡

This mixed and contradictory character has hindered Poitou from ever bringing any thing to a conclusion; but it began every thing. The old Roman city of Poitiers, now so deserted, was, with Arles and Lyons, the first Christian school of Gaul. St. Hilary shared the battles of St. Athanasius, in defence of the divinity of Jesus Christ. In some respects, Poitiers was the cradle of our monarchy as well as of Christianity. From her cathedral shone during the night the column of fire which guided Clovis against the Goths. The king of France was abbot of St. Hilary of Poitiers, as well as of St. Martin of Tours. The latter church, however, less literary, but better situated, more popular, and more fertile in miracles, prevailed over her elder sister. The last light of Latin poetry had shone at Poitiers in the person of Fortunatus, and the aurora of modern literature dawned there in the twelfth century—William VII. is the first troubadour. This William, excommunicated for having run away with the viscountess of Châtelleraut, led, it is said, a hundred thousand men to the holy land,§ but he likewise took with him a crowd of his mistresses.|| It is of him that an old author says, "*He was a good troubadour, a good knight, and he travelled a long time over the world, deceiving the ladies.*" Poitou would seem to have been at this period a country of witty libertines and of freethinkers. Gilbert de la Porée, born at Poitiers, and afterwards its bishop, who was Abelard's colleague in the school of Chartres, taught with the same boldness, was, like him, attacked by St. Bernard, like him, retracted, but did not persist in his relapses like the Breton logician. Poitevin philosophy is born and dies with Gilbert.

The political power of Poitou had no better fate. It began in the ninth century with the struggle maintained against Charles the Bald by Aymon, father of Renaud, count of Gascony, and brother of Turpin, count of Angoulême¶. This family claimed its descent from the two famous heroes of romance, St. William of Toulouse, and Gerard of Roussillon, count of Bur-

gundy. It was, indeed, great and powerful, and for some time found itself at the head of the south. They took the title of dukes of Aquitaine, but had too difficult a game to play with the people of Brittany and of Anjou, who pressed them on the north. The Angevins took from them part of Touraine, Saumur, Loudun, and turned them by seizing on Saintes. However, the counts of Poitou exhausted themselves in strenuous efforts to establish in the south, and especially over Auvergne and Toulouse, their great title of dukes of Aquitaine. They spent their substance in distant expeditions to Spain and Jerusalem. Showy and lavish, these knightly troubadours were often embroiled with the Church; their light and violent manners giving rise to adulteries and domestic tragedies, which have been a world's talk. It was not the first time that a countess of Poitiers had assassinated her rival, when the jealous Elinor of Guyenne forced fair Rosamond to swallow poison in the labyrinth where her husband had concealed her.

Elinor's sons, Henry, Richard Cœur-de-Lion, and John, never knew whether they were Poitevins or English, Angevins or Normans. This internal strife of two contradictory natures is figured in their fluctuating and stormy career. Henry III., John's son, was governed by Poitevin favorites. The civil wars to which this gave rise in England are well known. Occurred with the monarchy, Poitou, both of the marsh and of the plain, followed the general movement of France. Fontenai supplied her with great legists, with the Tiraqueaus, the Beslys, the Brissons; and many a skilful courtier (Thouars, Mortemar, Meilleraie, Mauleon, &c.) issued from the nobility of Poitou. The greatest politician and the most popular writer of France belong to eastern Poitou—Richelieu and Voltaire. The last, who was born at Paris, sprang from a family belonging to Parthenay.\*

But we have not seen the whole of the province. From the plateau of the Deux Sevres descend the two rivers so named, the one running towards Nantes, the other towards Niort and Rochelle. The two eccentric districts which they traverse, stand aloof from France. The lower, a petty Holland,† spreading itself out in marshes and canals, faces only the ocean and Rochelle. Originally, the *white city*,‡ like

\* See Appendix.

† The mules of Poitou are highly esteemed throughout Auvergne, Provence, Languedoc, and even in Spain. Statist. de la Vendée, by Lx Bretonnière.—The birth of a mule is hailed with more joy than that of a son.—In the district of Marais, an stallion ass will fetch as much as 2000 francs. Dupin, Statist. des Deux Sevres. Dupin was prefect of the Department.

‡ The apothecaries buy vipers in Poitou.—Formerly, Poitiers exported its vipers as far as Venice. La Bretonnière. Dupin.

§ He reached Antioch with six men.

¶ The bishop of Angoulême said to him, "Reform,"—the count replied, "When you shall comb your hair." The bishop was bald.

‡ Singular enough, the names of the heroes and of the famous author of the Chronicle figure on the same page.

\* According to M. de Genoude, there are still some of the family of Anout in the village of St. Loup, near this town.

† The southern marsh is wholly a work of art. The difficulty to be overcome was not so much the tides, as the overflows of the Sevre.—The dikes are often threatened with destruction.—The *cabaniers*, the occupiers of farms called *cabanies*, walk with looping-poles twelve feet long in order to leap over the ditches and canals.—The *wet marsh* beyond the dikes, is all the winter under water. La Bretonnière.—Normonters is twelve feet below the sea-level and artificial dikes occur throughout a tract eleven thousand fathoms in length.—The Dutch drained the *marsh of Laite Poitou* by a canal, called the *Dutchmen's girdle*, (Ceinture des Hollandais.) Statistique de Poitiers et Châtelleraut. See, also, the Description de la Vendée par M. Chevasson, 1829.

‡ This name was given to Rochelle by the English from

the black city,—Rochelle, like St. Malo,—was an asylum opened by the Church, for the Jews, the serfs, the *coliberts* of Poitou. The pope equally protected both\* against the barons, and, freed as they were from tithe and tribute, they rapidly increased. A swarm of adventurers, issuing from their nameless populace, opened up the seas as merchants or as pirates: others opened up the court, and placed at the service of their monarchs their democratic genius and hatred of the barons. Without going so far back as to the serf Leudastes, of the island of Rhe, whose curious story has been preserved to us by Gregory of Tours, we may cite the famous cardinal de Sion, who got the Swiss to take up arms for Julius II., and the chancellors Olivier, Baluc, and Doriole—the first, under Charles IX., the two last under Louis XI., who loved to make use of these intriguers—saying that he would lodge them afterwards in an iron cage.

For a moment, Rochelle thought to become an Amsterdam, of which Coligni would have been the William of Orange. All know the two famous sieges it supported against Charles IX. and Richelieu, its numberless heroic efforts, its endurance, and the poniard which the mayor laid on the table of the Hôtel-de-Ville for his heart who should speak of surrender. Yet were its brave inhabitants constrained to yield, when England, betraying the Protestant cause and her own interest, suffered Richelieu to block up their port. The remains of the immense dike constructed for this purpose, are still distinguishable at low tide. Shut out from the sea, the amphibious city drooped and languished: and, to muzzle her the better, Louis XIV. founded Rochefort, a stone's throw from Rochelle—the port of the monarch, by the side of the port of the people.

There was, however, a part of Poitou which had scarcely figured in history, which was but little known, and knew not itself. It was revealed by the Vendean war. The principal and the earliest scene of this fearful war, which kindled a conflagration throughout the whole west, was the basin of the Sevre, Nantaise, the sombre hills with which it is surrounded, and the entire Vendean Bocage. This said Vendee, which has fourteen rivers, and not one navigable one,†—a country lost in its woods and

hedges—despite all that has been said, was neither more religious nor more loyal than many other frontier provinces;‡ but it clung to its habits. These had been but little disturbed by the ancient monarchy, with its imperfect centralization; but the revolution sought to uproot them, and to bring over the province at once to national unity. Precipitate, and violent, and startling by the sudden and hostile light it threw upon every thing, it scared these children of the night. The peasants stood up, heroes. It is a fact, that Cathelineau, the carrier, (*voiturier*), was kneading his bread§ when he heard the republican proclamation read. He just washed his hands, and shouldered his gun. Each did the same, and marched straight against the *Blues*: and the struggle was not man to man, in woods and in darkness, as with the Chouans in Brittany—but in masses, and in the open plain. Nearly a hundred thousand men were present at the siege of Nantes. The war of Brittany is as a warlike ballad of the Scottish border; that of La Vendee, an Iliad.

Proceeding towards the south, we shall pass the sombre city of Saintes, with its beautiful plains—the battle-fields of Taillebourg and Jarnac—the grottoes of the Charente, and its vines in the salt-marshes. We must rapidly traverse the Limousin—that lofty, cold, rainy country, where so many rivers take their rise. Its beautiful granite hills, like semi-globes, and its vast chestnut forests, maintain an honest, but heavy race, timid, and awkward through their indecision: as if bearing the stamp of the sufferings inflicted on their country by the long struggle for its possession between England and France. Quite different with Lower Limousin—the lively and quick-witted character of the Southerns is already very striking there: and the names of the Segura, St. Aulaire, Noailles, Ventadours, Pompadours, and especially of the Turennes, will serve to characterize the genius of the men here—to indicate their attachment to the central power, and the profit to which they

but Châtelleraut opposes it through jealousy of the former city.—Were the Charente made navigable up to Civray, and united to the Gironde by a canal, the line would furnish a communication, in time of war, between Rochefort, the Loire, and Paris—see the description of Upper Vienne, by Texier, and La Bretonniere's Vendee.

\* I have already noticed captain Galliano's remarkable observation.—Générat. Voyage en Vendee, 1831, observes, "The peasants still say, 'In the reign of M. Mont,' (de Larchevignolle)."—They named such Vendeanes as were republicans *païsans* (rurs). Speaking good French, they called *le parier nobles*, (speaking like a nobleman).—The priests had scarcely any property in La Vendee. The whole of the national forests, according to La Bretonniere, (p. 6.) belonged to the count d'Artois, or the composit nobles; only one, of a hundred hectares in extent, belonged to the clergy.

† Memoires de Madame Larchevignolle.—According to the evidence of M. d'Elbe, the real cause of the Vendean insurrection was the levy of 200,000 men, ordered by the republic. The Vendean hate military service, which removes them from their homes. When a contingent was required for Louis the Eighteenth's guard, not a single volunteer offered. (Cuvillier, Description de la Vendee, 1816.)

‡ Paynaud de la Perte, 21.—Boulainvilliers.—There is a proverb, "Limousin will never do of drought." Memoirs Vienne, par Texier, (proof of the department in 1831.) p. 6.

the reflection of the light on its rocks and downs. See L'Histoire de la Rochelle, par le pere Arceve, de l'Oratoire, 1766, &c.—For the catholics, conquest, conquest, conquest, &c.—see Appendix.

\* For the history of St. Malo, consult Dura, Hist. de Bretagne, t. 17: for that of Rochelle, Father Arceve's work mentioned in the preceding note.—Raymond Perrau, a native of Rochelle, and who became bishop and cardinal, obtained for the Rochellois, in 1596, bulls prohibiting their being tried by any foreign tribunal.

† Now the Basin de Depart, de la Vienne, par le Prefet Charbon, an 2.—As early as 1537, it was proposed to render the Vienne navigable as far as Limoges, and then to connect it with the Garonne, which falls into the Dordogne. It would have communicated with Bordeaux and Paris by the Loire, but the Vienne has too many rocks to allow of such an undertaking.—The Chene might be rendered navigable as far as Poitiers, so as to continue the navigation of the Vienne;

put it. That extraordinary personage, cardinal Dubois, came from Brives-la-Gaillarde.

The mountains of Upper Limousin ramify with those of Auvergne, which, in their turn, join the Cévennes. Auvergne is formed by the valley of the Allier, over which towers, on the west, the mass of the Mont-Dor, which rises between the Pic or the Puy-de-Dôme and the group of the Cantal. It is a vast extinct fire—the ashes now almost everywhere covered by a rude and strong vegetation.\* The walnut strikes root in the basaltic rock, and the corn sprouts out of the pumice.† Nor are the internal fires so far extinguished, but that smoke still rises in one of the valleys; and the *étouffis* of Mont-Dor‡ remind one of Solfaterra and the Grotto del Cane. Built of lava, the towns (Clermont, St. Flour, &c.) have a black, heavy look; but the country is beautiful, whether you traverse the vast and solitary meadows of the Cantal and the Mont-Dor, to the monotonous sound of the waterfalls, or gaze upon the fertile Limagne and on the Puy-de-Dôme, that pretty *thimble* seven hundred toises high, and which is alternately veiled and unveiled by the clouds which love it, and can neither fly it nor remain with it. In fact, Auvergne is buffeted by a constant but shifting wind,§ whose currents whirl and chafe with the ever-changing direction of its mountain valleys. With a southern sky, the country is cold; you freeze on lava; and the inhabitants of the mountain district bury themselves all the winter in their stables.|| and surround themselves with a warm and thick atmosphere. Laden, like the Limousins, with Heaven knows how many thick and heavy garments, they may be considered a southern race,¶ shivering in the bleak north wind, and pinched and stiffened by a foreign clime. Their wine is rough, their cheese bitter\*\*—like the rude herbage from which it is produced. They sell, too, their lava, their pumice-stones, the pebbles of the district,†† and the common fruits of the country, which are taken down the Allier in boats. Red—eminently the barbarian color

—is that which they prefer: they like rough red wine, red cattle.\* Rather laborious than industrious, they still often till the deep and strong soils of their plains with the small plough of the south, which scarcely scratches the surface.† Their yearly emigration from the mountains is thrown away; they bring back some money, but few ideas.

And yet there is real strength in the men of this race—a rough sap, sour perhaps, but full of life as the herbage of the Cantal. Age has no effect upon it. See the green old age of their old men, of the Dulaures, and the De Pradts—and the octogenarian Montlosier, who directs and superintends his workmen and all around him, who plants and who builds, and who, on the spur of the moment, could write a new book against the clergy, (*parti-pris*) in favor of feudalism,—at once the friend and the enemy of the middle-ages.‡

This inconsequent and contradictory character, observable in other provinces of our middle zone, reaches its apogee in Auvergne. There sprang up those great legists,§ the logicians of the Gallican party, who never knew whether they were for or against the pope—the chancellor de l'Hôpital, a doubtful Catholic; the Arnauds; the severe Domat, that Jansenist Papinian, who endeavored to bow the law by Christianity, and his friend Pascaud, the only man of the seventeenth century who felt the religious crisis going on between Montaigne's day and that of Voltaire, and in the struggles of whose conscience the battle of doubt and faith is so singularly depicted.

We might enter the great valley of the south by Rouergue, a province signalized by a rude hap;¶ and which, indeed, under its sombre chestnut trees, is but one enormous heap of coal, iron, copper, and lead. Its coal mines\*\* have been for ages on fire for several leagues; a fire, however, unconnected with any thing volcanic. Exposed to every vicissitude of cold

\* Texier (Olivier, pp. 44, 96, &c.)

† The products both of the soil and of manufactures are rude and common, but abundant. De Pradt, *Voyage Agronom.* p. 108. North of St. Flour, the ground is covered with a thick layer of pumice-stones, but is not the less productive. *Ibid.* p. 117.

‡ See Legrand d'Aussy, *Voyage en Auvergne*.

§ De Pradt, p. 71.

|| In winter they live in the stable, and rise at eight or nine o'clock. Legrand d'Aussy, p. 253. For various characteristical details, see the *Mémoires de M. le Comte de Montlosier*, t. i. The elegant picture of Puy-de-Dôme by M. Duché, the curious *Researches* of M. Gomod into the Antiquities of Auvergne, and the work of the good octogenarian De La Harpe, may also be advantageously consulted.

\*\* In Limagne there is an ugly race, apparently of southern extraction. From Brionde up to the source of the Allier, they look like cretins or Spanish mendicants. De Pradt, p. 70.

¶ The bitterness of the cheese may either be owing to the making of it to the coarseness and rankness of the grass. They never lay down fresh grasses. De Pradt, p. 177.

\*\* As late as 1784, the Spaniards came to buy the pebbles of common jewelry, of Auvergne. Legrand d'Aussy, p. 247.

\* De Pradt, p. 74.

† The *araire*, a small plough unequal to strong as used in the country beyond the Loire. Throughout the entire south the carts and all agricultural implements are of the smallest and poorest description. Arthur Young speaks with indignation of the small plough, that scratched the land and belied its fertility. De Pradt, p. 83.

‡ I trust this distinguished individual will not be offended at a critical remark which applies to all the great men of his country.

§ Domat, of Clermont; the Lagouesles, of Vie-le-Comte; Duprat, and Brillon his secretary, of Issoire; l'Hôpital, of Anguèperse; Anne Duhaucourt, of Riom; Pierre Lamoignon, first president of the parliament of Paris, in the sixteenth century; the Du Vair, of Aurillac, &c.

|| See in the *Mém. de d'Aubigné*, the secret part the chancellor acted in the conspiracy of Amboise. There was a proverb—"God keep us from the chancellor's mass, the admiral's tooth-pick, and the constable's paternoster."

\*\* Rouergue, I believe, is the first French province which paid a tax to the king, (Louis VII.) on the condition of his putting a stop to private wars. See the *Glossaire de Laurière*, t. i. p. 164, at the word *Commun de Paix*, and the Decretal of Alexander III. on the first canon of the council of Clermont, published by Mura. For an account of Rouergue, see Pouchot and Chaurière, *Statistique de l'Aveyron*, and particularly M. Montel's excellent work.

\*\* According to M. Blavier, (*Minéralogie de l'Aveyron*, p. 15,) more than two-thirds of this department contains coal.

and heat by the variety of its aspects and of its climates, splintered by precipices, and cut up by two torrents, the Tarn and the Aveyron, the wild Cevennes need not envy it. But I prefer entering by Cahors. Here, nature is clad in vines. You meet with the mulberry before you reach Montauban. "The prospect before you, which contains a semicircle of a hundred miles diameter, has an oceanic vastness, in which the eye loses itself; an almost boundless scene of cultivation; an animated but confused mass of infinitely varied parts—melting gradually into the distant obscure, from which emerges the amazing frame of the Pyrenees, rearing their silvered heads far above the clouds."\* The ox, yoked by his horns, ploughs the fertile valley—the vine throws her tendrils round the elm. If you draw to the left, towards the mountains, you descry there the goat hanging on the arid hill-side, and the mule, laden with oil, following the midway track. Southward there bursts a storm, and the country becomes a lake: in an hour, the whole has dried up before the thrifty sun. In the evening you reach some large and melancholy city: Toulouse, if you like. The sonorous accent which strikes your ear would lead you to fancy yourself in Italy; but the houses, built partly of wood, partly of brick, and the abrupt accent and bold and lively demeanour of the people, soon remind you that you are in France. The upper classes, at least, are French—the lower present quite a different physiognomy, and are, perhaps, Spanish or Moorish. You are in the ancient city of Toulouse, so great under its counts, which, through its parliament, became the monarch and tyrant of the south,† whose hot and heady legislators bore to Boniface VIII. the buffet of Philip the Fair, for which they made but too frequent atonement at the cost of the heretics—burning four hundred in less than a century, and who, at a later period, becoming the instrument of Richelieu's revenge, condemned Montmorcency, and beheaded him in their beautiful hall, stained with red.‡ The Toulousans made it their boast that they had the capitol of Rome, and the grotto dei morti of Naples§—in which corpses remain for centuries without undergoing putrefaction. The city archives were kept in the capitol, in an iron chest, like those of the Roman flamens, and the motto on the walls of the Gascon senate-house was, *Videant consules ne quid respublica detrimenti capiat* ¶

\* Young, *Agricultural Tour in France*, vol. i. p. 28.

† And this supremacy seems now to be revived, at least as regards literature. Various periodicals that have recently started up here, and particularly the *Revue du Midi*, exemplify the spirit and power which characterized the genius of the ancient Languedoc and the language of the south, and the dialects of the troubadours which prevailed in Languedoc.

‡ It was so in the last century, according to Pignatelli de l'Ere, *Histoire générale de France*.

§ Bodies have been preserved in it for five centuries. M. de la Harpe, *Voyage dans le Midi de la France*, t. iv. p. 438. Pignatelli de l'Ere, *loc. cit.*

¶ "Let the consuls see to the safety of the republic."

Toulouse is the central point of the great southern basin. Here or near it meet the waters of the Pyrenees, and of the Cevennes, the Tarn, and the Garonne, to fall with their united streams into the ocean—the Garonne receiving the whole. The sinuous and quivering rivers of Languedoc and of Auvergne, flow northward past Perigueux and Bergerac; while the Lot, the Viaz, the Aveyron, and the Tarn, after making several more or less abrupt turns, run from the east and the Cevennes, by Rodez and Alby. The north supplies rivers; the south torrents. The Arriege descends from the Pyrenees; and the Garonne, already swollen by the Gers and the Baize, makes a beautiful curve to the north-west, which the Adour imitates on a smaller scale towards the south. Toulouse separates, or nearly so, Languedoc from Guyenne; provinces which, lying in the same latitude, are yet widely different. The Garonne passes through the antique Toulouse, through the old Roman and Gothic Languedoc, and constantly increasing its flood, opens to the sea, like a sea, beyond Bordeaux. This last-named town, long the capital of English France, and long English at heart, turns, on account of its commercial interests, towards England, the ocean, and America. Here the Garonne, which we may now call the Gironde, is twice the width of the Thames at London.

Rich and beautiful as is this vale of the Garonne, we cannot linger there; the distant summits of the Pyrenees are too powerful an attraction. But the road is a serious obstacle. Whether you pass through Nérac, the sombre seignory of the Albrets, or proceed along the coast, you have before you a sea of *landes*, only varied by cork-tree woods, vast *pinadas*—a lonely and a cheerless route, with no other signs of life than the flocks of black sheep\* that annually migrate from the Pyrenees to the *landes*, leaving the mountains for the plain under the charge of shepherds of the *landes*, and going northward in search of the warmth. The wandering life of the shepherd is one of the picturesque characteristics of the south. You meet them scaling the Cevennes and the Pyrenees from the plains of Languedoc, and ascending the mountains of Gap and Barcelonnette,† from Crau in Provence. This nomad

The form by which the Roman senate gave the consuls entrusted with power in critical circumstances.

\* M. de la Harpe, t. iv. p. 347. Black sheep are also found in Roussillon and in Brittany. Arthur Young, *Agricultural Tour in France*, vol. i. p. 415, 416. The bulls of Camargue are not unfrequently black.

† Young, vol. i. p. 422, says, "There is in Provence as regular an emigration of sheep as in Spain: the march is across the province, from the Crau to the mountains of Gap and of Barcelonnette, and regulated by any other winter laws than some decrees of the parliament to limit the number to five horns of breadth: if they do any damage beyond that, it is paid for." The Barcelonnette mountains are the best; they are covered with the turf *gazonnets* exported to M. de la Harpe. *Hist. Nat. de la Provence*, 1782, p. 263, 264, 229.—asserts that there number is a million, and that they travel in flocks of 10,000 to 40,000, and are twenty to thirty days on the journey.—"The sheep leave the south 10

race, carrying their all with them, with the stars as the sole companions of their eternal solitude, half astronomers, half astrologers, bring the life of Asia, the life of Lot and of Abraham, into the heart of our western world. But, in France, the husbandmen fear their passage, and confine them to narrow routes.\* It is in the Apennines, in the plains of Apulia, and in the Campagna of Rome, that they roam with all the freedom of the ancient world; while in Spain they are kings and lay waste the whole country with impunity. Protected by the all-powerful company of the *Mesta*, which employs from forty to sixty thousand shepherds,† the triumphant merinos devour the country from Estramadura to Navarre and Arragon. The Spanish shepherd, wilder than ours, wrapped up in his sheepskin, and with his *abarcas* of rough cowhide fastened on his feet and legs with string, resembles one of his own shaggy flock.‡

At last we see the formidable barrier of Spain in all its grandeur. It is not, like the Alps, a complicated system of peaks and valleys, but one immense wall, lowered at either end.§ Every other passage is inaccessible to carriages, and even to mules and man himself, for six or eight months of the year. Two distinct people who, in reality, are neither Spanish nor French—the Basques on the west, and on the east the Catalans and people of Roussillon||—are the porters of the two worlds. The portals are theirs, to open and to shut. Irritable and capricious, and tired of the constant passage of the nations, they open to Abder-Rahman, and shut to Roland. Many are the graves between Roncesvalles and the Sea of Urgel.

It is not the historian's province to describe and explain the Pyrenees. We must look to

the science of Cuvier and of Elie de Beaumont, for the narrative of this ante-historic history. They were present—not I—when nature suddenly produced her amazing geologic epopee, when the burning mass of the globe elevated the axis of the Pyrenees, when the mountains were split asunder, and the earth, in the tortures of Titanic travail, reared against the sky the black and bald *Maladetta*. However, a consoling hand gradually covered the wounds of the mountain with those green meadows, that eclipse the Alpine.\* The peaks levelled and rounded themselves into beautiful towers, while smaller masses were put forth to break the abruptness of the declivities, to take off from their steepness, and to form, on the French side, that colossal staircase, each step of which is a mountain.†

Let us then scale, not the Vignemale, nor the Mont-Perdu,‡ but only the *por* of Pailhès, the water-shed of the two seas; or else, let us ascend between Bagnères and Barèges, between the beautiful and the sublime.§ Here you will comprehend the fantastic beauty of the Pyrenees—their strange, incompatible sites, brought together as by some freak of fairy hands, their magic atmosphere, which alternately brings every object close to you, and removes it to a distance;¶ and these foaming *gares* of soft green hue, and their emerald meadows. To this scene of loveliness succeeds the wild horror of the loftier mountains, concealing themselves behind it, like a monster behind a mask.

\* Ramond, Voyage au Mont Perdu, p. 54. . . . "these greenwards of the loftier mountains, compared with which there is something crude and false even in the verdure of the lower valleys."—Laboulmière, t. i. p. 225. "The waters of the Pyrenees are pure, and of a beautiful *calere* green, *vert d'eau*."—Driest, p. 205. "When the streams from the Pyrenees overflow, they do not deposit an injurious muddy sediment like those of the Alps; on the contrary."—Driest, t. i. p. 3.—Ramond, "In the south, the descent is precipitous and sudden—the precipice sinking from a thousand to eleven hundred metres, and its base being the summit of the highest mountains in this part of Spain, which, however, soon degenerate into low rounded hills beyond which appears the wide perspective of the Aragonese plains. On the north, the primitive mountains are closely packed together, so as to form a belt more than four myriamètres thick . . . this belt consists of seven or eight rows, which gradually decrease in height." This description, which has been contradicted by M. Laboulmière, is confirmed by M. Elie de Beaumont. "The granitic axis of the Pyrenees is on the French side."

† The great poet of the Pyrenees, M. Ramond, searched for Mont Perdu for ten years. "Some," he says, "asserted that the boldest hunter in the country had only reached its top by the aid of the devil, who led him up to it by seven or eight steps."—p. 28. "Mont Perdu is the loftiest of the French Pyrenees, Vignemale of the Spanish."—Ibid. p. 201.

‡ It was between these two valleys, on the plateau called the *Marquette de Long Tuez*, that the aged astronomer Planché breathed his last, with his quadrant by his side, exclaiming: "Great God! how beautiful this is!"

§ Ramond, p. 169. "Scarcely do you plant your foot on the cornice than the decorations change, and the more not the terrace cuts off all communication between two inhabitable sites. From this line, which you cannot touch without leaving one of the other, and which you cannot cross without entirely losing sight of one of them, it seems impossible that they should both be real, and were they not brought in juxtaposition by the chain of Mont Perdu, which sweeps away with the contrast, one would be tempted to consider either the view you take, or that you gain, a vision."

¶ Laboulmière, t. ii. p. 12.

vennes and the plains of Languedoc about the end of Floréal. April, and reach the mountains of Lézère and Marzende, where they stay the whole summer, returning to Lower Languedoc by the time the frost sets in." *Statistique de la Lézère*, par M. Jéphanion, préfet du département, an X, p. 31.—The flocks are brought from the Pyrenees to winter as far as the *landes* of Bordeaux. *La boutine* tract, p. 245.

\* Five flocks in breadth. See the preceding note.  
† A *Mesta* of Spain, by an American, 1832. In the sixteenth century the troops of the *Mesta* amounted to about seven million head of sheep. They fell to two millions and a half at the beginning of the seventeenth, increased to about four millions at its close, and now number nearly five million head, about half the cattle in Spain.—The shepherds are more cruel than the bandits, and they unscrupulously abuse the right of dragging any citizen before the tribunal of the association, whose decrees are always in their favor. The *Mesta* employs *alcaldes*, *entradores*, and *regeneros*, who harass and oppress the farmers in the name of the association.

‡ Description des Pyrénées, par Driest, Conservateur des arts et métiers, 1813, t. i. p. 242.

§ The Basque word, *marraz*, signifies both wall and Pyrenees. W. de Humboldt, *Recherches sur la Langue des Basques*.

|| Arthur Young, vol. i. p. 29. — Roussillon is, in fact, a part of Spain. The inhabitants are Spaniards in language and in customs. The towns must be excepted, which are for the most part filled with foreigners. The fishermen on the coast have a Moscovite cast of countenance.—"The central district of the Pyrenees is the country of Four Arrière—a quite French, both in disposition and language, few or no Catalan words are preserved."

portraying a lovely maiden. Nevertheless, we must persist, and boldly penetrate the gape of Pau by yon gloomy pass, threading those heaps of massy blocks, three or four thousand cubic feet in contents, then by the sharp rocks, everlasting snows, and windings of the gape, buffeted from one rock to another, till we reach the prodigious Circus with its towers soaring to the sky. At its foot rise twelve springs to feed the gape, which groans under *bridges of snow*, and yet falls thirteen hundred feet—the loftiest waterfall of the ancient world.\*

Here France ends. The *por* of Gavarnie, which you see above you, that tempestuous pass, where, as they say, the son waits not for his father,† is the gate of Spain. This boundary of the two worlds is one wide field of historic poetry. Hence may be decried, could vision reach so far, Toulouse on the one hand, on the other, Saragossa. This mountain embrasure, three hundred feet in length, was opened by Roland, with two strokes of his good sword Durandal,‡ and is the symbol of that enduring strife between France and Spain, which is, indeed, no other than the struggle between Europe and Africa. Roland perished, but France conquered. Compare the two sides of the mountain range: how superior is ours! The Spanish slope, facing the south, is abrupt, wild, and arid. The French trends away with a gentle fall, is better clothed with wood, and rejoices in beautiful meadows, which supply Spain with cattle. Barcelona, rich in vineyards and pastures, is obliged to buy our flocks and our wines, and lives on our oxen. On the one side of the range are a fine sky, a lovely climate, and want, on the other, fogs and rain, but intelligence, wealth, and freedom. Pass the frontier, contrast our splendid highways and their rugged paths.¶ or simply look

at those strangers who have come to drink the waters of Cauterets, covering their rage with the dignity of the cloak; sombre, and scorning all comparison with others. Great and heroic nation, fear not our insulting your misery!

To see all the races and costumes of the Pyrenees, you must go to the fairs of Tarbes, which are frequented by nearly ten thousand persons, and whither the whole country flocks for twenty leagues round. Here you often see, at one and the same time, the white cap of Bigorre, the brown one of Foix, the red one of Roussillon, and, sometimes, the large flat hat of Arragon, the round hat of Navarre, and the peaked cap of Biscay.\* Hither comes the Basque voiturier, with his long wagon drawn by three horses, wearing the Bearnese *berret*;† but you will easily tell the Bearnese from the Basque—the sprightly, handsome little man of the plain, ready of tongue, and of hand as well—from the son of the mountain, with his rapid stride and huge limbs, a skilful farmer, and proud of the family whose name he bears.‡ To

France: the contrast is striking. When one crosses the sea from Dover to Calais, the preparation and circumstance of a naval passage lead the mind by some gradation to a change, but here, without going through a town, a barrier, or even a wall, you enter a new world. From the natural and miserable roads of Catalonia, you tread at once on a noble causeway, made with all the alacrity and magnificence that distinguishes the highways of France. Instead of beds of torrents, you have well built bridges; and from a country, wild, desert, and poor, we found ourselves in the midst of cultivation and improvement."

"Every other circumstance," adds Young, "spoke the same language, and told us by signs not to be mistaken, that some great and operating cause worked an effect too clear to be misunderstood. The more one sees, the more I believe we shall be led to think that there is but one all-powerful cause that instigates mankind, and that is government! Others form exceptions, and give shades of difference and distinction, but this acts with permanent and universal force. The present instance is remarkable; for Roussillon is in fact a part of Spain, the inhabitants are Spaniards in language and in customs—but they are under a French government." Further on he remarks—"The traffic of the way demands no such exertions, one third of the breadth is beaten, one third rough, and one third covered with weeds." Again—"Women without shawls and with out shoes—but if their feet are purely clad, they have a superb comeliness in walking upon magnificent causeways. The roads of Languedoc are splendid and superb, and if I could free my mind of the recollection of the unjust taxation which pays for them, I should travel with admiration." The truth is these splendid roads were made by *corvées*, or the forced labor of the farmers and peasants, or else by an assessment which taxed lands held by noble tenure of the burden and threw it on their held by a plebeian right.—TRANSLATION.

"Id. ibid. p. 22. "Meet Highlanders, who put me in mind of those of Scotland, saw them first at Montauban, they have round flat caps and loose breeches. 'Pipers, blue bonnets and catmets' are found," says Sir James Stuart, in Catalonia, Auvergne, and Basques, as well as in Larches. "It never independently of the difference of race and habits, there is another essential difference between the mountaineers of Scotland and those of the Pyrenees, viz. that the latter are richer, and in some respects more polished than the former by which they are surrounded.

Which in my berret cap I'll wear,  
Perhaps in jeopardy of war,  
When gayer crests may dance afar."

Lady of the Lake—TRANSLATION.

"Havre de Bidassoa, Cantabrie et Basques, 1845, Rev. "The Basques, who, together with their pastures, have preserved the means of improving their land, and who can feed twice in large numbers in their oak forests, live in

\* It is one thousand two hundred and seventy feet French high. For a full description, see Drakel, L. I. p. 106-107.

† Drakel, L. I. p. 217.

‡ Mollin's *Ap. Drakel*—Laboulinière, L. I. p. 123, &c.

§ The Elbe flows eastward to Barcelona, the Garonne westward to Toulouse and Bordeaux, while the canal of Charles V. answers to that of Louis XIV., these are the only points of similarity.

¶ Drakel, L. I. p. 197. "Spain, being exposed to a constant invasion has few pastures rich enough to sustain the cattle upon, and no asses and mules are satisfied with poorer food than horses and oxen, the Spaniards use them both for tillage and carrying. Our border departments and the ancient province of Pictou import these animals into Spain in large numbers. We also supply the northern provinces of Spain and particularly Catalonia and Roussillon with cattle for the chambers. The city of Barcelona alone contracts with French salesmen for a daily supply of five hundred sheep, two hundred lambs, thirty oxen and fifty piglets, goats besides taking yearly more than six thousand oxen, which leave our southern departments every autumn. For these importations we receive yearly by post twelve millions eight hundred thousand francs from Roussillon, and our imports into the other towns of Catalonia receive the same. Catalonia pays in pasture quadruples on each head and each." Hence Drakel wrote 1812 can certainly be changed must have taken place.

¶ Arthur Young, vol. i. p. 29. "Leave Jacques come to a most noble road which the King of Spain is making at Urges at the point that mark the boundaries of the two countries here joining with the French road. It is admirably executed. Here take leave of Spain, and re-enter



find men like the Basque, you must search among the Celts of Brittany,\* of Scotland, or of Ireland. The Basque, eldest of the Celtic races, immovably fixed in the corner of the Pyrenees, has seen all the nations pass in review before him—Carthaginians, Celts, Romans, Goths, and Saracens. He regards with pity our recent genealogies. A Montmorency said to one of them: "Do you know that we date a thousand years back?" "We," was the rejoinder, "have left off dating."†

The Basques were momentary masters of Aquitaine, to which they have bequeathed in memorial of them the name of Gascony. Driven back to Spanish ground in the ninth century, they founded there the kingdom of Navarre, and in two centuries occupied all the Christian thrones of Spain—Gallicia, the Asturias and Leon, Arragon and Castile. But the Spanish crusade bearing southward, the Navarrese, cut off from the theatre of European glory, gradually lost every thing. Their last king, Sancho, the *Shut-up*, who died of a cancer, is the true symbol of the destiny of his people. Shut-up, in point of fact, in its mountains, by powerful nations, and eaten into, if I may so express myself, by the progress of Spain and of France, Navarre even implored the aid of the muselmans of Africa, and, at last, sought refuge in the arms of France. Sancho gave the death-blow to his kingdom by bequeathing it to his son-in-law, Thibault, count of Champagne—a Roland, breaking his Durandal to save it from the enemy. The house of Barcelona, the root of the kings of Arragon and of the counts of Foix, seized upon Navarre, and consigned it, but for a moment, to the Albrets, the Bourbons,

plenty and abundance; while throughout the greater part of the Pyrenees," &c.—Laboulzière, t. iii. p. 416—

"Bearnas  
Faus et courtes.  
Bigorras  
Pir que can—

(The Bearnese is false and courteous, the Bigorras worse than a dog;) so runs the proverb. The Bigorras has the advantage as regards frankness and plain uprightness."—"There are very few points of resemblance between these two races. The Bearnese, forced by the snows to descend with his flocks into the plain, polishes them, and loses his natural rudeness. Turning crafty, dissembling, but inquietude withal, he nevertheless preserves his haughtiness and love of independence. . . . the Bearnese is variable and vindictive, as well as keen-witted; but, through fear of disgrace, and of the pecuniary damage, has recourse to law for his revenge. It is the same with the other people of the Pyrenees, from Bearn to the Mediterranean; all are more or less litigious, and nowhere do lawyers more abound than in Bigorre, Comminges, Couserans, in the county of Foix, and in Roussillon—all lying along this mountain chain." Drialet, t. i. p. 170.

\* (Arthur Young, vol. i. p. 83. "Fair-day at Landevolier, which gave me an opportunity of seeing numbers of Bas Bretons collected, as well as their cattle. The men dress in great trousers like breeches, many with naked legs, and most with wooden shoes, strong-marked features like the Welsh, with countenances a mixture of half-enraged, half-laziness; their persons stout, broad, and square. The women furrowed without age by labor, to the utter extinction of all softness of sex. The eye discovers them at first glance to be a people absolutely distinct from the French. Wonderful that they should be found so, with distinct language, manners, dress, &c., after having been settled here 1200 years.")—TRANSLATOR.

† *Revue de Béarn*.

who lost it in order to gain France. However, through a grandson of Louis XIV., a descendant of Henri Quatre, the Basque race has recovered not alone Navarre, but the whole of Spain; and thus was verified the mysterious inscription on the castle of Cearnze, where Henry IV. was brought up—*Le que a de ser no puede fallar*, (that which must be, cannot fail to be).\* Our kings have styled themselves kings of France and Navarre—a title happily significant of the origin of the French people as well as of that of their sovereigns.

The old and the pure races, the Celts and the Basques, Brittany and Navarre, had to yield to the mixed races—the frontiers had to give way to the centre, nature to civilization. The Pyrenees present in every direction the image of this decay of the ancient world. The remains of antiquity have disappeared, those of the middle ages are crumbling away. Those mouldering castles, those towers of the Moors, those bones of Templars which are preserved at Gavarnie,† image most significantly an expiring world. Singular to say, the existence of the very mountain seems at stake. Its bare summits attest its unsoundness.‡ Not in vain has it been battered by so many storms—whose wild work has been aided by the havoc of man at its base. Daily does he lay bare that thick girdle of forests which covered the nakedness of his mother earth. The soil, retained by the grasses on the slopes and ledges, being washed away by the rains, the rock is left bare; and splintered and exfoliated by heat and frost, and undermined by the melting away of the snows, is carried away by avalanches. Instead of rich pasture, there remains a dry and ruined soil. The laborer, who has expelled the shepherd, gains nothing by his usurpation. The waters which gently trickled down the valley across the turf and the forests, now rush down in torrents, and cover his fields with ruins of his own making.§ Numerous hamlets in the upper valleys have been deserted for want of firewood; and their inhabitants have fallen back on France in consequence of their own devastations.]

As early as 1763, the alarm was raised, and a law was passed that each inhabitant should plant yearly one tree in the royal forests, and two in the lands of his commune. Foresters

\* Laboulzière, t. i. p. 326.

† Drialet.

‡ Laboulzière, t. i. p. 328.—Several species of animals have disappeared from the Pyrenees. Drialet, t. i. p. 31. The wild cat is rarely met with there; and, according to Buffon, the stag disappeared two centuries since.

§ Drialet, t. i. p. 197; t. ii. p. 328. Drialet wrote in 1823.

¶ Id. t. ii. p. 165. The inhabitants went even into Spain to pilfer wood.—Cutting but a branch in the large forest overhanging Cautelets, and which protects it from the snows, subjects the offender to a heavy fine.—(Moderns) Strabon had said long since, (lib. ii.)—"Pyrenees comes from the Greek *pur*, (fire), because, in former times, the woods were used by the shepherds."—"There is no forest but what has been, on various occasions, by the inhabitants, in order to convert the woodland into arable or pasture." *Procede-verbal* du 8 Mai, 1670.

also were appointed. In 1679, in 1756, and later still, new regulations attested the alarm occasioned by the progress of the evil. But at the Revolution every barrier was thrown down; and the impoverished people unanimously began the work of destruction. Fire and spade in hand, they scaled even to the eagles' nests; and, let down by ropes, cultivated the depths of the abyss. Trees were sacrificed to the slightest want, and two firs would be cut down to make one pair of sabots.\* At the same time, the smaller cattle increasing in large numbers, infested the woods, injuring trees, shrubs, and the tender shoots, and devouring the hope of the future. The goat especially—of all animals the property of him who has nothing—an adventurous creature that lives on the domain common to all, a levelling quadruped, was the instrument of this revolutionary invasion, and the *Terror* of the desert. His war against these nibbling animals was not the least of Bonaparte's labors, and in 1813 the goats were not a tenth of the number they had been in the year X.† but he could not entirely put a stop to their war on nature.

The whole of this South, beautiful as it is, is, nevertheless, a country of ruins, compared with the north. Let us haste through the fantastic landscapes of St. Bertrand de Comminges and of Foix—towns which one might suppose to have been tossed down at random by fairy hands—and through our little Spanish France, Roussillon, with its green meadows, black sheep, and Catalan romanzas, so sweet together in the evening from the lips of the maidens of the country;—and, descending into stony Languedoc, pursue its hills, but faintly shaded by the olive, to the monotonous notes of the cicada. Here are no navigable rivers, and the canal which unites the two seas‡ has not sufficed to supply the want, but salt ponds, and salt marshes as well, where the *salicornia* grows,§ abound, while its countless hot springs of bitumen and asphalt make it another Judea.¶ The rabbis of the Jewish schools of Narbonne might have fancied themselves in their own land—even the Asiat's leprosy was not wanting to complete the illusion: recent cases of this disease have occurred at Carcassonne.\*\*

The cause is to be found in the fact that, notwithstanding the western *Cors*, to which Augustus reared an altar, the hot and leaden wind of Africa weighs heavily on the country. Sure

legs won't heal at Narbonne.\* Most of the sombre towns of this region have sites of surpassing loveliness, while around them are unhealthy plains—for instance, Albi, Lodeve, Agde the *black*,† seated close to its crater, and Montpellier, the heiress of the ancient Maguelone, whose ruins are by its side—Montpellier, which looks at will on the Pyrenees, the Cevennes, and the Alps themselves, has close to her and under her an unhealthy soil, covered with flowers, all aromatic, all highly medicinal; a city of medicine, perfume, and verdigris.‡

An aged land is this Languedoc. You meet here ruins upon ruins—the Camisards upon the Albigenes, the Saracens upon the Goths, under these the Romans, then the Iberians. The walls of Narbonne are built with tombs, statues, and inscriptions.§ The amphitheatre of Nîmes is pierced with Gothic embrasures, crowned with Saracen battlements, blackened by the fires of Charles Martel. But it is the oldest who have left the most—the Romans have dug the deepest furrow; witness their *maison quarree*, their triple bridge over the Gard, their vast canal which the largest vessels could navigate.¶

The Roman law is another ruin; as imposing, though in a different fashion. To it, and to the old franchises arising out of it, Languedoc was indebted for the exception she offered to the feudal maxims—no land without its lord.¶ Here, the presumption was always in favor of liberty. Feudalism could only gain a footing under cover of the crusades—as an auxiliary of the Church, as a *familiar* of the Inquisition. Simon de Montfort founded here four hundred and thirty-four fiefs.\*\* But this feudal colony,

\* Id. p. 347. According to the same author, it is the same with sores in the head at Bordesaux.—The Cors and the Auran prevail by turns in Languedoc. The *Cors* (leprosy), the Welsh for impurity, is the west wind—violent, but healthy. See *Quæst. Natur.* l. iii. c. 11. The *Cors* infects Gaul, and though it shakes down buildings, the natives return thanksgiving to it, since they owe to it the healthiness of their climate. While the divine Augustus was in Gaul, he vowed and built a temple to it.—The Auran is the southeast or African wind, heavy and stagnating.

† The proverb says—"Agde, the black, the rabbi's den." It is built of lava. Lodeve is likewise black. Millin, l. iv. p. 361.

‡ Millin, l. iv. p. 323. Montpellier is celebrated for its distilleries and manufacture of perfumes. The discovery of brandy is ascribed to Arnold de Villeneuve, who founded the perfume manufactories of this town. p. 364.—Formerly, Montpellier had the monopoly of verdigris, its cellars being supposed to be extensively fitted for it.

§ Millin, l. iv. p. 320. The walls of Narbonne were repaired in France by the First Louis, and were covered with fragments of ancient monuments. The engineers who directed the repairs had the inscriptions let into the walls, and the remains of bas-reliefs placed over the gates and arches, so that the walls are an immense museum of limbs, heads, hands, trunks, weapons, and armor, flung there at random, and in unobtrusive confusion. Next to a million of inscriptions are there almost entire, but which, from the width of the lines, can only be deciphered with the aid of a glass. On the walls of Arles are numerous remains of sculpture, the most bringing in an ancient theatre. Thierry, *Leçons sur l'Histoire de France*, p. 320.

¶ Thierry, p. 271. The canal was a hundred paces wide, two thousand long, and thirty deep.

\* *Carmen*, *Triste du France alcu en Languedoc*.

\*\* I have been assured that in 1716 many families of the emigrants were massed with their descent from Simon de

\* *Deslet*, l. iii. p. 24.

† *Id.* p. 341.

‡ M. Bérard, professor of History in the College Louis, is preparing for publication a collection of his own notices of Roussillon and Catalonia. M. Fauch, like us, has in hand a great work on the antiquities of the latter country. The literature suggested of the South began by the *Revue de Roussillon* in 1836, and is thus going on.

§ *Id.* *Revue de Roussillon*, notice of this great monument of the 12th and 13th centuries.

¶ *Id.* *Revue de Roussillon*, notice of this great monument of the 12th and 13th centuries.

\*\* *Id.* *Revue de Roussillon*, notice of this great monument of the 12th and 13th centuries.

\*\* *Id.* *Revue de Roussillon*, notice of this great monument of the 12th and 13th centuries.

governed by the custom of Paris, only served to prepare the republican spirit of the province for monarchical centralization. A land of political liberty and of religious servitude, more fanatical than devout, Languedoc has always cherished a vigorous spirit of opposition. The Catholics even had their Protestantism here, under the form of Jansenism. To this day, at Alet, they rake the tomb of Pavillon, in order to drink the ashes that are a charm for fever.\* Since the days of Vigilantius and of Felix of Urgel, the Pyrenees have never been without heretics. The most obstinate of skeptics, and most undoubting believer in doubt—Bayle, was a native of Carlat. The Cheniers†—those rival brothers, whose rivalry did not, however, as is commonly supposed, lead to fratricide—were from Limoux. Need I name in the list the player of Carcassonne, the sanguinary *bel-esprit*, Fabre d'Églantine? At least, one cannot deny the attributes of vivacity and energy to the Languedocians—a murderous energy, a tragic vivacity. Placed at the angle of the South—which it seems to bind and unite—Languedoc has frequently suffered from the struggles between jarring races and religions. Elsewhere I shall have to speak of the frightful catastrophe of the thirteenth century; but, even at this day, a traditional hatred exists between the inhabitants of Nîmes, and those of the mountain of Nîmes, which, it is true, has now but little to do with religion, and may be likened to the feuds of the Guelphs and Ghibelines. Poverty-stricken and rude as the Cévennes are, it is not surprising that at the point where they come in contact with the rich region of the plain, the shock should be one of violence and of envious fury. The history of Nîmes is but that of a battle of raging bulls.

The strong and hard genius of Languedoc has not been sufficiently distinguished from the quick-witted levity of Guyenne, and the hot-headed petulance of Provence; yet is there the same difference between Languedoc and Guyenne, as between the men of the Mountain and the Girondists, between Fabre and Barnave, between the smoky wine of Lunel and claret. Belief is strong and intolerant in Languedoc, often, indeed, to atrocity—so is disbelief. Guyenne, on the contrary, the country of Montaigne and of Montesquieu, has floated betwixt belief and doubt; Fénelon, the most religious of its celebrated men, was almost a heretic. Things grow worse as we advance towards Gascony—the land of poor devils, exceedingly noble, and exceedingly beggarly; joyous and reckless rugges, not a man of whom but would

have said, like their Henri IV.—“Paris is well worth a mass,” (*Paris vaut bien une messe*.) or, as he wrote to Gabrielle, just before he abjured his faith—“I am going to take the desperate leap,” (*Je vais faire le saut périlleux*.)” Such men risk all to succeed, and do succeed. The Armagnacs allied themselves with the Valois—the Albrets, blending with the Bourbons, at last gave kings to France.

In some respects, the genius of Provence is more analogous with the Gascon than with the Languedocian; and it is by no means uncommon for the people of the same zone to be similarly alternated—for instance, Austria, which is further from Suabia than from Bavaria, is more akin to it in feeling and character. The provinces of Languedoc and of Provence, both of which lie along the Rhône, and are similarly intersected by corresponding rivers and torrents, (as the Gard, which answers to the Durance, and the Var to the Hérault,) form of themselves the whole of our Mediterranean coast; which has in both its ponds, its marshes, and its extinct volcanoes. But Languedoc is a complete system—a ridge of mountains or hills with their two falls; whence flow the rivers of Guyenne and Auvergne. Provence rests upon the Alps—but neither the Alps, nor the sources of her great rivers are here. She is only a prolongation, or fall of the mountain range towards the Rhône and the sea, at the base of which fall, stooping towards the coast, are her beautiful cities—Marseille, Arles, and Avignon. All the life of Provence is on the coast. The cities of Languedoc, on the contrary, from the less favorable nature of the coast, lie behind the sea and the Rhône. Narbonne, Aigues-Mortes, and Cette, have no ambition to be ports.‡ Thus the history of Languedoc is more continental than maritime; and the great events with which it deals are the struggles of religious liberty. In proportion as Languedoc retreats from the sea, Provence meets it, and throws into its bosom Marseille and Toulon—seeming to spring forward towards maritime adventures, crusades, and the conquest of Italy and Africa.

Provence has both visited and sheltered all nations. All have sung the songs and danced the dances of Avignon, and of Beauneville; all have stopped at the passes over the Rhône, and the great crossways of the high roads of the south.† The saints of Provence (true

Montfort's companions.—See further on the history of the crusade against the Albigenses.

This chapter completes the picture of Languedoc, as the first chapter of the first book began that of Gascony, by describing the Iberians, the ancestors of the Basques.

\* *Trouv.* p. 358.—See Appendix.

† The two Cheniers were born at Constantinope, where their father was consul-general; but their family belonged to Limoux, and their ancestors had long been importers of the mines of Languedoc and Roussillon.

\* A Gascon proverb says—“Every good Gascon may contradict himself thrice, (*Tout bon Gascon peut se dédire trois fois*.)” In many of the southern districts it is thought shameful not to go to mass, but proud to attend confession. The truth of this has been witnessed to me, especially as regards the department of Gers.

‡ Three unsuccessful attempts of the Romans, of St. Louis, and of Louis XIV.

† The bridge of Avignon, so noted in song, replaced the wooden bridge of Arles, which in its time had been—on Avignon and Beauneville afterwards were—the sanctuaries of the nation. Arles, according to Ausonius, was the *hinc Gallie Romæ*—

“Gallie Romæ Arles, quæ hinc Rhodanus, ob quam Ausonii Alpibus optinebat Vercen castris.”

saints whom I honor) built bridges\* for them, and began to fraternize the West. The sprightly and lovely girls of Arles and of Avignon—in continuation of their good work—have taken by the hand the Greek, the Spaniard, and the Italian—and have led off the farandola† with them, whether they would or not. Nor have these strangers wished to re-embark. They have built in Provence, Greek, Moreaco, and Italian towns, and have preferred the feverish countenances of Fréjus‡ to those of Ionia, or of Tusculum, have wrestled with torrents, turned the shelves of the hills into cultivated terraces, and extorted grapes from the stony ridges which yielded only thyme and lavender.

Poetic as Provence is, it is, nevertheless, a rude country. Not to mention its Pontine marshes,§ its vale of Oloul, and the tiger-like vivacity of the Toulon peasant—that everlasting wind which buries in sand the trees of the sea-shore, and drives vessels on the coast, is not less fatal on land‡ than on sea. Its abrupt

Præcipua Rhodani sic interrem fluentis,  
Ut mediis facias navali ponte plateis,  
Per quem Romanæ commercia suscepit orbis."

ANON. *Ordo nobil. urbium*, vii.

(Arles, a little Gallic Rome, near which are Narbonne, and Avigne wealthy with her Alpine colimate—so cut up by the floods of the rapid Rhône, that you may make it, by a bridge of boats, the highway for the commerce of the Roman world.)

\* The shepherd St. Honorat, was ordered in a dream to build the bridge of Avignon: but the Bishop would not credit the dream until he brought an enormous rock on his back to serve for the foundation stone. He founded the order of the *postre* hermits, who aided in building the bridge of the Holy Ghost and who began one over the *Bourne*. *Bolland. Acta* 1641 April Helot, *Hist. des Ordres Religieux* t. i. c. 42. Bourne, *Hist. de Provence*, t. i. p. 153. D. Valenot, *Hist. du Languedoc* t. i. l. xii. p. 46. The resemblance to the Roman and Etruscan *ponte* Arce is worth noting.

† One of the four kinds of farandola, specified by Fischer, is called the *Turkish*, another the *Moreaco*. These names and the resemblance of many of these dances to the *balero* warrant the supposition that they were introduced into France by the Saracens. *Müller*, t. i. p. 333.

‡ *Müller*, t. i. p. 467. With regard to the insalubrity of Arles, see the same author, t. i. p. 645. Papon, t. 20 gives the proverb, *Avigne ventosa, sine vento venosius, cum vento insalubris*. "Windy Avignon, venomous with out quays with a wind." In 1112, the bishops of Narbonne, Arles, and to Innocent III. that a provincial council having been convened to Avignon. Many of them were unable to attend from the violence of the weather, so that the business was necessarily postponed. *Epist. Innoc. III.* l. 14. B. 1. c. 122. There were leprosy at Martignes as late as 1711, and at Arles in 1807. Generally speaking, nature is as dangerous as common in Provence. *Müller*, t. i. p. 33.

§ The marshes cover four hundred thousand arpents. Pouchet, at Chan, says, *Histoire de la Bourne du Rhône*, see also *M. de V.* ensure a great statistical work by de la. The town of Arles is uninhabitable in summer on account of the marshes, you shake death with the perfume of the fruits and flowers. *Fréjus* is in the same predicament. *Statistique du Var* par Pouchet, who was prefect of the department, an. 1832, 391.

Arthur Young, vol. i. p. 229. "The spring is the worst season in the year, because the *vent de bise* the mistress of the Italians is terrible and sufficient in the mountains to blow a man off his horse; it is also dangerous to the health from the sun at the same time being both high and powerful." But in December, January, and February, the weather is truly charming with the breeze very fresh. "But at Arles the frost is felt in the Mid January. I saw there a man, for, as a matter of fact, upon that day he was driven four or five leagues from his pasture, a number of travellers, shepherds, sheep, and some in the *Urs* perished. Five shepherds were conducting eight hundred

and sudden gusts bear death\* on their wings. The Provençal is too brisk to wrap himself up in the Spanish cloak. And the powerful sun of the clime—that sun which makes the common festival of this country of festivals—darts painfully on the head, when, at one burst, it changes winter into summer. As it vivifies the tree it scorches it. The very frosts burn. But rains,† which convert brooks into rivers, are more frequent than frosts. The husbandman sees his field at the base of the hill on whose side it hung, or follows it floating on the flood, and adding itself to his neighbor's land. Nature is capricious, choleric, passionate, and charming.

The Rhône is the symbol of the country—its fetish, as the Nile is that of Egypt. The people cannot believe this river to be only a river; but sees wrath‡ in its violence, and recognises the convulsions of a monster in its devouring eddies. It is the *drag*, the *tarasque*, a kind of tortoise-dragon; whose effigy is vociferously paraded about on certain festivals,§ and is borne to the church dashing against all in its way. Except there be an arm broken, at the least, the festival is considered a failure.

The Rhône, furious as a bull maddening at the sight of red, dashes against its Delta, the Camargue, the island of bulls and of fine pastures. The *Ferrade* is the high festival of the island. The bullocks are driven with goads into the centre of a circle, formed of wagons

sheep to the butcheries at Marseilles, three of whom, and almost all the sheep, perished." —TRANSLATOR.

\* *Id.* ibid. p. 173. "It, the *vent de bise*, is more penetratingly drying than I had any conception of, other winds stop the cutaneous perspiration, but this, passing through the body, seems, by its sensation, to desiccate all the interior humidity." —TRANSLATOR.

† *Id.* ibid. p. 27. "At Pomponne, between Montauban and Toulouse I was witness to such a shower of rain as never fell in Britain, in that rich vale the corn, before the storm made a noble appearance, but imagination can hardly picture a more entire destruction than it poured over the whole, the finest wheat was not only beaten flat to the ground, but streams of liquid mud covered it in many places, in a manner that made all expectation of a recovery hopeless. These heavy and violent showers, which are of little consequence to travellers or to the residence of a gentleman, are disastrous to the farmer, and immense drawbacks to the mass of national products." —TRANSLATOR.

‡ Traces of the sanguinary worship of Mithra are visible all along the Rhône. Four dedicatory altars exist at Arles, Tain, Valence, and St. André. At Râle, Mont Saleon, buried by the formation of a lake, and laid open in 1804, a Mithraic group was discovered. A Mithraic altar, dedicated to Hadrian, was dug up at Fourvières, and there is one at Lyons, dedicated to Septimius Severus. *Müller*, *passim*.

§ On St. Martin's day the monster is led chained to the church by a young girl and is killed by having holy water thrown upon him. *Müller*, t. i. p. 433. A similar festival is I think observed in Spain. The hero is crowned the serpent, as the *drag* is the *dragon*—both threaten Gironde.

"Le serpent et le dragon  
Mettent à Gironde en saison."

A dragon called the *grasaille*, is promenade round Metz during Easter week and the bakers and pastry cooks place on its tower small houses and cakes. It represents a monster from which the city was delivered by its bishop, St. Clement. At Rouen it is a manakin of wicker work—the *garçonne*, that is carried about. Formerly they used to stuff such rag pups down its throat. St. Remain had delivered Rouen from this monster, which lurked in the Seine, as St. Marcel delivered Paris from the monster of the *Buave*, &c.

filled with spectators, in order to be marked—and as the animals are thrown down in turns by some active and vigorous youth, and held on the ground, the red-hot marking iron is presented to the chosen lady, who steps from the wagon, and imprints it on the hide of the foaming beast.\*

Such is the genius of lower Provence, violent, noisy, barbarous, but not ungraceful. Here are the indefatigable dancers of the Moresco, with bells at their knees,† and of the sword-dance, the *bacchuber*,‡ as it is called by their neighbors of Gap, and which is danced by parties of nine, eleven, or thirteen. At Riez, they yearly enact the *bravade* of the Saracens.§ The land of soldiers, of the *Agricolas*, Baux, and Crillon, the land of fearless sailors—this gulf of Lyons is a rough school. Witness the Bailli de Suffren, and that renegade who died, Capitan Pasha, in 1706;|| witness Paul the cabin-boy, (he was never known by any other name,) to whom a washerwoman gave birth at sea, who became admiral, and feasted Louis XIV. on board his ship. But not for all this did he forget his old comrades; and it was his wish to be buried with the poor, to whom he bequeathed all his property.

There is nothing surprising in finding this spirit of equality in this country of republics, in the midst of Greek cities and Roman municipalities. Even in the rural districts, bondage never pressed as heavily as in the rest of France. The peasants wrought their liberty for themselves, and were the conquerors of the Moors. They alone could till the steep hill-side, and confine the torrent within its bed. The intelligent hands of freemen alone could subdue such a land.

And in literature, and philosophy as well, Provence took a free and bold flight. The grand protest of the Breton Pelagians in behalf of liberty was hailed and supported in Provence by Faustus, by Cassian, and by the noble school of Lerins, the glory of the fifth century. When the Breton Descartes freed philosophy from theological influences, Gassendi, the Provençal, was attempting the same revolution in the name of sensualism; while, in the last century, Mappertius and Lamettrie, the atheists of St. Malo, were assembled with the Provençal atheist, D'Argens, at the court of Frederick.

Not without reason is the literature of the south in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries termed the Provençal, displaying, as it did, all the quick and graceful play of the Provençal genius. Provence is the land of fine speakers; copious, impassioned, at least in style, and, at

will, obstinate fashionists of language. It has given us Massillon, Maccaron, Fénelon, Maffei—orators and rhetoricians. But Provence, in its every phase, municipal, parliamentary, and noble, popular and rhetorical—the whole invested with the magnificence of southern insolence—was concentrated in Mirabeau; in whom were joined the mazy neck of the bull, and the impetuous strength of the Rhéne.

How is it that this country did not conquer and rule France? It conquered Italy in the thirteenth century. How is it now so dull: with the exception of Marseilles, that is, of the sea? Besides the unhealthy coasts, and expiring towns, like Fréjus,\* in every direction I see ruins only. I allude not to the beautiful remains of antiquity, to the Roman bridges and aqueducts, and the arches of St. Remy and of Orange, with numerous other monuments. In the mind of the people, and their tenacity to old customs,† which impart to them so original and antique a physiognomy—it is there I find ruins. They are a race who cast no serious look on the past, and yet preserve its traces.‡ Every nation having made their way through them, they ought, one would think, to have forgotten more: but no, they cling to their recol-

\* "This town daily becomes more deserted, and, in half a century, the neighboring communes have lost nine-tenths of their population." Fauchet, *op. cit.* p. 411.

† In its pretty Moresco dances, in the counterdances of its burlesque, in the keeping up of the *blake calandriers*, in eating *pois-chiches* at certain festivals, and in numerous other customs.

‡ The feast of the patron saint of each village is called *Ronde-Fête*, and, by corruption, *Rouge-fête*, because of its frequently coming on just as the leaf of the vine was journeying, or was about to journey to Rome. (7) Milesius, t. iii. p. 348.

At Christmas they burn the *calendriers* or *calendars*, a large log of oak, which they sprinkle with wine and oil. They used to cry out as they put it on the fire, *Calendrier, tout ben ven*, (Calendrier's come, all is well.) It was the office of the head of the family to set fire to the log: the fire was called *one fœst*, (the fœst's fire.) Milesius, t. iii. p. 338. —The same custom is met with in Dauphiny. They call Christmas-day *Chalandier*; and *chalandier*, the large log of wood which they put on the fire on Christmas-even, and which is left there till it is entirely burnt. Directly it is placed on the hearth, they pour a glass of wine upon it, making the sign of the cross, and this is what they call *better to chalandier*. From this moment the log is sacred, and cannot be cut upon without some punishment following the offence—the lick, at the least. Champollion-Figeac, p. 194.

(The Yule-log of merry England will suggest itself to the reader, and the days when

"A Christmas gambol oft would cheer  
The poor man's heart through half the year.")  
TRANSLATION.

The custom of eating *pois-chiches* (chick or dwarf-peas) on certain festivals, is found not only at Marseilles, but in Italy and in France, at Genoa and Montpelier. The people of the latter town believe that when Jesus Christ entered Jerusalem, he traversed a *assier*, (a field of dwarf-peas,) and that it is in memory of this the custom of eating *assier* (dwarf-peas) has been handed down.—The Athenians used also to eat them at the *Prospia*. Milesius, t. iii. p. 338.

‡ The procession of the good King René at Aix is a satire on this history, and the Bible. Milesius, t. ii. p. 299. The duke of Orleans (René's unfortunate general) and his duchess used to be paraded in it, mounted on asses. There was a soul, too, which two devils wrangled for; a cartoon of *Jesus*, or passing horses; King René, the queen of Sicily, the temple of Solomon, and, at the end of a stick, the staff of the wise men of the East, with figures of death, the abbé de Joinville covered with powder and mounds, &c., &c.

\* Milesius, t. iv. An ox and a little St. John the Baptist are led round Marseilles three days before Corpus Christi day. Nurses make their sucklings kiss the ox's muzzle to cure them in scorching. Pages, t. i.

† Milesius, t. iii. p. 338.

‡ *Id. ibid.*

§ Milesius, t. ii. p. 34. In the Pyrenees it is believed, mounted on his good horse Bayard, who delivers a sermon from the hand of Infatigable. Laboratoire, t. iii. p. 694.

|| Pages, t. i. p. 333.—See Appendix.

lections. In various respects, Provence, like Italy, belongs to antiquity.

Cross the melancholy mouths of the Rhône, blocked up with sand, and as marshy as those of the Nile and the Po. Ascend to Arles. This old metropolis of Christianity in the south, numbered a hundred thousand inhabitants in the time of the Romans; it has now but a fifth part of that number, and is rich only in the dead and in sepulchres.\* It was long the common tomb—the necropolis of Gaul; and to rest in its Elysian fields (the *Aliecampes*) was considered happiness. Those who dwelt on the banks of the river were, it is said, accustomed, even as late as the twelfth century, to place the bodies of their deceased friends, and a piece of money, in a cask covered with pitch, and to commit them to the stream to be borne to the sacred spot—where they were faithfully interred.† Nevertheless, the town has constantly declined. Lyons soon deprived it of the primacy of Gaul; the kingdom of Burgundy, of which it was the capital, has passed away quickly and obscurely; and its great families are extinct.

When, leaving the coast and the pastures of Arles, and ascending the hills of Avignon, one ascends the mountains continuous to the Alps, the ruin of Provence is accounted for. It is an eccentric country, with its great towns on its frontiers only, and these, too, chiefly foreign colonies. The truly Provençal part was the least powerful. The counts of Toulouse managed to make themselves masters of the Rhône, the Catalans seized the coast and the ports, to the Baux, the indigenes of Provence, who had formerly delivered the country from the Moors, there remained Forcalquier and Sisteron, that is, the interior. Thus the states of the south fell to pieces until the arrival of the French, who overthrew Toulouse, drove back the Catalans into Spain, united the Provençals, and led them on to the conquest of Naples. Here closed the destinies of Provence. She rejoined with Naples, under the same master. Rome lent her pope to Avignon, and dissoluteness and wealth abounded. Since the time of the Albigenses, religion had been on the decline in this region: it was annihilated by the presence of the pope. At the same time, the ancient municipal franchises of the south fell into neglect, and were forgotten. Roman liberty and the religion of Rome, republicanism and Christianity, expired at one and the same period. Avignon was the scene of this decrepitude. Believe it not then that

\* As where old Arles sees the stagnant flood,

Long sepulchres deform the sun's fair field.

Dante, *Inferno*, c. 12

Among other remarkable inscriptions found on the tombs of Arles, is one bearing the monogram of Christ, in a cross of oak, and carried in the air by an eagle—a beautiful symbol of Constantine's victory.—Charles IX. sent here for some sarcophagi of porphyry, which were lost in the Rhône, and have never been recovered. *Mémoires*, t. III. p. 264.

† La Laitiere, *Hist. d'Arles*, t. I. p. 266.

it was for Laura alone, Petrarch watered the springs of Vaucluse with his tears. Italy also was his Laura, and Provence, and the whole of that antique South which was daily expiring.\*

Provence, in its imperfect destiny and incomplete form, is to me as a troubadour's song, a sonnet of Petrarch's—there is in it more impulse than depth. The African vegetation of its coasts is soon checked by the icy wind of the Alps. The Rhône hastens to the sea, and reaches it not. Pasturage gives place to arid hills, poorly adorned with myrtle and lavender, perfumed and sterile.

The South seems to linger and bewail its fate in the melancholy of Vaucluse, and in the unspeakable and sublime sadness of Sainte-Baume, whose height surveys the Alps and the Cévennes, Languedoc and Provence, and, beyond these, the Mediterranean. And I, too, could weep like Petrarch, on quitting this lovely region.

#### DAUPHINY, FRANCHE-COMTE, &c.

But I must make my way to the north, through the firs of the Jura and the oaks of the Vosges and of the Ardennes, to the discolored plains of Berry and Champagne. The provinces that we have just traversed, isolated by their very originality, cannot make up the unity of France. More flexible and docile elements are required—men more amenable to discipline, and more capable of forming one compact body to shield northern France from great invasions by sea and land, from the Germans and the English. The serried populations of the centre, the Norman and Picard battalions, and the deep and many legions of Lorraine and Alsace are not more than sufficient for the end.

The Provençals call the men of Dauphiny, the *Francisques*. In fact, Dauphiny belongs to the true France, the France of the north. Despite its latitude, this province is northern. Here begins that zone of rude countries and energetic men which covers the eastern flank of France—first, Dauphiny, like a fortress to the windward of the Alps; then, the marsh of la Brenne; then back to back, Franche-Comté and Lorraine, cemented by the Vosges, which

\* I know not which is the most affecting, the poet's lamentation over the fate of Italy, or his grief at having lost Laura. I cannot refrain from quoting the admirable sonnet in which the poet's old poet at last confesses that he has only pursued a shadow—

"I feel, I breathe it once more, 'tis the air of past times. They are there, the sweet hills, where was born the beautiful light, which, as long as Heaven permitted, filled my eyes with joy and desire, and now smites them with tears."

"O fragile hope! O foolish thought! . . . the green is withered, and the waves are troubled. The nest which she occupied is cold and empty; that nest, where I should have wished to live and die."

"I had hoped to find some rest after so many fatigues, in sweetly tracking her, and to have been comforted by those lovely eyes, which have consumed my heart."

"True, ungrateful creature! I burst as long as the object of my love lasted, and I now wander, weeping over her ashes."

Sonnet CCLXXIX.

bestow the Moselle on the last—on the first, the Saône and the Doubs. A vigorous genius of resistance and opposition, is the characteristic of these provinces; giving rise to inconveniences, perhaps, within, but our safeguard against the foreigner. To science they have contributed men of a severe and analytic cast of mind—Mably, and his brother, Condillac, are from Grenoble; D'Alembert belongs to Dauphiny by the mother's side; Lalande, the astronomer, and Bichat, the great anatomist, are from Bourg-en-Bresse.\*

Reasoning and selfish as they are in other respects, war is the grand lever of the thoughts and feelings of these men of the frontier, commanding their whole moral being and elevating it into poetry. Speak of passing the Alps, or of crossing the Rhine, and you will find that Dauphiny has yet her Bayards, and Lorraine her Neys and Faberts. On this frontier line are heroic cities, whose families have been accustomed to lay down their lives for their country from generation to generation.† The women have hardly been less sparing of themselves than the men.‡ Throughout the whole of this zone, from Dauphiny to Ardennes, the women display an Amazonian grace and courage, which you would vainly seek for elsewhere. Cold, serious, elaborate in their dress,§ impressing both strangers and their own families with feelings of respect, they live in the midst of a race of soldiers, whom they know how to awe. Themselves widows and daughters of soldiers, they are familiar with war, and know what it is to die and to suffer; but, brave and resigned, they do not the less freely commit those dearest to them to its chances; at need, they would go themselves. It was not Lorraine alone which saved France by a woman's hand. In Dauphiny, Margot de Lay defended Martélimart, and Philis la Tour-du-Pin la Chazée barred the frontier against the duke of Savoy, (A. D. 1692.) The virile genius of

the women of Dauphiny has often exercised irresistible power over men; as, for instance, the famous Madame Tencin, D'Alembert's mother, and that washerwoman of Grenoble, who married husband after husband, until she at last married the king of Poland, and who forms the theme of the popular ballads, together with Melusina and the fairy of Sassenage.\*

There is a frank and lively simplicity, a mountaineer grace, in the manners of the people of Dauphiny, which charms one at first sight. As you ascend towards the Alps, you meet with all the honesty of the Savoyard,† the same kindness, but with less gentleness. Men, here, must love one another perforce—for nature, seemingly, loves them but little.‡ Life had need to be softened by the good hearts and good sense of the people, exposed as they are on bleak mountain ridges that front the north, or living in the depths of those gloomy shafts down which sweeps the accursed Alpine wind. Granaries are supported by the communes, to remedy the deficiencies of bad harvests. The widow's house will be built by her neighbors, and her wants attended to before they think of their own.§ These mountains send forth yearly a swarm not only of masons, water-carriers, wagoners, and chimney-sweepers, like the annual emigrations from the Limousin, Auvergne, Jura, and Savoy—but numbers of pedestrian teachers,|| who start each winter from the hills of Gap and Embrun. They proceed through Grenoble, to disperse themselves over the Lyonnais and the opposite side of the Rhône; and are welcome guests, teaching the children, and aiding in the labors of the farm. In the plains of Dauphiny, the peasant—less virtuous and modest than the mountaineer—often figures as a *bel esprit*, writing verses, and satirical verses, too.

Feudalism never pressed as heavily on Dauphiny as on the rest of France. The barons, ever at feud with Savoy,¶ were bound by inte-

\* The same critical spirit is observable in Franche-Comté—for instance, Guillaume de St. Amour, the opponent of the mysticism of the mendicant orders, the grammarian d'Olivet, &c. Did we wish to name some of the most distinguished of our contemporaries, we should mention MM. Charles Nodier, Jouffroy, and Drox. M. Cuvier was from Montbéliard, but the character of his genius was modified by a German education.

† Singular traces of the old litigious spirit of the Dauphines still remain in their provincial dialect. "The wealthier proprietors speak very tolerable French, but interlard it with ancient law-terms, which the bar dares not yet entirely disuse. Previously to the Revolution, after a youth had been a year or two in an attorney's office, occupied in making fair copies of subpoenas and judge's orders, his education was considered to be finished, and he returned to the plough." Champollion Figeac, *Patois du Dauphiné*, p. 67.

‡ Within a period of twenty years, five or six hundred officers and soldiers who had won the cross of the Legion of Honor, (*militaires décorés*), and almost all of whom died on the field of battle, came from the little town of Barre-loue alone, with a population of scarcely five thousand. I have mislaid my authority for this, but believe that I am correct as to the figures.

§ The rich and showy armor of the princesses of the house of Bourbon is preserved in the *Musée d'Artillerie*.

|| This is obvious to every eye in Franche-Comté, Lorraine, and the Ardennes.

\* See *Les Montagnardes*, by Barginet, of Grenoble. Whatever remarks this fervid writer may provoke, one cannot but read with interest his romances written in prose, and annotated by a schoolmaster of the province.—See also, *La Faye de Sassenage*, par J. Millet—containing the adventures of Claudine Mignot, called *la belle Lhamme*, wife of Amblerieux, treasurer of Dauphiny, of the marquis de l'Hôpital, and of Oksimir III. king of Poland.—Louise Serment, the philosopher of Grenoble, died in 1822, aged thirty.—See Appendix.

† This simplicity and these almost patriarchal manners, are largely owing to the preservation of ancient traditions. The old man is the object of respect and the centre of the family, and the same form is often in the hands of two or three generations at the same time.—The servants eat at the same table with their masters.—On the last of November (which is the *madeu* of Brittany) a table of eggs and baked corn is laid out for the dead—a plate to each of the family deceased. (Barginet, *Les Montagnardes*, vol. iii.) According to M. Champollion, the festival of the sun is still kept in one village.—The Celtic *braves* (wide trousers) are met with in Dauphiny as well as in Brittany.

‡ In spite of the poverty of the country, the good sense of the people preserves them from every hazardous enterprise.

§ When a widow or an orphan suffers any loss of cattle, &c., they club to make it up.

|| Out of four thousand four hundred emigrants, seven hundred were teachers. Fouchet, &c.

¶ These wars gave great éclat to the nobility of Dauphiny.

Even under its bishop, Metz was free, like Laige and Lyons; and had its *Echtern* and council of thirteen, as well as Strasburg. The three ecclesiastical cities, Metz, Toul, and Verdun, which form a triangle between the great Meuse and the Moselle, (the Moselle, *Mosula*), constituted a neuter ground—an island, an asylum for fugitive slaves. The very Jews, proscribed everywhere else, were sheltered in Metz. It was the French border, between us and the empire. On this side there was no natural barrier between France and Germany, as in Dauphiny and Franche-Comté. The beautiful balloon-shaped hills of the Vosges, and the chain of Alsace itself, were favorable to war by their gentle and peaceful undulations. Lorraine—that Austrasian soil, strewn

His river welcome in the soil, and landed by the farmer;  
to whom the Brigs are indebted for their city's bring-  
light-worth of empire. (1) river, with the city's slopes  
planted with vineyards wine. (2) river, whose grassy banks  
are of verdant green, hail, those Mucelle, great mother of  
corn and of men.) The city alluded to is Treves.



with monuments of the Carolingians,\* with its twelve great and illustrious houses, its hundred and twenty peers, and its sovereign abbey of Remiremont, where Charlemagne and his son held their great autumn hunts, and where the sword was borne before the abbeſs†—was the German empire in miniature. Here, Germany was everywhere confusedly mingled with France, and the whole country was frontier. Here, too, sprang up, in the valleys of the Meuse and the Moselle, and in the forests of the Vosges, a wandering and indeterminate race, themselves unconscious of their origin, living on the world at large, on noble and on priest, who alternately took them into their service. Metz was the city of these, and of all who had no other—a city of mixed races, if ever there were one. To reduce to one common system the contradictory customs of this Babel, ever proved an abortive effort.

The French tongue ceases in Lorraine, and I will not go beyond it. I refrain from crossing the mountain-chain, and gazing on Alsace. The German world is dangerous ground for me—for it has a lotos-tree, all-powerful to induce oblivion of one's native land. Were I once to look on thee, divine spire of Strasburg,—were I to desecry my heroic Rhine, I might be tempted to follow its current charmed by its legends,‡ and wander towards the red cathedral of Mentz, towards that of Cologne, and so

to the ocean; or perchance I should be stayed, enchanted on the solemn boundary of the two empires, by the ruins of some Roman camp, or of some church, once the cynosure of pilgrims—or else by the convent of that nobly-born nun, who passed three hundred years in listening to the birds of the forest.\*

No, I stop at the limit of the two tongues, in Lorraine, at the point of contact of the two races, at the *Chêne des Partisans*,† (the trying oak!) which is still shown in the Vosges. The struggle between France and the empire, between heroic stratagem and brutal strength, was early typified in that of the German Swinibald and the Frank Regnier, (Rainier, Renard?) the ancestor of the counts of Hainault. The war of the Wolf and the Fox is the great legend of northern France, the theme of *fabliaux*, and of the popular poems. The last of these‡ was written in the fifteenth century by a grocer of Troyes. For two hundred and fifty years, the dukes of Lorraine were Alsacian by descent, creatures of the emperors, and who, last century, became emperors themselves. They were almost always at war with the bishop and the republic of Metz,|| with Champagne, and with France, but, through the marriage of one of them in 1255, with a daughter of the count of Champagne's, becoming French on the mother's side, they lent a vigorous support to France against the English—against the English party in Flanders and Brittany. They fought for France, to death, or to captivity, at Courtray, Cassel, Crécy, and at Auray. A poor peasant girl, Joan of Arc, born on the frontiers of Lorraine and Champagne, did more—she awakened national consciousness; in her appeared, for the first time, the great image of the people, under a pure and original form. Through her, Lorraine was attached to France. The very duke, who had for a moment forgotten his king, and trailed the royal pennons at the tail of his horse, married his daughter, nevertheless, to a prince of the blood, to the count de Bar, René of Anjou. A younger branch of this family gave leaders to the Catholic party, in the person of the Guises, against the Calvinists, the allies of England and of Holland.

Descending by the Ardennes from Lorraine

\* The tomb of Louis the Débonnaire and the manuscript of the Annals of Metz (date, A. D. 894) used to be shown at Metz.—The bees, so often mentioned in the Capitularies, and which supplied Metz with its famous mead, used, before the Revolution, to be reared by the cures and hermits; they are now much neglected. In the last half century, the quantity of honey yearly collected has decreased by one-half. Pouchet et Chaulaire, *Statistique de la Meurthe*.

† Pigniol de la Force, xiii. The abbeſs exercised half the jurisdiction of the city, and, together with her chapter, nominated deputies to the states of Lorraine.—The female dean and sacristan had each four livings in her gift. The *souffier*, or stewardess, held joint jurisdiction with the abbeſs over *Valdijoux*, (*val-de-joux*), which consisted of nineteen villages—all the bees swarmed there were her right. The abbey had a grand provost, a grand and petty chancellor, a grand *souffier*, &c.—To be *dame de Remiremont*, it was necessary for the proposed abbeſs to prove her nobility, on both sides, for two hundred years back.—To be canoness, or *demeſelle*, at Epinal, the candidate had to prove herself noble for four descents, both by father and mother.

‡ In the seventh century lived a duke of Lorraine, who longed for a son. He had only a blind daughter, whom he ordered to be exposed to perish. Years after, he had a son, who brought back his daughter to the old duke, who, from his solitary life in the castle of Hohenbourg, had become stern and morose. At first he repulsed her, but at length yielding, he founded a convent for her, which was called after her, the convent of St. Odile. From the height on which it is situated you see Baden and Germany. Kings performed pilgrimages here from all quarters of the world—the emperors Charles IV., Richard Cœur-de-Lion, a king of Denmark, a king of Cyprus, a pope . . . here withdrew the widows of Charlemagne and of Charles the Fat.—At Winston, to the north of the Lower Rhine, the devil keeps watch over precious treasures concealed in a castle hewn out of the rock.—Between Haguenau and Wissembourg a fiery vision rises out of the *perchetbrannen*, (pitch-fountain,—"the black fountain, the spectre of an ancient lord who expiates his tyranny, &c.—The musical and child-like genius of Germany begins with its poetic legends. The minstrels of Alsace used to hold regular assemblies. The lord of Rapsolstein used to style himself *king of the violins*. The violinists of Alsace held of a superior: those of Upper Alsace were bound to present themselves at Rapsolstein,—those of Lower Alsace at Bischwiller.

\* A pendant to this beautiful legend, in which the earnest produced by harmony prolongs life for centuries, is the story of the woman who, in Louis the Débonnaire's reign, heard the organ for the first time, and died of ravishment. Thus, in the German legends, music gives life and death.

† In the arondissement of Neufchâtel; this tree is seven feet in diameter. Depping, t. ii.

‡ Guill. Britonis Philipp. l. x.

Qui (Lotharingi) cum simplicibus soleant sermonibus uti. Non tamen in factis ita delirare videtur.

(equivalent to—"Simple as their speech may be, their acts are not.") The writer alludes to Lothaire and the French.

§ See the notices of the manuscripts in the Bibliothèque Royale, at the end of the *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions*.

|| Marshal Fabert, Castines, and the bold and unfortunate Pilâtre des Roziers, who was the first to ascend in a balloon, were born at Metz. The Ancillons were driven from it by the edict of Nantes.

into the Low Countries, the Meuse changes its character from the agricultural and industrious to the warlike. Verdun, Stenay, Sedan, Mézières, Givet, Maestricht, and numerous fortified places, command its course, and are covered by it. The whole country is wooded, as if to mask it either in defence or attack from the approaches of Belgium. The great forest of Ardennes, the *deep*, (ar duinn,) stretching out on every side, is rather vast than imposing. You meet with villages, burghs, and pastures, and fancy yourself out of the forest—but they are only so many openings in it. The woods commence again, an humble and monotonous ocean of dwarfish oaks, whose uniform undulations you deary from time to time, from the summit of some hill. Formerly, the forest was much more continuous. The hunters could range, without ever losing the shade, from Germany, from Luxemburg to Picardy, and from St. Hubert to Notre-Dame de Liesse.

From the mysteries of the Druids down to the wars of the wild boar of Ardennes, in the fifteenth century, and from the miraculous stag whose apparition converted St. Hubert, down to the fair Iselt and her lover—whom her husband surprised asleep on the mossy bank, but so beautiful, so discreet, and with the large sword between them in token of their slumbering apart, that he withdrew without disturbing them—how many a history has been enacted under these shades, and how many a tale could be told by these oaks, laden with mistletoe, would they but tell it!

The Trou du Han, beyond Givet, where formerly none durst enter, deserves a visit; as well as the solitudes of Layfour and the black rocks of the Dame de Meuse, the table of the enchanter Maugis, and the ineffaceable print left in the rock by the foot of Renaud's horse. The four sons of Aymon are the burden of traditional tales at Château-Renaud as at Uzès, in the Ardennes as well as in Languedoc. I still seem to see the spinner, who, while at work, holds on her knee the precious volume of the *Bibliothèque Bleue*—the hereditary book of the house, worn, and blackened with use during many a nightly vigil.\*

This sombre land of Ardennes is not naturally connected with Champagne. It belongs to the bishopric of Metz, the basin of the Meuse, and the ancient kingdom of Austrasia. As soon as you are past the white and colorless champignons, which extend from Reims to Reims, Champagne is ended. The woods begin, and, with the woods, the pastures and small sheep of Ardennes. The chalk has disappeared, the dull red of tiles gives place to the sombre sheen of slate, and the houses are ringed with steel filings. Manufactories of

arms, tanneries, and slate-quarries, do not much enliven the appearance of a country; but the inhabitants strike the eye as a marked race. There is intelligence, sobriety, economy about them; a dryness of look in their countenance, but with sharp, well-cut features. This dry and staid character is not peculiar to that little Geneva—Sedan—but prevails throughout the country, which is not rich, and has, besides, the enemy at its threshold; circumstances calculated to engender thoughtfulness. The people are serious, and of a critical habit of mind; not uncommon among those who feel themselves superior to their fortunes.

#### THE WINE-COUNTRIES.

Beyond this rude and heroic zone of Dauphiny, Franche-Comté, Lorraine, and Ardennes, there stretches another as distinguished by its amenities, and more fertile in the products of thought—that of the provinces of the Lyonnais, Burgundy, and Champagne, a vinous, joyous zone, fraught with poetry, eloquence, and elegant and ingenious literature. Unlike the rest, these provinces had not to sustain the unceasing shock of foreign invasion. Better sheltered, they had leisure to cultivate the delicate flower of civilization.

And first, close to Dauphiny, rises the large and amiable city of Lyons, eminently sociable in its character, and uniting men as it does rivers.\* This angle of the Rhône and Saône† appears ever to have been a sacred spot. The Segusi of Lyons were clients of the Druidical nation of the Edui; and, here, sixty tribes of Gaul united in raising an altar to Augustus, and Caligula founded those contests of eloquence, where the vanquished was thrown into the Rhône, except he preferred effacing his oration with his tongue.‡ In place of this, a custom arose of throwing victims into the river, according to an old Celtic and German usage; and the *arc merveilleux*, (the marvellous arch,) whence the bulls were precipitated, is still pointed out in St. Nizier's bridge.

The famous table of bronze on which may still be read the speech of Claudius, on behalf

\* The boundary line between France and the empire was formed by the Rhône as far as the Rhône, and then by the latter to the sea. Lyons lying for the most part on the left bank of the Rhône, was an imperial city, but the counts of Lyons held the faubourgs of St. Just and St. Irenée of France.

† Saône.

‡ *Vid. du-deo. amonono flatus jugum.*

*Quid Phœbus cœcis semper oboritur videt,  
I'is lib-donans ignis amos prope pido fluit,  
Aratque dubitans quo sua cœcus agit,  
Tæritus quæto alius ripas vadit.*

I have seen the bright hanging over the two rivers, always viewed by the rising sun, where the huge Rhône flows in headlong current and the Arar the Rhône with hesitating course silently washes the banks with its quiet waters.)

‡ *Fortius in C. Caligula.—Juvénal, l. 64.*

— *Patitur ut nuda premit qui cæcibus angustum,  
Aut Legibus non rhetoricæ dicturus ad arm.*

Turns pale as one who has tried with naked head on a comb, or is about to recite his rhetorical discourse at the altar of Lyons.)

\* There you read how the good Renaud played many a trick on Charlemagne and how, after all, he made a happy end having humbly turned knight monk, (chevalier moine,) and turned on his back enormous blocks for the building of the holy church of Cologne.—See Appendix.

of the admission of the Gauls into the senate, is the earliest of our national antiquities, and the sign of our initiation into the civilized world. Another, and a far holier initiation, has its monument alike in the catacombs of St. Irénæus, the crypt of St. Pothinus, and in Fourvières—the hill of pilgrims. Lyons was the seat of the Roman government, and, subsequently, the see of the ecclesiastical jurisdiction for the four *Lyonnaises*, (Lyons, Tours, Sens, and Rouen,) that is, for the whole of Celtic Gaul. During the fearful vicissitudes of the first centuries of the middle ages, this great ecclesiastical city opened her bosom to a crowd of fugitives, and was peopled by the general depopulation, just as Constantinople gradually concentrated the whole Greek empire, as it gave way before the Arabs or the Turks. Its inhabitants had neither fields nor land, only their arms and the Rhône: thus it turned to trade and commerce. It was a manufacturing city even under the Romans. Epitaphs are still extant—"To the memory of a glass-maker, born in Africa," an inhabitant of Lyons;\* "To the memory of a veteran who served in the legions, a paper-maker."† An industrious swarm,‡ shut in between the rocks and the river, and heaped up in the sombre streets that open upon its banks, under a clime of rain and constant fog, they had, nevertheless, their moral and their poetic side. It was thus with our master Adam, the cabinet-maker of Nevers—with the *meistersaenger* of Nuremberg and

Frankfort—coopers, locksmiths, and blacksmiths—and so, in our day, with the tinman of Nuremberg. In their darkling cities they dreamed of that nature which they did not see, and of that glorious sun which was denied them; and they hammered out in their black stithies idylls on fields, birds, and flowers. Poetic inspiration at Lyons has not been nature, but love; and more than one young shopwoman, seated in the dim light of the back shop, has composed, like Louise Labbe and Pernelle Guillet, verses full of sadness and of passion—which were not for their husbands.\* The love of God, and a voluptuous mysticism, were, it must be owned, traits of the Lyonnese character. The church of Lyons was founded by *the desired*, (Ποθύς, St. Pothinus:);† and it was at Lyons, at a later period, that St. Martin, *the desired*, established his school.‡ Our Ballanche was born there;§ and the author of the *Imitation*, Jean Gerson, chose it as the spot in which to close his earthly pilgrimage.

It seems strange and contradictory that mysticism should have originated in large manufacturing and dissolute cities, such as Lyons and Strasbourg now are. The reason is, that nowhere else does man's heart so yearn for heaven. Where all the grosser pleasures are at one's call, there satiety soon begins. The sedentary life, too, of the artisan, seated at his trade, favors this internal ferment of the soul. The silk-weaver, in the humid obscurity of the streets of Lyons, and the weavers of Artois and of Flanders in their gloomy cellars, shut out from the world, have created a world for themselves, a moral paradise of sweet dreams and visions; to indemnify themselves for the nature of which they were deprived, they gave themselves to God. No class of men gave more victims to the fires and fagots of the middle ages. The Vaudois of Arras had their martyrs, as well as those of Lyons. The latter, disciples of the manufacturer, Valdo—Vaudois, or poor men of Lyons, as they were called—endeavored to restore the customs of primitive Christianity. They set an affecting example of brotherhood; nor did this union of hearts depend uniformly on conformity of religious belief. Contracts exist, of times long subsequent to the Vaudois, by which two friends

## D. M.

ET MEMORIE ETERNE JUL.

I. ALEXANDRI NACIONE AFRI. CIVI  
CARTHAGINENSIS. OMNI OPTIMO OP  
CI ARTIS VITRICE QUI VIX ANOS LXX . . .

(Sacred to the manes and lasting memory of Julius Alexander, born in Africa, a citizen of Carthage, an excellent man, a glass-maker, who was aged seventy years. . .)

## D. M.

ET MEMORIE ETERN  
VITALINI FELICIS VET. LEG  
M. HOMINI SAPIENTISSIMO  
ET FIDELISSIMO NEGOTIA  
RI LUDUENSI. ARTIS . C  
TARIE. QUI VIXIT. ANNIS  
VIII. M. V. D. X. NATUS EST. D  
MARTIS. DIE. MARTIS. PROF  
TUS. DIE. MARTIS. MISSIONE  
PERCEPIT. DIE. MARTIS. DEP  
NCTUS. EST. FACIENDUM. C  
VITALINI FELICISSIMUS. FI  
US. ET. IULIANICE. CON  
VIX. ET. SUB. ASCIA. DEDI  
CAVERUNT.

(Sacred to the manes and everlasting memory of Vitalinus Felix, a veteran of the legion . . . of Minerva, a very prudent man, who carried on the manufacture of paper with great repute for probity, who died, aged . . . eight years, five months, and ten days. He was born on a Tuesday, set out on his first campaign on a Tuesday, obtained his discharge on a Tuesday, and died on a Tuesday. . . . His son, Vitellinus Felicissimus, and his wife, Julia Nice, erected this monument, and dedicated it beneath Ascia.)—Millin, t. i. p. 457, 584.

‡ Elsewhere I shall treat of the present state of the manufactures of Lyons. The state of this town is one of the gravest and most melancholy subjects of modern history, and embraces all the great questions of policy and political economy. To speak of Lyons under this point of view here, would be to draw a picture of the world in order to describe a town.

\* For these, as for many other persons (and things) indicated in this rapid survey of the country, see Appendix.

† See the martyrdom of St. Pothinus, in Eusebius, l. i. c. 5.

‡ He was born at Amboise in 1743.—In 1747, a Polish bishop introduced the ceremonies of the church of Lyons into a church of his own building. (Crommery, l. vi. ap. Duchesne, Anciennes Villes de France.)—It is no very long time since service was performed at Lyons without organs, bells, or any musical instrument, as in the first ages of Christianity.

§ As were MM. Ampère, Degrande, Camille Jordan, and de Senneville. Their families at least are Lyonnese.

|| In 1429.—St. Remi or Remigius, of Lyons, espoused the cause of Gottschalk, and the doctrine of grace, against Joannes Erigena.—According to Du Boulay, the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception was first taught at Lyons.—In the reign of Louis XIII., one individual, Denis de Marquemont, founded fifteen religious houses at Lyons.

adopt each other for heirs, and covenant to share life and fortune.\*

The genius of Lyons is more moral, more sentimental at least, than that of Provence. Lyons may be said to belong to the north. It forms one of the centres of the south, without being southern, and which the south rejects. On the other hand, France long denied Lyons as a stranger to her ; being loath to recognise the ecclesiastical primacy of an imperial city. Notwithstanding its fine position on two rivers, and between so many provinces, Lyons has never been able to extend itself. Behind, lay the two Burgundies—that is to say, French feudalism and the feudalism of the empire ; facing it—the Cevennes, and its rivals, Vienne and Grenoble.

Proceeding to the north from Lyons, you have to choose between Châlons and Autun. The Lyonnese Segunni were a colony from the latter city.† Autun, the old Druidical city,‡ had thrown out Lyons at the confluence of the Rhône and Saône, at the apex of that great Celtic triangle, whose base was the ocean from the Seine to the Loire. Autun and Lyons, the mother and the daughter, have enjoyed very different destinies. The daughter, seated on the great high road of the nations, beautiful, amiable, and of easy access, has constantly prospered and increased. The mother, chaste and severe, has remained solitarily on her torrent-stream of Arroux, in the depth of her mysterious forests, among her crystals and her lava.§ It was she who invited the Romans into Gaul, and their first care was to raise up Lyons against her. In vain did Autun renounce her sacred name of Bibracte for that of Flaviana, and, afterwards, for that of Flavia, in vain did she resign her divinity,¶ and become more and more Roman. She went on but from decay to decay. All the great wars of Gaul were decided in her vicinity, and were

decided against her.\* She did not even preserve her famous schools : all she retained was her austere genius ; and up to modern times her sons have been statesmen and legislators—the chancellor Rolin, the Montholons, the Jeannins, and numerous others. This grave east of mind is widely spread westward and northward. The Dupins are from Clamecy ; while Theodore de Beza, the orator of Calvinism, and mouth-piece of Calvin, is from Vézelay.

There is none of the amenity of Burgundy in the dry and sombre districts of Autun and Morvan. To know the true Burgundy, the Burgundy of cheering smiles and of the grape, you must ascend the Saône by Châlons, then turn, through the Côte d'Or, to the plateau of Dijon, and follow the current towards Auxerre—a goodly land where vine-leaves adorn the arms of the cities,† where all are brothers or cousins, a land of hearty livers and of merry Christmases.‡ No province had greater or richer abbeys, or which ramified into more new and distant foundations—as the abbey of St. Benignus at Dijon; that of Cluny, near Maçon, and the monastery of Cîteaux, close to Châlons. Such was the splendor of these monasteries, that Cluny once extended her hospitality to a pope, and a king of France, and the numerous princes in their suites, without the monks being at all inconvenienced by lodging so large a train. Cîteaux was on a still larger scale, or at least was more fertile in her offshoots. She is the mother of Clairvaux, the mother of St. Bernard. Her abbot, the *abbot of abbots*, was, in 1491, recognised as chief of their order by three thousand two hundred and fifty-two monasteries. It was the monks of Cîteaux, who, at the beginning of the thirteenth century, founded the military orders of Spain, and

recover their independence. "The prudent government of Augustus," says Tacitus, "suppressed the revolt of the fanatic bands of virgins, a Roman sprung from the drops of the people, and gave himself out for a god, and the liberator of his country." Annales, i. c. 61. The word "virginis" has been deleted in the first line. The Beguine tower has since been known as the Maiden's Tower. The tower was built by Attila when the Hunnish hordes which the Great Emperor repelled under the patronage of Constantius Chlorus, were routed. France the First visited Attula in 1521, and named it, his French Rome. According to Kuenenbe, it had already been called the sister of Rome. See R. P. I. 212-76 217.

\* Autun was almost ruined by Aurelian at the period of his victory over Tetricus, who had had medals struck there. It was sacked by the Germans in 460, by the Huns in Charlemaigne's time, by Attila in 451, by the Saracens in 724, and by the Normans in 966 and 1013. The Hungarians were fought off in 924. Histoire d'Autun, par Joseph de Bussy, 1492.

\* See the arms of Dyon and of Beaune—A has relief at Dyon represents the Trinitaire each holding a goblet; this is a local trait. The cultivation of the vine, of such high antiquity here, has singularly influenced the character of its history by increasing the number of the lower classes. This district was the principal scene of the war of the Huguenots—in 1620 there was a revolt of the vine growers, which cost the three leaders an old soldier, whom they called King Marquis.

For the curious Revueur de la Muniçipale - Pavan burns in 1660 died in 1727 - from Dyon - The *Fête des Pavan* was celebrated at Auterre till 1607. - The monks played at ball: *poète* in the nave of the cathedral, till 1537. The youngest canon furnished the ball, and gave it to the dean, as soon as the game was over, they danced and feasted. *William, L. L.*

\* When the contract was drawn up the adopted brothers  
 each had their garlands of flowers and golden hearts.

Philip Augustus wrote words to the same effect, either to Lyons and Autun have recognized the right of regality and jurisdiction over each other. The bishop of Autun was elected president of the states of Burgundy. The reader will understand the relations between the larger fiefdoms of Lyons and Autun, and the bishop of Lyons.

In the annals of Autun were first the Thundral serpent  
and then the big horned animal feared in the  
country. (Moms p. 20). By the privileges of Autun  
the head of the military and judicial administration was  
to be a king. (Vergil's Annals p. 2). (Cicero, De  
officiis, lib. I, c. 10, p. 10).

between Astori and St. Paul's actually have to meet with  
the Astor Society discovered a volume at Brown University  
of Astori, Monastero de l'Académie de l'Ipso  
1741. The greatest Argentina, a contrasted for its beautiful  
climate, nature. Monastero de l'Académie de l'Ipso, and from  
the world and in the neighborhood. (Remy, p. 201)

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DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES

1. THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Y. L. L. L.

May 1 1935

\* The aristocracy seem to have given themselves up wholly to Rome, while the [divisional] and peasant party sought to

preached the crusade against the Albigenses, as St. Bernard had the second crusade to Jerusalem. Burgundy is the land of orators; of lofty and solemn eloquence. From the upper part of the province, from the district which gives rise to the Seine—from Dijon, and from Montbar—issued the voices which have most resounded through France, those of St. Bernard, of Bossuet, and of Buffon. But the amiable sentimentality characteristic of Burgundy, is observable in other quarters—more graceful in the north, more brilliant in the south. Not far from Semur were born the good Madame de Chantal, and her grand-daughter, Madame de Sévigné; at Maçon, Lamartine, the poet of the religious and lonely-minded; and at Charolles, Edgar Quinet, the poet of history and of humanity.\*

France has no more ductile element than Burgundy, or more capable of harmonizing the north with the south. Its counts or dukes, who sprang from two branches of the Capets, gave, in the twelfth century, kings to the monarchies of Spain; and, at a later period, to Franche-Comté, Flanders, and the whole of the low countries, but, despite English aid, they were unable to descend the valley of the Seine, or settle in the plains of the centre. The great king of Burgundy failed before the poor king of Bourges,† of Orléans, and of Reims; and the commons of France by whom he had at first been supported, gradually rallied against the oppressors of the commons of Flanders.

The destiny of France was not to be consummated in Burgundy. This feudal province was unable to impart to her the monarchical and democratic form to which she tended. The genius of France had to descend into the pale plains of the centre, to abjure pride and inflation, nay, the very form of oratory, in order to bear her last, most exquisite, and most French of fruits. Burgundy seems still to be allied to its wines; the spirit of Beaune and of Maçon mounts to the head like that of Rhenish. Burgundian eloquence trenches on the rhetorical; and the amplitude of its literary style is not ill typified in the exuberant charms of the women of Vermonçon and Auxerre. Flesh and blood reign here: inflation, as well, and vulgar sentimentality; in proof, I need only cite Crébillon, Longepierre, and Sedaine. Something more sombre and severe is required to constitute the core of France.

'Tis a sad fall to step from Burgundy into Champagne, and to leave its smiling slopes for low and chalky plains. Not to speak of the

desert of Champagne-Pouilleuse, (the leazy,) the country is almost universally flat, pale, and of a chillingly prosaic aspect. The cattle are sorry; the plants and minerals present no variety. Dull rivers drag their chalky streams between banks poorly shaded by young or stunted poplars. The houses, young too, and frail at their birth, endeavor to protect their fragile existence, by hooding themselves under as many slates as possible, or, at least, poor wooden slates: but beneath this false slating and its paint, washed off by the rain, the chalk betrays itself, pale, dirty, and misery stricken.

Such houses cannot make fine cities. Châlons looks hardly more lively than the plains around it. Troyes is almost as ugly as it is industrious.\* The striking width of the streets of Reims makes its low houses appear lower still, and creates a gloomy impression—Reims, formerly the city of citizens and of priests, and twin sister of Tours, a sugarish city, with a tinge of devotion, manufacturing rosaries and gingerbread, excellent common cloth, an excellent small wine, and the seat both of fairs and of pilgrimages.

These cities, essentially democratic and anti-feudal, have been the principal stay of the monarchy. The  *Coutume de Troyes*, which consecrated the principle of equality of inheritance, early divided and annihilated the power of the nobility. A barony, by the constant subdivision flowing from this principle, might be distributed into fifty or a hundred parts, by the fourth generation; and the impoverished nobles endeavored to recover themselves by marrying their daughters to rich plebeians. The same custom declares that rank goes by the mother's side, (*que le ventre anoblit*.)† This illusory precaution did not hinder the offspring of unequal marriages from finding themselves considered little more than plebeians; nor did the nobles gain by this addition of ennobled plebeians. At length, they discarded false shame, and betook themselves to commerce.

The misfortune was, that this commerce was neither elevated by its objects nor by the

\* The old walls of Troyes were built with ruins of Roman monuments, carcases, capitals, stones covered with inscriptions, &c., like those of Arles and Narbonne.

† *La grand' ville de Bar-sur-Seine*  
A folk-tradition Troyes on Champagne."

Footnote.

† This custom of rank's going with the mother is not with in other parts of France, even under the first race. (See Beaumanoir.) Charles V. (by a decree dated November 13th, 1378) subjected those noble by the mother's side to the law of freehold. On the occasion of the annual drawing up of the *Coutume de Châteauneuf*, those who were noble by the father's side entered their protest against this—and Louis XII. left the question undecided.—The *Coutume de Troyes* consecrated equality of division between the children, whence the decay of the nobility. For instance, John, lord of Damoury and vicomte of Troyes, left at his death several children, who divided the countship among them. Through successive divisions, Bonache de Combaux came into possession of a third, which he bequeathed on a chapter of monks; and another third was divided into four parts, and each part into twelve shares, which went to various families, and to the city's and the royal domains.

\* The author of *l'Escurat*, born at Bourg, was brought up at Charolles.

Nor should we forget the picturesque and mystic little town of Paray le Monial, which gave birth to the devotion of *Sacre Cœur*, and where Madame de Chantal died. A religious spirit certainly broods over the country of the translator of the *Symbole* and of the author of *Salomé*—M. Guignaut and Lagard.

† The name given to Charles VII.

materials with which it dealt. It was not a distant, adventurous, heroic commerce, like that of the Catalans or of the Genoese. The commerce of Troyes and of Reims did not consist in furnishing the means and appliances of luxury; nor had these cities illustrious corporations, in whose halls, like those of the Great and Small Arts at Florence, statesmen, such as the Medicis, trafficked in the noble products of the east and of the north, in silks, furs, and precious stones. The trade of Champagne was thoroughly plebeian. Thread, coarse stuffs, cotton caps, and leather,\* were the staple of the fairs of Troyes, which were frequented by dealers from every part of Europe—(our tanners of the faubourg St. Marceau, were originally a colony from Troyes.) These common products, essential, however, to all, constituted the wealth of the country. The nobles seated themselves with a good grace at the counter, and showed due attention to the clown. The crowds of strangers that flocked to their fairs were so great as to prevent inquiry into the genealogy of purchasers, or wrangling on points of etiquette—hence, the gradual growth of equality. The great count of Champagne himself, at one time king of Jerusalem, at another of Navarre, found the good-will of these traders exceedingly convenient. It is true that the barons bore him a grudge for this,† and treated him as if he were himself a trader—witness the brutal insult of the soft cheese which Robert of Artois had thrown in his face.

This precocious degradation of feudalism, and these grotesque transformations of knights into shopkeepers, must have not a little contributed to give zest and point to the wit of the natives, and to have inspired them with that turn for ironical and shrewd simplicity, which, for what reason I know not, is called naïveté, in our *fabliaux*. Champagne was the land of good stories, of droll anecdotes of the noble knight, the simple and unsuspecting husband, of Monsieur, the parson, and his servant lass. The genius for tale-telling, which prevails in Champagne and in Flanders, expanded into long poems and fine histories. Chretien de

Troyes, and Guyot de Provins,\* begin the list of our romance poets. The great lords of the country wrote their own actions—witness Villehardouin, Joinville, and the cardinal de Retz, who have themselves narrated to us the history of the Crusades and of the Fronde. History and satire are the vocation of the Champenois. While count Thibaut had his poems painted on the walls of his palace of Provins, surrounded by roses from the East, the grocers of Troyes scrawled on their counters the allegorical and satirical histories of Renard and Isengrin. The most pungent pamphlet in our language—the satire of Menippée—is mostly due to some lawyers of this city.†

Here, in this naive and biting Champagne, terminates the long line which we have traced from Languedoc and Provence, through Lyons and Burgundy. In this viny and literary zone, the mind of man has gone on increasing in distinctness and sobriety of thought. We have signalized three stages of this progress—the fire and intellectual intoxication of the south, the eloquence and rhetoric of Burgundy, and the grace and irony of Champagne. This is the last and most delicate fruit which France has borne. On these white plains and hungry slopes ripens the light wine of the north, full of caprices and sudden sallies. Scarcely does

\* Whom they will persist in calling Klot de Provence, after the orthography of the German, Wolfram von Eschenbach. The ingenious correction is due to the young and learned M. Michel, who has already thrown so much light on the literary antiquities of France.

31 Faenoret at Pitoum. The peering spirit of the north of France displays itself in the popular *jeux*. In Champagne and other parts we find the *roi de l'anneau*, a citizen chosen to deliver two prisoners, &c. the *roi de l'entoufflement* of the bull — Dijon, Deux-Sèvres, the *roi des Archibouteux*, with his knights, Cambry, &c. the *roi des gaudilles*, king of the game—even in 1770, Almarinard d'Artois, 1770, the *roi des roses*, king of the roses of king of the gardeners, still kept up in Normandy Champagne Burgundy &c. At Paris the *fiite des deux docteurs*, or *discreutions*, (tiny priests, who elected a bishop of unknown, offered him incense of burnt leather, sang obscene songs, and turned the altar into a table) — At Evreux, on the first of May, St. Vital's day, was the *fiite des cornards*—each child's birthday, when they crowned each other with leaves; the priests wore their surplices the wrong side outward, and threw bean in each other's eyes; the full fingers pulled each other with *casse-morues*, hard biscuits — At Beauvais a girl and child were promenade round the town, taken to mass and the burden of the chorus was *Assez!* — At Reims, the rancous promenade in two files, each dragging a herring and stepping on the herring dragged by the one before him — At Bourdain was the *fiite du prisonnier*, the *chevalier* of the captain of the carniaves, at Châlons-sur-Saône, of the *gallierdieu*, the brave boys, at Paris, of the *carrière sans souci*, the word of mirth of the *regiment de la calotte*, the *foir aux crapauds*, and of the *conferre de Calogny*, the brotherhood of beef-eaters — At Dijon, the procession of the *masses*, &c. another madcap — At Harfleur, on St. Anne Tuesday the *fiite de la saie*—the saw toils in saw figures in the arms of the president *Chou Breton*. The *noctambules* kiss the teeth of the saw. Two monks carry the *fil à travers*, uprights of the saw. Then the *baton traversé* is taken to a husband who beats his wife. The *Chou-fleur* at Harfleur has existed since the conquest of William

: Bédard was born on the hill of Langres, the point of transition between Burgundy and Champagne. He combines the characteristics of both.

It is not to be understood not only of the wine but of the vine. The soil of the vineyards seems to follow no certain rule, and the natives assert that out of a vineyard of three acres, the soil of which appears to be exactly the same throughout, only the centre strip will yield first rate wine.

\* Elean IV was the son of a constabulary of Troyes. He founded the church of St Elean there, and had tapestry made for him with a scene of his father making cloth.

of the priests as well. The counts of Champagne protected St. Bernard but they likewise protected his rival Arnold. The Paraclete founded by him, lay on the Ardenne between Noyon and Pont sur Seine.

[illegible]

it owe any thing to the soil; it is the child of labor and of society.\* And here also grew that *trifling thing*,† profound nevertheless, and at once ironical and dreamy, that discovered and exhausted the domain of fable.

The river of the Low Countries and the river of France—the Meuse and the Seine—together with the Marne, the acolyte of the latter, flow negligently through the flat plains of Champagne, but swelling as they flow, in order to meet the sea with the greater dignity. The land, too, rises gradually into hills, in the island of France, in Normandy, and in Picardy. France becomes more majestic. She will not meet England, face to face, with lowered head; but arrays herself with forests and proud cities, swells her rivers, throws out in broad sweeps her magnificent plains, and confronts her rival with that other England—Flanders and Normandy.‡

Immense is the rivalry of these opposite shores which hate, yet resemble each other. On both sides the characteristics of the people are hardness, greed, and sobriety and travail of mind. Antique Normandy looks askance at her triumphant daughter, who smiles upon her in fulness of insolence from her lofty cliffs. Yet the rolls still exist on which are read the names of those Normans who conquered England. Does not England, too, date the commencement of her rise from the Conquest? To whom does she owe whatever of art she has to boast of? Did the monuments of which she is so proud exist before the Conquest? What are the wondrous cathedrals of England, but an exaggerated imitation of Norman architecture!§ How great was the change operated in the men themselves, and in the Saxon race, by this interfusion of French blood! The warlike and litigious spirit, foreign from

the Anglo-Saxons, which made England, after the Conquest, a nation of warriors and of scribes, is the purely Norman spirit. This sobriety of character is common to both sides of the straits. Caen, the city of wisdom, preserves the great monument of the Anglo-Norman system of finance, the accounts of the Conqueror's exchequer. Normandy has nothing to envy others for, and keeps up its good customs. It is common for the head of a family, on his return from his day's labor on his farm, to recreate himself by explaining to his attentive little ones, some article or other of the *code civil*.\*

The native of Lorraine or of Dauphiny cannot keep pace with the Norman in his passion for the law. The Breton character, harder and more negative, is less greedy and grasping. Brittany is resistance; Normandy, conquest; in our day, the conquest over nature, the conquest of agriculture and manufactures. This ambitious and conquering genius generally makes its way by fixity of purpose, though often by daring, and by sudden impulse; an impulse soaring at times to the sublime—as exemplified in the numerous heroic seamen† Normandy has produced, and in the great Corneille. Twice has French literature taken her upward flight from Normandy, while philosophy was aroused from her slumbers by Brittany. The old poem of *Roa or Rollat* appeared in the twelfth century together with *Abehart*; and in the seventeenth, Corneille arose simultaneously with Descartes. Yet, why I know not, the Norman genius has been denied identity, in the largest and most creative sense of the faculty. It soars high, but falls quickly. It falls in the meager precision of Malherbe, in the dryness of Molière, and in the ingenious researches of La Bruyère and Fontenelle. The very heroes of the great Corneille, whenever they cease to be sublime, sink into insipid special pleaders, rejoicing in the subjection of a vain and sterile logic.

Assuredly, the genius of our stout and worthy Flanders is neither subtle nor sterile, but positive and real, and resting on a solid foundation—*solidis fundamentis cædunt ædificia*. On its fat and plenteous plains, teeming with manure, with canals, and with a gross and exuberant vegetation, grass, men, and animals wax enormously fat and large, as if they had nothing to do but thrive. The ox and the horse swell out

\* An estate which, laid down in wheat, would give employment to only five or six families laid down in vines, will require five or six hundred hands, men, women, and children. The attention which the manufacture of the wine itself requires is well known. Bourgeois-Journal, *Statistique de la Marne*, p. 81.—More Champagne is drunk abroad (in Russia, England, and Germany,) than in France. We give the preference to Burgundy. The reason is, that, after so many troubles and scenes of agitation, we no longer want to sharpen our intellects by stimulating the nerves, but rather to strengthen our bodies.

† La Fontaine says of himself—

"Je suis chose légère, et vole à tout sujet,  
Je vais de fleur en fleur, et d'objet en objet.  
A beaucoup de plaisir, je mêle un peu de gloire.  
J'irais plus haut peut-être au temple de mémoire,  
Si dans un genre seul j'avais usé mes jours;  
Mais quel! je suis volage, on vers commença en amour."

(I am a trifling thing, and fly to whatever takes my fancy, from flower to flower, from object to object. Given mostly to pleasure, I have my dreams of glory, and perhaps should obtain a higher niche in the temple of Fame, had I devoted myself to one walk of poetry alone. But why talk of it? I am as fickle in verse as in love.)

"The poet," says Plato, "is a light and sacred thing."

‡ Dibdin, in his *Bibliographical Tour*, remarks that near Coutances, in particular, both people and landscape are strikingly English.

§ Dr. Milner alone gives the superiority to the English cathedrals, and ascribes the origin of the ogive to English architects. See M. de Caumont, *Cours d'Antiquités Monumentales*, t. II.

\* "Do you see that small field?" one day said to me M. B., ex-president of one of the *tribunaux de Lower Normandy*: "should it pass into the hands of four brothers to-morrow, it would be at once intersected by four hedges; so essential is it here that property should be distinctly defined."—The Normans are so given to the study of clearness, says an author of the twelfth century, that one may hear even the little children declaiming like orators . . . "quid stultum attendas." *Gaufrid. Maitern. l. i. c. 2.*

† M. Estancelin's publication, and *l'histoire des Vikings de France*, par M. Viet. Dieppo, t. II.—It seems that the passage to India by the Cape of Good Hope was discovered by the Dieppoits before the Portuguese, but that, through anxiety to keep the discovery secret, they lost the glory of it.

‡ See the excellent edition by M. Auguste Salmon, of Rouen, one of our most distinguished antiquaries.

to elephantine size. Woman grows apace with man, and is often the better of the two. This large-built race, however, with all its bulk, is flaccid, and strong rather than robust, though of immensely muscular power. The Herculeans of our fairs are often natives of the department of the north.

The prolific power of the Belg of Ireland is common to the Belgians of Flanders and of the Low Countries. Men swarmed, like insects after a storm, in the thick ooze of those rich plains, in those vast and sombre marts of trade, Ypres, Ghent, and Bruges. 'Twas tempting fate to set foot on those ant-hills, whence would spring at a touch—pikes lowered—swarms of men by fifteen, twenty, or thirty thousand at a time, stout, well-fed, well-clothed, and well-armed. The feudal cavalry of the times found fighting with such masses no child's play.

And were these worthy Flemings in the wrong to be so proud? Fat and gross\* as they were, they thoroughly understood their own business. None were better acquainted with commerce, trade, and agriculture. No people were more distinguished by good sense, or comprehended more thoroughly the positive and the real. Perhaps no people of the middle-ages more thoroughly seized the spirit of the time, or knew better both how to act and how to narrate. At this date, Champagne and Flanders were the only countries which could compete with Italy in historians. In Froissart, Flanders has her Villani, and in Comines her Machiavelli—we may add to these her emperor historians of Constantinople. Her authors of fabliaux are historians as well; at least, in all that concerns public manners.

Those had little in them to edify; were sensual and gross. And the further we proceed northward in this fat Flanders, and under its mild and moist climate, the softer does the country become, sensuality is more in the ascendant, and nature becomes more powerful. History and narrative no longer satisfy the want of reality, and the requisitions of the sense. The arts of design are called in to aid. Sculpture dates in France from Michel-Angelo's famous pupil, John of Bologna. Architecture, also, starts up afeared, no longer soberly and severely Norman, sharpened into ogives, and aspiring to the heavens, like a vane of

Corneille's, but rich and full and largely ample. The ogive bends into soft curves, and voluptuous roundings. The curve sometimes sinks and narrows, at others swells and arches out. Round and undulating in its every ornament, the charming tower of Antwerp rises taperingly by easy gradations, like a gigantic *corbeille*,\* braided with the rushes of the Scheldt.

Kept in as scrupulous order as the inside of Flemish houses, these Low Country churches dazzle the sight with their joint cleanliness and richness, with the splendor of their ornaments of brass, and their profusion of black and white marbles. They are cleaner than the Italian churches, and no less coquettish. Flanders is a prosaic Lombardy†—to which the sun and the grape are wanting. It has another want, which is at once forced on one's notice by the innumerable figures carved in wood, that one meets at every step on the ground-floor of these cathedrals—an economic species of sculpture, which does not compensate for the want of the marble people of the cities of Italy.‡ Above these churches, from the summit of their towers, sound the uniform and well-arranged chimes, the delight and pride of the Flemish community. The same air, repeated for centuries, from hour to hour, has satisfied the musical wants of generation after generation of artisans, who have been born and who have died on their work-bench.§

But music and architecture are still too abstract. Sounds and forms are not sufficient. Colors are required, true and lively colors, living representations of the flesh and senses—pictures of rude and hearty festivals, in which red-faced men and white-faced women drink, smoke, and dance heavily; pictures as well, of cruel tortures, of indecent and horrible-looking martyrs, of enormous, fresh, fat, and scandalously-beautiful Virgin Marys. Beyond the Scheldt, in the midst of gloomy marishes, of deep waters, and under the lofty dikes of Holland, begins the sombre and serious style of painting. Rembrandt and Gerard Dow paint, where Erasmus and Grotius¶ write. But in

\* *Corbeille* is the basket containing the bride's jewellery, dresses, &c. displayed at all weddings of consequence in France.—TANSTAYTON.

† We meet here with a prediction for the swan, which, according to Virgil was the ornament of the Minerva and of the other rivers of Lombardy. Antwerp, at the threshold of the ancient Belgium, that little Venice, as Louis XIV. called it, kept the king's swans on the *Meuse*. The swan is a common sign of Flemish taste.

‡ The cathedral of Milan alone is adorned with five thousand statues and small figures, as I have been assured by M. Franchetti the author of the description of this wonderful church.

§ It is but fair to state that this musical instinct has led to great things here, particularly among the Walloons (Greeky comes from *Loge*).

¶ See in the *Leuvre* the picture, styled in the catalogue *Pete Flamande* or Flemish Husbandry. It is the expression of the most luxurious and sensual bacchanalism.

‡ To my mind, Belgic genius, so far as regards the Flemish part of Belgium reaches its highest pitch in Rubens, and, as regards the Walloon part, in Gretry. *Musicalness* runs prevail in Belgium, reflection in Holland. Thinkers have loved the last. Here Descartes came to dwell the his

\* Instances of the Belgic grossness or coarseness may be met with at every turn. Take note at Brussels of the little statue of the *Monsieur*—the eldest citizen of the town, which is equipped with a new dress on great bold days.

† For example—Gagnon of Douai, Oudeghert of Lille, and others.

‡ See the Customs of the Countship of Flanders translated by Legendre Combert 1719 and a Custom of Ghent published in 1720. Normandy on all testaments women can do nothing.

§ No one shall be a bastard by the mother's side but he is allowed to her property along with the legitimate children though not to the father's. A proof that they were not included in any religious or moral account from our country to father but from doubts as to the paternity. In this system we meet with community of goods, equal division of inheritances &c.



Flanders, in wealthy and sensual Antwerp, the rapid pencil of Rubens will create the Bacchanalia of the art. The very mysteries of religion will be travestied\* in his idolatrous paintings, which yet seem quivering with the fire and brute force of genius.† This extraordinary man, though born at Cologne, had none of the idealism of Germany. Slavonic blood ran in his veins, and reared in all the passionate temperament of the Belgians, he deified nature in his pictures, like a barbarian.

This frontier country of European races and tongues‡ is the great scene of the conquests, both of life and of death. Men here start up quickly, multiply unto the stifling of one another,§ and are then disposed of in battle. Here is the great and lasting battle of races and of nations. That battle of the world which is said to have taken place on the death of Attila, is ever renewed in Belgium between France, England, and Germany, between the Celts and the Germans. This is the corner of Europe, the rendezvous of wars.¶ And hence the fatness of these plains; blood has no time to dry up there. Dreadful and varied struggle! Ours are the battles of Bouvines, Rosebek, Lens, Steinkerke, Denain, Fontenoi, Fleurus, and Jemappes—

man Ege; and Spinoza, to institute the apotheosis of nature. However, the philosophy peculiar to Holland is that practical philosophy which applies itself to the political relations of nations, as exemplified in Grotius.—On comparing Germany with the Low Countries, we shall find Austria to be to Belgium what Prussia is to Holland; only, the latter is less energetic, its energies seeming to be sunk in its habitual calm and taciturn character. The pavers in Holland may be seen taking tea in the streets, three or four times a day. Among this class, says a traveller, you will neither meet with a thief to rob you, nor a guide to direct you the way.

\* In a picture by his pupil, Vandyke, is an ass on its knees before the host. See Forster's Travels in Germany and Flanders.

† His family was from Styria. The most impetuous of the European family lie at either extreme; on the east, the Haves of Poland, Illyria, Styria, &c.; on the west, the Celts of Ireland, Scotland, &c.

‡ Dutch Flanders consists of places ceded by the treaty of 1644, and by the Barrier Treaty, (1715); a name full of significance.—The March, or Marquisate of Antwerp, created by Otto II., was bestowed by Henri IV. on the bravest man of the empire, on Godfrey of Bouillon.—A stone was dug, in 940, at Sas de Gand, by orders of Otto, to mark the boundary between the empire and France.—At Louvain, says a traveller, the language is German, the manners Dutch, and the cookery French.—Together with the idiom of Germany begin the astronomical names of places, as *Al-out, Ost-rade*. In France, as is the case in all Celtic nations, the names are borrowed from the earth, as *Lille, l'île*, (the island.)

§ Previously to the emigration of the weavers into England, about 1244, Louvain contained fifty thousand weavers. Forster, vol. i. p. 364.—At Ypres (the battlements of course included) there were two hundred thousand in 1538.—In 1598, "the inhabitants of Ghent mailed forth with three armies." Oudegherst, *Chronique de Flandre*, folio 301.—This moist country is, in many parts, as unhealthy as it is fertile. To signify a man of mild complexion, they say, "he is like an Ypres corpse."—Belgium, however, has suffered less from the natural inconveniences, than from the political revolutions of its soil. Bruges was ruined by the revolt of 1492; Ghent, by that of 1540; Antwerp, by the treaty of 1644, which raised Amsterdam to the height of prosperity by closing the navigation of the Scheldt.

¶ The great battle of modern times was fought just at the boundary line between the two languages—at Waterloo. A short distance on this side of it is *Mont Saint Jean*.—The mound reared in the centre of the plain looks like a barbarian *tumulus*, thrown up by Celts or Germans.

theirs, the battles of the Spers and of Courtray. Must I name Waterloo?

—England! England! you fought not on that day single-handed with France: you had the world with you. Why arrogate to yourself all the glory? What means your Waterloo-bridge? Is there then so much to glorify yourself withal, if the mutilated remnant of a hundred battles, if the last levy of France, a beardless legion, who had scarcely left school and their mother's tender kiss, were dashed to pieces against your mercenary army, spared in every battle, and kept to be used against us like the *dagger of mercy* with which the soldier, when at the last gasp, assassinated his victor?

Yet will I conceal nothing. Hatred as England is, she appears grand indeed, as she faces Europe, as she faces Dunkirk\* and Antwerp in ruins.† All other countries—Russia, Austria, Italy, Spain, and France—have their capitals on the west, opposite the setting sun: the great European vessel seems to float with her sails bellied by the wind, which erst blew from Asia. England, alone, has here pointed to the east, as if in defiance of that world—*sum omnis contra*. This last country of the old continent is the heretical land; the constant refuge of the exiled and the energetic. All who have ever fled servitude, Druids persecuted by Rome, Gallo-Romans chased by the barbarians, Saxons proscribed by Charlemagne, famished Danes, grasping Normans, the persecuted Flemish manufacturers, the vanquished Calvinists—all have crossed the sea, and made the great island their country: *arva, loca potamus arva, divites et insules*. . . . Thus England has thriven on misfortunes, and grown great out of ruins. But as these exiles, crowded into this narrow asylum, began to scrutinize each other, as they observed the differences of race and belief which separated them, as they perceived themselves to be Cymry, Gael, Saxons, Danes, or Normans, their hate arose, and they flew to arms. Like the fights in the amphitheatre on "a Roman holiday," between wild beasts of all kinds, astonished to find themselves together, hippopotami, lions, tigers, and crocodiles—this amphibious race, after having long worried and torn each other in their ocean circus, cast themselves into the sea, and began to worry France. But the strife between themselves, to a certainty, is not yet at an end. Vainly does the triumphant beast defy the world from his sea-girt throne. A surer

\* Fauconnet, *Histoire de Dunkerque*, 1728, fol. t. 2. Vain were the petitions of the inhabitants of Dunkirk to Queen Anne, and their attempts to prove that the Dutch would be greater gainers than the English by the demolition of Dunkirk. No part of history is more painful or humiliating reading to a Frenchman than this. Chatham had not then been created; and from Ostend to Brant there did not remain one fortified harbor.

† "There," said Bonaparte, "I have a loaded pistol, pointed at England's heart."—He said at St. Helena—The fortress of Antwerp is one of the great causes of my being here; its coasts, one of the motives which determined me not to sign the peace of Châtillon.

gnashing of teeth mocks his derisive smile—whether that the shrill and creaking wheel of Manchester refuse to turn, or that the Irish bull, which he has pinned to the ground, lift up its head with sullen bellow.

The war of wars, the battle of battles, is that between England and France; all others are episodic. The names dear to France are those of the men who have greatly dared against England. France has only one saint, the Pucelle, (Joan of Arc:) the great Guise, who wrung Calais from their grasp, and the founders of Brest, of Dunkirk, and of Antwerp,\* theirs are the names—whatever else they may have done—which are dear and sacred to France. For my own part, I feel under personal obligations to these glorious champions of France and of the world, and to those whom they armed, to the Duguay-Trouins, the Jean-Barts, the Surcoufs—to those who disturbed the rest of the men of Plymouth, who made these islanders sadly shake the head, who forced them out of their taciturnity, who compelled them to elongate their monosyllables.

And thank you undeserving of the praise and thanks of France, the brave Irish priests, the Jesuits, who on our every shore, and in the monasteries of St. Columbanus,—at St. Waast, St. Bertin, St. Omer, St. Amand, and at Douai, Dunkirk, and Antwerp,† organized the Irish missions, popular orators, ardent conspirators, lions and foxes, who would plot, fight, lie, or die for their country, as the crisis required!

The struggle with England has done France immense service. It has confirmed and stamped her nationality. By dint of banding against the common enemy, the provinces have become one people. The near view of the Englishmen has made them feel themselves to be Frenchmen. It is with nations as with individuals, they know and distinguish their identity by the opposition of some extrinsic body. The I is marked out by the Not I. France has thus been formed under the influence of her great wars with England,‡ at once by opposition and by composition, the opposition distinctly perceptible in the western and northern provinces through which we have just passed, while the composition is the work of the central provinces, of which we have still to speak.

#### THE CENTRAL PROVINCES.

To find the centre of France, the nucleus round which all the rest is to be strung, we must not take the central point geographically considered, that would be about Bourges and the Bourbonnais, the cradle of the dynasty. We must neither take the main water-course, which would be to cross the plateau of Dyon or of Langres, between the sources of the Saône, the Seine, and the Meuse, nor even the point where the

different races separate, which would be on the Loire, between Brittany, Auvergne, and Touraine. No; the centre is marked by political rather than natural, by human rather than material causes. It is an eccentric centre, derived from and supported by the North, the principal theatre of national activity, and bordering on England, Flanders, and Germany. Protected, not isolated by the rivers which surround it, it is rightly characterized by its name of the Isle of France.

Looking at the great rivers of our country, and the grand territorial lines in which they are set, one would say that France runs with them to the ocean. On the north, the fall of the land is gentle, the rivers tame. There has been no physical hinderance to the free action of the policy which sought to group the provinces around the centre to which they tended. In every respect the Seine is the first, the most docile, and perfectible of our rivers. It has neither the capricious and treacherous gentleness of the Loire, nor the abruptness of the Garonne, nor the terrible impetuosity of the Rhone, which descends from the Alps like a wild bull, traverses a lake eighteen leagues in length, and hurries, eating into its banks, to the sea. The Seine hardly rises before it bears the impress of civilization. On reaching Troyes, it suffers itself to be cut and divided at will,—seeking out manufactories, and lending them its waters. Even when Champagne has rendered it the tribute of the Marne, and Picardy of the Oise, it needs no strong dikes, but quietly allows itself to be restrained by our quays; and after supplying the manufactories of Troyes, and before supplying those of Rouen, it quenches the thirst of Paris. From Paris to Havre is but one town. To know the beauty of this beautiful stream, it should be seen between Pont de l'Arche and Rouen, wandering among its innumerable islands, all encircled by the setting sun with waves of gold, while the apple-trees that border either bank view therein their streaked fruit of red and yellow, topped by whitish masses, (*sous des masses blanches*) This is a sight to which I can only compare the view of the Lake of Geneva, which, it is true, presents in addition the vineyards of Vaud, Meillerie, and the Alps. But the lake moves not on, it is immobility, or, at least, agitation without visible progress. The Seine moves onward, and bears with it the mind of France, of Paris—towards Normandy, the ocean, England, and far-distant America.

The first gentle round Paris consists of Rouen, Amiens, Châlons, and Reims, which are carried off in its vortex. To this is attached an external belt: Nantes, Bordeaux, Clermont, and Toulouse, Lyons, Besançon, Metz, and Strasbourg. Paris has another self in Lyons, in order to reach, by the Rhone, to the eccentric Marseilles. The whirlwind of national life is densest in the north, in the south, the circles which it describes grow fainter and wider.

\* R. de la Riv. XIV. and B. 28. 28. 28.

† English names. M. de St. Amand, who painted it in the style of St. André at Antwerp, where it still commands admiration.

The true centre was early defined, and was specified from the time of St. Louis in the two works which laid the foundation of our jurisprudence—the *ÉTABLISSEMENTS DE FRANCE ET D'ORLÉANS*, and the *COUTUMES DE FRANCE ET DE VERMANDOIS*.<sup>\*</sup> It is between the Orléanois and the Vermandois, between the angle of the Loire and the sources of the Oise, between Orléans and St. Quentin, that France at length found her centre, her seat, and place of rest, which she had vainly sought for in the druidical countries of Chartres and of Autun, in the chief towns of the Gallic clans, Bourges and Clermont, (*Avaricum, Urbs Arvernorum*), and in the capitals of the Merovingian and Carolingian church, Tours and Reims.†

The Capetian France of the *king of St. Deny* lies between feudal Normandy and democratic Champagne, and extends from St. Quentin to Orléans and Tours. The king is abbot of St. Martin's in the latter city, and first canon of St. Quentin's. From the situation of Orléans near the junction of her two great rivers, this city has often shared the fate of France. The names of Caesar, of Attilla, of Joan of Arc, and of the Guises, tell of the wars and sieges that Orléans has witnessed. The serious Orléanois is close to Touraine, close to the soft and laughing country of Rabelais, just as the choleric Picardy is close to the ironical Champagne. Picardy seems to embrace the whole of the ancient history of France. Fredegonda and Charles the Bald held their courts either at Soissons, Crépy, Verberly, or Attigny. When the throne succumbed to feudalism, the monarchs sought refuge on the mountain of Laon.‡ Alternately asylums or prisons, Laon, Peronne, and St. Médard's abbey at Soissons, received within their walls Louis the Débon-

naire, Louis d'Outremer, and Louis XI. The royal tower of Laon was destroyed in 1633:⁴ that of Peronne still remains—still does the monstrous feudal tower of the Cocyte rear its proud head!—

*Je ne suis roi, ne duc, prince, ne comte eussé,  
Je suis le sire de Concy.*‡

But the nobles of Picardy early comprehended the great truth of French nationality. The heroic house of Guise,—the Picard branch of the princes of Lorraine,—defended Metz against the Germans, took Calais from the English, and had all but taken France from its king. The reign of Louis XIV. was described and judged by the Picard, St. Simon.¶

Strongly feudal, strongly communal and democratic, was this ardent Picardy. The first communes of France are the great ecclesiastical cities of Noyon, St. Quentin, Amiens, and of Laon. The same country produced Calvin, and the league against Calvin. A hermit of Amiens hurried off all Europe, princes and people, to Jerusalem, in a religious transport. A legist of Noyon changed the religion which had given birth to this transport in one-half of the countries of the West, founding a Rome of his own in Geneva, and making republicanism a matter of faith. Republicanism was pushed onwards in its frenzied course by Picard hands, from Condorcet to Camille Desmoulins, and from Desmoulins to Gracchus Babeuf,<sup>\*\*</sup> and was sung by Béranger, in whose happy verse "*Je suis vilain, et très vilain*," (I am low-born, low-born very,) speak the feelings of our new France; in the first rank of which *vilains* we may well place

\* See two articles by Victor Hugo, and by M. de Montalembert, in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*.

† Roman law—to Picardy, the foundation of the feudal and common law. Two Picards, Beaumanoir and Desfontaines, laid the beginnings of our jurisprudence.

‡ Bourges, likewise, was a great ecclesiastical centre. The archbishop of Bourges was patriarch, primate of the Aquitaine, and metropolitan. As patriarch, his jurisdiction extended over the archbishops of Narbonne and Toulouse, as primate over those of Bordeaux and of Auch, (the metropolitan city of the second and third Aquitaine,) and as metropolitan, he had anciently eleven suffragans—the bishops of Clermont, St. Flour, Le Puy, Tulle, Limoges, Mende, Rodez, Vabres, Castres, Cahors. But the erection of the bishopric of Alby into an archbishopric, only left the five first of these sees under his jurisdiction.

§ So he is often termed in the chivalrous poems of the middle ages.

¶ The raillery peculiar to the natives was bitter and rude, and won for them the nickname of *gryppins*, (the waspish.) There was also a saying—"The glow of Orleans is worse than the text."—Bourges bears a similar character—"A Bourgeoise n'any—more leave than foot."

|| Perpin was chosen king here, in 750, and Louis d'Outremer died here.

¶ This mountain rises fifty toises above the plain where it stands; ninety above the level of the Seine at Paris; and a hundred above the sea-level. Feuchet et Chaulieu, *Statistique de l'Aisne*.—Three leagues from Laon is Notre-Dame de Liesse, founded in 1141. Three knights of the Laonois, made prisoners by the Souldan, refused to abjure their religion; and when the Souldan sends his daughter to seduce them, they convert her, showing her a miraculous image of the Virgin. Flying with them, she carries off the image, which, on reaching the barge of our Lady of Liesse, becomes too heavy to be carried further.

† The tower of Concy is a hundred and seventy-two feet high, and three hundred and five in circumference. Parts of the walls are thirty-two feet thick. Memoirs blow up the outward wall, in 1632, and, on the 18th of September, 1692, an earthquake split the tower from top to bottom.—An ancient romance makes one of the old Concy nine feet high. Enguerrand VII., who fought at Nicopolis, had his parent, and that of his first wife, of colonial sin, placed in the monastery of the Celestines at Soissons.—Among the famous Concys, we may name Thomas de Harle, ancestor of the law of Vervins, (a law favorable to venality,) who died in 1139. Raoul I., the trouvère, and the lover, true or pretended, of Gabrielle de Vergy, who died in the crusade, in 1191.—Enguerrand VII., who refused the sword of constable and got it given to Clisson; he died in 1307.—It has been mistakenly asserted that Enguerrand III., in 1282, sought to make himself master of the throne during the minority of St. Louis. *Art de Vérifier les Dates*, xii. 225, seq.

‡ Nor king, nor duke, nor prince, nor count am I,  
I am the lord of Concy.

¶ This family, of recent date, which pretends to trace back to Charlemagne, should deem it sufficient honor to have produced one of the greatest writers of the seventeenth century, and the boldest thinker of our own age.

(The author alludes to the *Essai de St. Simon*, to the recent publication of whose Memoirs we owe our knowledge of the true character of Louis XIV., and of his times; and to the founder of the St. Simonians, or French socialists.)

—TRANSLATOR.

¶ Peter the Hermit.

¶ Calvin was born in 1509, died in 1564.

\*\* Condorcet, born at Ribemont in 1732, died in 1794.—Camille Desmoulins, born at Ghies, in 1762, died in 1794. Babeuf, born at St. Quentin, died in 1797.—Béranger was born at Paris, but is of a Picard family. See *La Biographie de l'Aisne, par de Vimeux*.



the illustrious, pure-minded general Foy, the incarnation of military honor.\*

The South and the lands of the vine have, as we see, no monopoly of eloquence. Picardy is well worth Burgundy—the wine is in her heart. In one's course from the centre to the Belgian frontier, one would say that the blood runs quicker, and that it grows warmer as one advances towards the north.† Most of our great artists, Claude Lorraine, Poussin, Le Sueur,‡ Gouyon, Cousin, Mansart, Le Notre, David, belong to the northern provinces; and if we pass Belgium, and cast a glance at that little France—Large, standing alone where all around is foreign and speaks with foreign tongue, we find our Grétry.§

The history of the centre of the centre, of Paris, of the Isle of France, is the history of the whole monarchy. To specify a few proper names, would be to make the reader but poorly acquainted with them. They have both received and given the national character; they are not a country, but the epitome of the country. The history of feudalism alone in the Isle of France embraces wide relations. To speak of the Montforts is to speak of Jerusalem, of the crusade of Languedoc, of the commons of France and England, and of the wars of Brittany. Mention the Montmorencys, and you have to tell how feudalism devoted itself to the power of the monarchy, and of fervent loyalty, though marked by but moderate talent. As to the numerous writers born in Paris, they owe much of their idiosyncrasy to the provinces from which their families originally came, and, above all, express the genius of collective France, which shone so brightly in them. The universally distinguishing characteristics of French genius are clearly displayed in Villon, in Boileau, in Molière, Regnard, and Voltaire, and if you search for local peculiarities, the most you will find will be a touch of the old heaven of the civic mind, (*l'esprit bourgeois*.) less comprehensive than judicious, critical, and

sarcastic, and which grew up a compound of Gallic good humor and parliamentary bitterness, between the *parrus Notre Dame* and the steps of the *Sainte-Chapelle*.\*

But this indigenous and special character is still secondary; the general one predominates. To say Paris, is to sum up the whole monarchy. How happens one city to have become the perfect symbol of the entire country? It requires a whole history of the country to explain it, and Paris would be its last chapter. The Parisian mind is at once the most complex and the highest form of French genius. It would seem that the result of the annihilation of every local and provincial feeling must be altogether negative; but it is not so. From all these negations of material, local, and special ideas, results a living generality, a positive fact, a lively strength. We saw it in July.†

'Tis a great and marvellous spectacle which meets the eye as it wanders from the centre to the extremities, and embraces with its glance that vast and powerful organism, whose different parts are so fitly approximated, opposed, or bled together, the weak with the strong, the negative with the positive: to see the eloquent and winsy Burgundy betwixt the ironical naïveté of Champagne, the critical, polemical, and warlike ruggedness of Franche-Comté and Lorraine; to see the the Languedocian fanaticism between the Provençal lightness, and the Grecian indifference; to see the grasping desires and spirit of conquest of Normandy, restrained between resisting Brittany, and thick and massive Flanders.

Longitudinally considered, France undulates in two long organic systems, as the human body has its double apparatus, the gastric and cerebro-spinal. On the one hand are the provinces of Normandy, Bretagne, Pontou, Auvergne, and Guyenne; on the other, those of Languedoc and Provence, Burgundy and Champagne, Picardy and Flanders—where the two systems unite. Paris is the sensorium.

The power and beauty of this great whole consist in the reciprocal support and continuity of the parts, in the distribution of the functions, in the division of social labor. Resistant and warlike strength and the power of action are at the extremities; intelligence in the centre. The centre knows itself, and knows all the other parts. The frontier provinces, contributing more directly to defence, preserve military traditions, hand down the old barbaric heroism, and their energetic populations incessantly renew the centre, worn down by the rapid friction of the social movement. Sheltered from war, the centre thinks, operates changes in business, science, and policy, and transforms all it receives. It swallows raw life—which becomes transfigured † In it the provinces see them-

\* Born at Pithon or at Ham. Several of the generals of the Revolution were from Picardy, as Dumas, Dupont, Bernier, &c. Let us add to the list of those who do honor to a district fertile in glory Anselme de Lion, Ramus, slain in the massacre of St Bartholomew, Bouteiller, author of *La Sainte Barthe*, the historian, Guibert de Nogent, the Jesuit Chateaux, the d'Estrees, and Gentiles.

† Even the name of Artois, which has produced so many martyrs. The able President came from Arras. The Bonaparte being given as in one individual a great part and a greater than Louis XVIII.

‡ Claude Lorraine, born at Chamagne in Lorraine, in 1600. He died in 1682. Poussin of a Picardian family, born at Andely in 1594, died in 1665. Le Sueur, born at Paris in 1617, died in 1665. Jean Cousin, founder of the French school of painting, born at Courcy, near Reims about 1500. Jean Gouyon, born at Paris, died in 1572. Germain Pilon, born at Louviers, an leagues from Paris, died at the end of the sixteenth century. Pierre Levet, the architect of the Bastille, of Innocents, born at Paris in 1510, died in 1571.

§ He was born at Nancy in 1693, died in 1655. This rapid and clever artist engraved fourteen hundred plates. Man, with the architect of Versailles and of the Hotel des Invalides, born at Paris in 1645, died in 1700. Le Notre, born at Paris in 1613, died in 1700 &c.

\* Born in 1741, died in 1813. Large is greatly and courageously original, a town by itself. When will it meet with an historian?

\* Or between the market place and the law courts. The *Chapelle* is the scene of Buteau's *Patron*. Translated.

† Alluding to the revolution of 1830. Translated.

‡ It had in its birth, of old so transfigure. This is one,

selves; in it, they love and admire themselves under a superior form, hardly knowing themselves—

"Miranturque novas frondes, et non sua poma."

This beautiful centralization, through which France is France, is at the first view saddening. Its life is either at the centre or the extremities—all between is weak and pale. Between the rich Banlieue of Paris and the rich Flanders, you cross Picardy, old and sad: 'tis the fate of centralized provinces, which are yet not the centre. The powerful attraction of the latter would seem to weaken and attenuate them. They look up to it only, are great through it only. Yet greater are they when thus preoccupied by their interest in the centre, than the eccentric provinces can possibly be by their originality. Centralized Picardy has given us Condorcet, Foy, Béranger, and many others in modern times: what names have wealthy Flanders or rich Alsace produced in our day to compare with these? In France, man's chiefest boast is that he is born a Frenchman. The extremities are opulent, strong, heroic, but their interests are often different from those of the nation: they are less French than the rest. The Convention had to conquer provincial federalism, before it conquered Europe. Carlism is rife at Lille, and at Marseilles. Bordeaux is French, certainly, but equally colonial, American, or English. She must ship sugars, and sell her wines.

Nevertheless, 'tis one of the elements of the greatness of France, that on her every frontier she has provinces which blend something of foreign genius with their national character. To Germany, she opposes a German France; to Spain, a Spanish France; to Italy, an Italian France. Between these provinces and the adjoining countries, there is a certain degree of analogy, and yet an intense opposition. Different shades of the same color do not harmonize so well together as opposite colors, and all great hatreds are between relatives. Thus, Iberian-Gascony loves not Iberian-Spain.—These analogous yet differing provinces, with which France confronts the foreigner, oppose either a resisting or a neutralizing power to his attacks; and are so many various powers by which France touches the world and has a hold upon it. Sweep on then, my brave, my beautiful France, sweep with the long waves of thy undulating territory on to the Rhine, the Mediterranean, and the ocean. Heave against hard England, hard Brittany, and tenacious Normandy; to grave and solemn Spain, oppose scoffing Gascony; to Italy the fire of Provence; to the massive German empire, the deep and solid battalions of Alsace and of Lorraine; to Belgian inflation and rage, the cool, strong

wrath of Picardy—the sobriety, reflection, orderly spirit, and aptitude for civilization of the Ardennes and of Champagne.

On passing the frontier, and comparing France with the conterminous countries, the first impression is unfavorable. On almost every side, the advantage seems to rest with the stranger. From Mons to Valenciennes, and from Dover to Calais, the difference is painful. Normandy is an England, a pale England. What are the trade and commerce of Rouen and Havre, in comparison with those of Manchester and Liverpool? Alsace is a Germany, without that which constitutes the glory of Germany—philosophic omniscience and depth, with true poetic simplicity.\* But we must not take France on this fashion, piece by piece, but embrace her in her entirety. It is precisely because centralization is powerful, and general life strong and energetic, that local life is weak: and this it is which constitutes the beauty of our country. France has not the calculating head of England, ever perfecting new schemes of trade and money-making; but then she has neither the desert of the Scottish Highlands, nor that cancer, Ireland. She has not, like Germany and Italy, twenty central points of science and of art. She has but one; and but one centre of social life. England is an empire; Germany, a country—a race; France is a person.

Personality and unity form the steps by which the human being mounts high in the scale of being. I cannot explain my meaning better than by quoting the language of an ingenious physiologist.

In animals of an inferior order, as fish, insects, mollusca, and others, local life is strong. "Each segment of a leech contains a complete system of organs, a nervous centre, vascular recesses and enlargements, a pair of gastric lobes, respiratory organs, and seed vessels: and it has been noticed that one of these segments can live for some time when cut off from the others. In proportion as beings rise in the scale of animal existence, the segments become more intimately united, and the collective whole more clearly individualized. Individuality in composite animals consists not only in the juncture of all the sets of organs, but in the common enjoyment of a number of parts,—a number that is found to increase the higher the animal rises in the scale, and the centralization to be more perfect as it ascends."† Nations may be classified in a similar manner. The common enjoyment of a large number of parts, the continuity of these parts, and the reciproc-

\* I do not mean to say that Alsace is without all this, but only that it has it in an inferior degree to Germany. It has produced, and still possesses, many distinguished philologists. Nevertheless, Alsatian genius is rather practical and political than speculative. The second house of Flanders and that of Austrian Lorraine, drew their origin from Alsace.

† Memoir read at the Académie des Sciences, by M. Duges. (See the *Traps* of the *Stat of October*, 1854.)

out of many, of those bold figures of speech, which I have not altered—however broad, strange, or strong, since they constitute a marked feature of my author's style.)—*TRANS- LATOR.*

cal functions which they discharge to each other, constitute in their perfectness social superiority. Hence the social supremacy of France—the country of all others in which nationality, or national personality, is most closely united with individual personality.

— To lessen, without destroying, local and private life to the advantage of common and federal life, is the great problem of human sociability, and mankind daily draw nearer to its solution. The foundation of monarchies and of empires forms the steps by which it is to be reached. The Roman empire was a first step, Christianity a second. Charlemagne and the Crusades, Louis XIV., and the Revolution, and the French Empire which rose out of the latter, are so many advances in the road. The nation whose centralization is the most perfect, is likewise that which, by its example, and by the energy of its action, has done most to forward the centralization of the world.

This condensation of France into oneness, and annihilation of provincial feeling, is frequently considered to be the simple result of the conquest of the provinces. Now, conquest may fasten and chain hostile parts together, but never unite them. Conquest and war have only laid open provinces to each other, and brought isolated people in contact; the rest has been accomplished by the quick and lively sympathy and social instinct of the Gallic character. Strange! these provinces, differing in climate, habits, and tongue, have comprehended and loved one another, until they feel themselves one. The Gascon has been disturbed about Flanders, the Burgundian has rejoiced or suffered from what has taken place in the Pyrenees; the Breton, seated on the shores of ocean, has felt the blows struck on the Rhine.

In this manner has been formed the general, the universal spirit of the country; the local has disappeared daily; the influence of soil, climate, and race, has given way before social and political action. Local fatalities have been overcome, and man has escaped from the tyranny of material circumstances. The Frenchman of the North has enjoyed the South, and gathered life from her sun. The southern has gained something of the tenacity,

seriousness, and reflectiveness of the north. Society and liberty have subdued nature, and history has effaced geography. In this marvellous transformation spirit has triumphed over matter, the general over the particular, and the ideal over the real. Individual man is a materialist, and spontaneously attaches himself to local and private interests. Human society is a spiritualist; it tends unceasingly to free itself from the miseries of local existence, in order to attain the lofty and abstract unity of—a country.

The deeper we plunge into past times, the further we are removed from this pure and noble generalization—the growth of modern feelings. Barbarian epochs present only the local, special, and material. Man holds by the soil: he is bound to it, and seems a part of it. History, in these epochs, has to consider the land, and the race that inhabits it; and each race is powerfully influenced by its own land. By degrees, the innate strength of man will disengage and uproot him from this narrow spot. He will leave it, reject it, trample it under foot, and require, instead of his natal village, town, or province, a great country by which he may himself become a sharer in the destinies of the world. The idea of such a country—an abstract idea but little dependent on the senses—will conduct him, by a new effort, to the idea of a universal country, of the city of Providence.

In the tenth century, the period to which the present history has now come down, we are very far from this light of modern times. Humanity must suffer and be patient, and deserve to reach . . . . . alas! what a long and painful initiation she has yet to undergo! What rude trials to sustain! How sharp will be the pangs of her own travail in bringing forth herself! She must sweat blood as well as sweat to bring into the world the middle-age, and must see it die after she has so long reared, nursed, and caressed it.—a child of sorrow, torn out of the very entrails of Christianity, born in tears, reared in prayer and in visions, and in anguish of heart, and that died without having brought any thing to a conclusion—but bequeathing to us so touching a memory of itself, that all the joys and the greatness of modern times will fail to console us.

## BOOK THE FOURTH.

## CHAPTER I.

THE YEAR 1000. THE KING OF FRANCE AND THE  
FRENCH POPE; ROBERT AND GERBERT.—FEU-  
DAL FRANCE.

THIS vast revelation of France which we have just traced in *space*, and are about to track in *time*, begins with the tenth century, with the accession of the Capets. From this period each province has its history: each acquires a voice, and becomes its own chronicler. At first, this immense concert of simple and barbarous voices—like the chanting on a Christmas eve, in the sombre light of a huge cathedral—sounds harsh and grating on the ear. Strange accents, singular and fearful, and hardly human voices, mingle in the deep acclaim—so as to render it doubtful whether you hear the hymn of thanksgiving for our Saviour's birth, or the dissonant strains of the Festival of Fools, or that of the Ass;\* making a wild, fantastic harmony, unlike aught else, and in which every hymn seems to mingle, from the solemn strains of the *Dies iræ* to the thrilling burst of the *Alleluia*.

It was the universal belief of the middle age, that the thousandth year from the Nativity would be the end of the world.† In like manner, before Christianity, the Etrusci had fixed ten

centuries as the term of their empire; and the prediction had been fulfilled. Christianity, a wayfarer on this earth, a guest, exiled from heaven, readily adopted a similar belief. The world of the middle age was without the external regularity of the ancient city, and the firm and compact order within was not easily discernible. It only saw chaos in itself; but longed for order, and hoped to find it in death. Besides, in those days of miracles and legions, in which every thing assumed a strange hue, as if seen through the sombre medium of a stained casement, it might well be doubted whether all that met the eye in this apparently tangible world were other than a dream. Every day life was made up of marvels. The army of Otho had seen the sun fading; and as yellow as saffron.\* King Robert, excommunicated for having married within the forbidden degrees, had received, when his queen lay in, a monster in his arms. The devil no longer took the trouble to conceal himself; for at Rome he had appeared openly to a pope who practised the black art. What with all these apparitions, visions, and strange voices, what with God's miracles and the devil's witchcrafts, who could deny the likelihood of the earth's resolving itself some morning into smoke, at the sound of the fatal trumpet! Then, might it well have happened that what we call life would have been found to be death; and that the world, in coming to a close, might, like the saint of the legend, *begin to live and cease to die*, ("et tunc vivere inceptit, morique desinit.")

The idea of the end of the world, sad as that world was, was at once the hope and the terror of the middle age. Look at those antique statues of the tenth and eleventh centuries—mute, meager, and their pinched and stiffened lineaments grinning with a look of living suffering, allied to the repulsiveness of death. See how they implore, with clasped hands, that dreaded yet dreaded moment, that second death of the resurrection, which is to redeem them from their unspeakable sorrows, and raise them from nothingness into existence, and from the grave to God. Here is imaged the poor world itself and its hopelessness, after having witnessed so many ruins. The Roman empire had crumbled away; so had that of Charlemagne. Christianity had then believed itself intended to do away with sorrow here below; but suffering still went on. Misfortune succeeded misfortune, ruin, ruin. Some other advent was needed; and men expected that it would arrive. The

\* ("In each of the cathedral churches there was a bishop or an archbishop of fools elected; and in the churches immediately dependent on the papal see, a pope of fools . . . . During the divine service this motley crowd were not contented with singing of indecent songs in the choir; but some of them ate and drank and played at dice upon the altar, by the side of the priest who celebrated mass . . . . These spectacles were always exhibited at Christmas-time, or near it . . . . When the ceremony took place on St. Stephen's day, they sang, as part of the mass, a burlesque composition, called the *Prose of the Ass*, or the *Fool's Prose*. It was performed by a double choir, and at intervals, in place of a burden, they imitated the braying of an ass." Strutt's *Sports and Pastimes*, &c., p. 345-6.—See, also, the note, p. 175.—TRANSLATOR.)

† "Even now the day of His coming, in the terror of His majesty, is at hand, when all shepherds with their flocks will come into the presence of the ever-living Shepherd." &c., *Concl. Tractat.* ann. 909, (Mansi, xviii. p. 36).—"Already he, Bernard, the hermit of Thuringia said, the last day was nigh, and that the world would speedily be consumed." *Trithemii Chronic.* ann. 960.—"I heard a discourse delivered to the people in the church of Paris, on the end of the world, in which the preacher stated that Antichrist would come as soon as the thousand years were completed, and that the day of judgment would shortly follow." *Abbas Floriacensis*, ann. 980. (Gillandius, xiv. 141).—"In the year of our Lord 1000, such a rumor prevailed throughout many parts of the world, that the hearts of many were filled with fear and sorrow, and many thought the end of the world was nigh." Will. Gisleli. *Chron.* ap. *Scr. R. Fr.* i. 242.—"For it was reckoned that the seasons and elements would relapse into chaos, to the destruction of the world." *Rad. Glaber*, l. iv. *ibid.* 49.

\* *Rad. Glaber*, l. iv. c. 2.

captive expected it in the gloomy dungeon, and in the bonds of the sepulchral in *pace*. The serf expected it while tracing the furrow under the shadow of his lord's hated tower. The monk expected it amidst the privations of the cloister, amidst the solitary tumults of his heart, amidst temptations and backslidings, repentances and strange visions, the wretched puppet of Satan who malignantly gambolled around him, and who at night would draw aside his coverlet, and laughingly chuckle in his ear—"thou art mine!"

All longed to be relieved from their suffering, no matter at what cost! Better were it for them to fall once for all into God's hands, and rest forever, though on a bed of fire, than remain as they are. Nor could that moment be without its charm, when the shrill and withering trump of the archangel should peal in the ear of their tyrants; for then—from dungeon, cloister, and from furrow—one tremendous shriek of laughter would burst forth from the stricken and oppressed.

This fearful hope of the arrival of the judgment-day grew with the calamities that ushered in the year 1000, or that followed hard upon. It seemed as if the order of the seasons had been inverted, and the elements had been subjected to new laws. A dreadful pestilence made Aquitaine a desert. The flesh of those who were seized by it was as if struck by fire, for it fell rotting from their bones. The high roads to the places of pilgrimage were thronged with these wretched beings. They besieged the churches, particularly that of St. Martin's at Limoges, and crowded its portals to suffocation, undeterred by the stench around it. Most of the bishops of the south repaired thither, bringing with them the relics of their respective churches. The crowd increased, and so did the pestilence, and the sufferers breathed their last on the relics of the saints.†

A few years after it was still worse. From the East to Greece, Italy, France, and England, famine prevailed. "The mud of corn," says a contemporary writer,‡ "rose to sixty sous of

gold. The rich lost color and flesh. The poor dug up and ate the roots in the woods. Many, horrible to relate, were driven by hunger to feed on their fellow-creatures. The strong waylaid the weak, tore them in pieces, roasted them, and ate them. Children would be tempted into lonely places by the offer of an egg, or of fruit, and then made way with. To such extremes did this madness of famine go, that the very beasts were safer than man. As if it were an understood thing that it was to be eaten, human flesh was exposed for sale in the market-place of Tournus. The vender did not deny the fact, and was burnt. The night succeeding his execution, the self-same flesh was dug up by a starving wretch, who ate it, and was burned as well."

..... A wretch had built a hut in the forest of Maçon, near the church of St. Jean de Castanedo, where he murdered in the nighttime those who had besought his hospitality. The bones of his victims caught the eye of one of his guests, who managed to escape; and there were found in his hut forty-eight skulls of men, women, and children. Driven by hunger, many mixed clay with their flour.\* Still further misfortune followed. The wolves, allured by the number of unburied bodies, attacked the living. The God-fearing then dug trenches, whither father and mother were borne by son, and brother by brother, as soon as life began to fail; and the survivor himself, despairing of life, would often cast himself in after them. A council of the prelates of the cities of Gaul being summoned, in order to devise some remedy for these woes, it was agreed, that since there was not food for all, the stoutest should be assisted as much as possible, for fear of the land's being left uncultivated.†

Men's hearts were softened by this excess of misery, and rendered accessible to the touch of pity. Dreading the sword of God, they sheathed their own. It was no longer worth while to fight or to wage war for an accursed world, which they were about to quit. Vengeance was useless—all saw that their enemies' lives, like their own, were doomed. When the pestilence attacked Limoges, men hurried to throw themselves at the feet of the bishops, pledged themselves thenceforward to live peaceably, respect the churches, and to abstain from plundering travellers, or at least such as journeyed under the protection of priests or of monks. All war was prohibited during the holy-days of each week, that is, from the Wednesday evening to the Monday morning—a custom called *the peace*, and subsequently, *the truce of God* ‡

\* "A mannikin of feeblest aspect, stood at the foot of my bed. He was underlined with a slender neck, hollow features, and dark eyes, wrinkled and contracted down, that neither better nor perched and falling in chin with a gentle heart, sharp and point-like ears, with stirring and dishevelled hair, dog's teeth, peaked head, deformed chest, humped back, fleshy buttocks, and in total attire, his body quivering and restless, and tearing down the top of my coverlet, which the whole bed softly &c. &c." Radcliffe, vol. 1.

† "Traces of the" Geniſis, ap. Ser. R. Fr. 2 261. Chronic. Adm. Tolomeus, vol. 10.

‡ Radcliffe, vol. 1. c. 4. In the course of seventy three years there were no fewer than forty-eight famines and epidemics elsewhere. In the year 997, a great famine and epidemic disease; in 999, a great famine; between 999 and 1000 a famine and the burning sickness; between 1003 and 1007 famine and great mortality; 1010 1016 famine burning sickness and great mortality; 1027 1029 famine so that men ate each other; 1031 1033 a cruel famine; in 1035 the bubonic plague; 1042 06 famine both in France and Germany; 1043 1046 famine and great mortality for five years; 1050 a seven years famine and corresponding mortality. The mud is equal to five quarters of corn.)

\* Chronic. Adm. Tolomeus, ap. Ser. R. Fr. 2 260. The savages of South America and the negroes of Guinea are known to eat potter's earth, or clay, during part of every year. It is said tried in the markets of Java. Alex. de Humboldt, Tableau de la Nature, the French translation, vol. 1, p. 330.

† The people of Aquitaine and all the provinces of Gaul, in imitation of them, either through fear or love of God, adopted a measure which proceeded from Divine inspiration.



In this general despair, few enjoyed any peace save under the shadow of the Church. Men crowded to lay on the altar gifts of lands, of houses, and of serfs; all which acts have the imprint of the one universal belief:—"The end of the world draws nigh," so they ran, "each day brings fresh destruction; therefore I, count or baron, give to such or such church for the benefit of my soul" . . . or else, "Reflecting that slavery is contrary to Christian liberty, I declare such or such a one, my born thrall, him, his children, and his heirs, free."

Even this did not set their minds at rest. They longed to forsake the sword, the baldric, and all the insignia of the military service of the age, in order to screen themselves among monks, and under monkly garb, seeking but a corner of a convent in which to bury themselves. The difficulty was to hinder the great of the earth, kings and dukes, from becoming monks, or at least lay brothers. William I., duke of Normandy, would have forsaken all and retired into the monastery of Jumièges, had the abbot permitted him; still, he managed to carry away a cowl and a frock, which he secured in a small coffer, the key of which he always wore at his girdle.\* Hugh I., duke of Burgundy, and, before him, the emperor Henry II., had desired to turn monks. Hugh was prevented from carrying his wish into effect by the pope. Henry, on entering the church of the abbey of St. Vanne, at Verdun, had exclaimed with the Psalmist—"This is my rest for ever, here will I dwell, for I have desired it!" Being overheard by a monk, who put the abbot on his guard, the latter invited him to attend a chapter of the house, and then inquired into his intentions. "By the grace of God," replied the emperor with tears, "I seek to renounce the garments of this world, to assume yours, and to live, serving God, with your brethren."—"Will you then," said the abbot, "in compliance with our rule, and the example of Jesus Christ, promise obedience until death?"—"I will," was the answer.—"Well, I accept you as monk; from this day forward I take on myself the care of your soul, and what I order, that do you with the fear of God before you. I bid you return to the government of the empire, which God has confided to your charge, and to watch with all your soul, in fear and trembling, over the safety of the whole kingdom."† The emperor, bound thereto by his vow, sorrowfully obeyed. However, he had long previously been a monk, having lived with his wife as brother with sister; and he is hon-

ored by the Church, with the name of St. Henry.

Another saint, though not canonized by him, is our own king Robert. "Robert," says the author of the *Chronicle of St. Bertin*, "was very pious, wise, and well read, not unskilled in philosophy, and an excellent musician. He set to music the hymn *Adsit nobis gratia*, and the responses, *Judas et Hierusalem, Concede nobis quæsumus*, and *Cornelius Centurion*, which he laid, arranged and scored, on St. Peter's altar at Rome, as well as the anthem, *Eripe*, and many other fine things. His wife, who was named Constance, asked him one day to do something in her honor; when he composed the response, *O constantis martyrum*, which the queen, on account of the word *constantis*, thought he had written on purpose for her. The king used to go to the church of St. Denys in his royal robes and crowned with his crown, to superintend the choir at matins, vespers, and at mass, to sing with the monks, and to challenge them to trial of skill in singing. Thus, as he was besieging a certain castle on St. Hippolyte's day, for which saint he had a peculiar veneration, he left the siege and repaired to the Church of St. Denys to lead the choir during mass; and, while he was piously singing with the monks the *Agnus Dei, dona nobis pacem*, the walls of the castle suddenly fell down, and the king's army took possession of it: and this, Robert always attributed to the merits of St. Hippolyte."

"One day on his return from prayers, in performing which he, as was his wont, had shed showers of tears, he found his lance adorned by his vain spouse with silver ornaments. While examining them, he betought himself of looking out to try to see some poor person who might want this silver; and, seeing a poor man in rags, he asked him privily for something to take off the silver with. The poor man did not know what he meant to do with it; but this servant of God told him to make haste to fetch him some tool or other that would serve: meanwhile, he betook himself to prayer. The other returning with a tool, they cut themselves up together, and strip the lance of its ornaments, which the king put with his own holy hands into the poor man's wallet, advising him, as he was used, to take care that his wife did not see him. When the queen came she was much surprised at seeing his lance so stripped; and Robert swore by the Lord's name—though not in earnest—that he knew not how it was done."

"He had a great horror of lying. Thus to screen those who tendered him their oaths, and himself as well, he had a crystal shrine made, let into a golden one, in which he took care there should be no relic; and he made his nobles, who were not aware of his pious deceit,

It was decreed that from Wednesday evening to the morning of the following Monday, none should dare to lay violent hands on any thing, or to seek to gratify any private revenge, or even to require surety of another. The punishment for breaking this law was death, or banishment from one's country and from Christian society. Thus all the world agreed to give this law the name of *treugas de Dieu*.<sup>\*</sup> *Rad. Glaber, l. v. c. 1.*

\* *Will. Gemet. l. iii. c. 2.*

† *Vita S. Richard, ap. Ser. R. Fr. x. 373.*

\* *Chronica*  
† *Einigeld*

*R. R. x. 373.*  
*Einigeld*



of the real presence, till now obscured and veiled in shadow, burst forth in the belief of the people, like a sunlight of poetry illuminating and transfiguring the West and the North. "All this was surely foretold by the very position of the cross of our Lord, when the Saviour was suspended on it on Mount Calvary. In fact, while the East, with its fierce tribes, was concealed behind the face of our Lord, the West, catching His looks, received from His eyes the light of the faith with which it was soon to be filled. His all-powerful right hand, extended for the great work of mercy, showed the North, which was about to be softened by the effect of the Divine word, while his left fell to the share of the barbarous and tumultuous nations of the South."\*

This grand idea of the struggle between the West and the East, which has just fallen in infantile words from the ignorant mouth of the monk, is prophetic of futurity and of the march of mankind. Great are the signs displayed already; thousands of men proceed one by one, and as pilgrims, to Rome, to Monte-Cassino, and to Jerusalem. Already, the first French pope, Gerbert, proclaims the crusade. His spirited letter,† in which he summons all princes in the name of the holy city, precedes by a century the preaching of Peter the Hermit. Thus, preached by a Frenchman, and executed under a French pope, Urban II., executed chiefly, too, by Frenchmen, the great common undertaking of the middle age, that which served to combine the Franks into one nation, will be ours, will belong to us, and will make known the deep-rooted social sympathies of France. But, there is still a century to it: the world must settle down before plunging into action. In the year 1000, a politician founds the popedom, and a saint founds royalty—these are two Frenchmen, Gerbert and Robert.

\* Rad. Glaber, l. i. c. 5.

† Gerberti Epist. 107. ap. Ser. R. Fr. x. 426. "The church at Jerusalem to the Church Universal governing the scriptures of the kingdom:

"Since thou art flourishing, O immaculate spouse of God, of whom I profess myself to be a member, I have a lively assurance that by thy aid I shall be enabled to lift my bruised head. Could I doubt thee, mistress of the world, shouldst thou recognise me as thy own? Will any of thee think that my unnumbered sufferings are no care of his, or spurn me as a vile thing? Though now cast down, the world once thought me its chosen spot. Mine were the oracles of the prophets, the ensigns of the patriarchs. From me went forth the Apostles, the illuminators of the world: in me, the world sought the faith of Christ, and in me found its Redeemer. For although his Divine presence is every where, yet here he put on humanity, was born, suffered, buried, and ascended to heaven. But though the Prophet said 'His sepulchre shall be glorious,' the devil tries to make it inglorious, the heathen making it a scene of havoc. Be up, then, and doing, O soldier of Christ, bear at once the standard and the sword, and what arms cannot do, that effect by counsel and money. What wilt thou give, or to whom? Verily, little out of much, and to one who has given thee freely all thou hast, nor yet receives without a return, for he returneth manifold, and with everlasting treasure. Through me he blesses thee; so that giving becomes usury, and redeeming sins, that thou mayest live and reign with Him." This letter stirred the Pisans to instant action. They set out at once, and massacred, it is said, a prodigious number of infidels in Africa. Ser. R. Fr. x. 426.

This Gerbert, they say, was nothing less than a magician.\* Expelled from his monastery at Aurillac, he takes refuge at Barcelona, and unfrocks himself, in order to study literature and algebra at Cordova. Repairing then to Rome, he is chosen by the great Otho as tutor for his son and grandson. Subsequently, he gets the appointment of professor at the celebrated school of Reims, where our good king Robert is his disciple. Taken by the archbishop as his secretary and confidant, he manages to have him deposed in his own favor by the influence of Hugh Capet. It was a great thing for the Capets to have such a man attached to their interests: if they help him to become archbishop, he helps them to become kings.

Being forced to seek the protection of Otho III., he becomes archbishop of Ravenna, and, finally, pope. He sits in judgment on the great nominates kings, (those of Hungary and Poland,) gives laws to republics, and rules both by the influence of the popedom and of his own knowledge. He preaches the Crusade: an astrologer has foretold that he will die in Jerusalem. All seems conspiring to this end, when one day that he was sitting at Rome in a chapel called Jerusalem,† the devil makes his appearance and claims the pope. The bargain had been struck between them, among the Spanish Moors. Gerbert was then a student; when finding that he was engaged in a tedious pursuit, he sold himself to the devil for a short cut to knowledge, and learned from him the mystery of Arab numerals, and of algebra, and of making a horologe, and of getting himself made pope. How could he have done all this, otherwise? He has sold himself, and therefore belongs to his master. The devil proves it to him, and then carries him off—"Thou didst not think that I was a logician."‡

Apart from their friendship for this diabolical man, there was no wickedness in the first Capets. The good Robert, indulgent and pious, was a *king man*, a king sympathizing with his people, a crowned monk. The Capets were commonly supposed to be of plebeian race, and of Saxon descent. Their ancestor, Robert the

\* Guill. Malmesbur. l. ii. ap. Ser. R. Fr. x. 243. "It were not amiss to set down the prevailing rumors . . . Gerbert, replying to the Saracens, who, according to the common custom of their race, were studying divinations and incantations, satisfied his longings . . . There he learnt what the flight and notes of birds portended, and to call up phantoms from the shades below . . . Having raised the devil by charms, he covenanted to worship him." Fr. Andreu (Chron. ibid. 249). "None accuse him of practising necromancy . . . he is said to have died, struck by the devil."—(Chron. Reg. Francorum, ibid. 301. . . . "the monk Gerbert, a philosopher, nay, rather, a necromancer."

† (This story of dying in Jerusalem will remind the reader of the death of our Henry IV.)—TRANSLATOR.

‡ Dante, Inferno, c. 27—

"Tu non pensavi, ch'io talco fante!"

The two great myths, identifying the philosopher with the magician, in the legends of the middle age, are those of Gerbert and Albert the Great; and it is remarkable that France here anticipates Germany by two centuries. In compensation, however, the German sorcerer leaves a deeper impression, and revives, in the fifteenth century, in Faust the inventor of printing.

Strong, had defended the land against the Normans, and Eudes was ever at war with the emperors, who supported the later Carolingians; but the succeeding monarchs, down to Louis the Fat, are without any military pretensions. It is true that, in recording the accession of each, the chronicles do not fail to tell us that he was exceedingly knightly; but we find that they can only carry on war by the help of the Normans and of the bishops,—the archbishop of Reims in particular. Probably the bishops found the funds, while the Normans were the soldiers. The Capetian princes, leaning to the priests, to whom they owed their elevation, sought, undoubtedly, by their advice, to link themselves with the past, and, by distant alliances with the Greek empire, to cast the antiquity of the Carolingians into the shade. Hugh Capet sought the hand of one of the princesses of Constantinople\* for his son. His grandson, Henry I., married the daughter of the czar of Russia, who by the mother's side was a Byzantine princess of the Macedonian stock, which traced back to Alexander the Great, and Philip, and through them to Hercules. The king of France named his son Philip, and the name was a favorite one with the Capetians. Genealogies of this kind flattered the romantic traditions of the middle age, which explained after its own fashion the real connection between the Indo-Germanic races by deriving the Franks from the Trojans, and the Saxons from Alexander's Macedonian soldiers†.

As we have already stated, the elevation of this dynasty to the throne was the work of the priests, to whom Hugh Capet made over his numerous abbeys, and the work of Richard the Fearless,‡ duke of Normandy, as well. The latter, who had been so ill treated when a child by Eudes d'Outremer,§ and had been more than once betrayed by Lothaire, had good reasons to hate the Carolingians. Hugh Capet was both his ward and his brother-in-law; and, besides, he hated the Norman to attach himself to the opposite party, and to the dynasty, which was the creature of that party. His hope, no doubt, was to mount over both by the sword and by the hope, as well, of the Norman king of Blois, Tours, and Chartres. The

founder of this family, which likewise held the distant possessions of Provins, Meaux, and Beauvais, was one Thiebolt; according to some a relative of Rollo's, but allied with king Eudes, as Rollo was with Charles the Simple. Thiebolt had married one of Eudes' sisters, had got Tours given to him, and had purchased Chartres from the old pirate Hastings.\* His son, Thibault le Tricheur, (the Tricker,) married the daughter of Herbert de Vermandois, the enemy of the Carolingians, and supported the Capets against the emperors of Germany. Jealous rivals of the Normans and of Normandy, the Normans of Blois for some time refused to recognise Hugh Capet, out of hatred to those who had made him king. But he won them over by marrying his son, king Robert, to the famous Bertha, widow of Eudes the First, of Blois, (son of Thibault le Tricheur.) Bertha, who was next in succession to her brother, Rodolph, king of Burgundy, who had willed it to the Empire, could bring the Capets some pretensions to this kingdom; and therefore the German pope, Gregory V., the creature of the emperors, laid hold of a distant connection between the parties as a pretext to compel Robert to forsake his wife, or, in case of refusal, to excommunicate him. The history, or fable, of the manner in which Robert was deserted, even by his servants, who threw whatever he had touched into the fire, and the legend of the monster born of Bertha, are well known. Over the porch of many of our cathedrals is the statue of a queen, with a goose's foot, which seems intended to represent Robert's wife.†

By her first marriage with the count of Blois, Bertha had had a son, named Eudes, after his father, and surnamed the *Champenois*, from his having added to his vast domains a part of La Brie and of Champagne. Eudes had the boldness to wage war on the Empire. Taking possession of the kingdom of Burgundy, which he claimed through his mother, he subjected the whole country as far as the Jura, and Vienna opened her gates to him. Summoned at once by Lorraine and by Italy, which offered him the crown,‡ he aspired to restore the ancient kingdom of Austrasia. He took Bar, and marched upon Aix-la-Chapelle, where he made sure of

\* "Diction. Epist. ap. Ser. R. Fr. x. 600. "Since we have seen in France a king, we can find a suitable alliance, and we are not of the frequency of the neighborhood, we voluntarily affect a daughter of the house of Constantinople."

† The paragraph of Haimo, archbishop of Cologne, in the *Chronicon*, is devoted to the orders of the emperor, who, to destroy the influence of the Normans, sent a large army of soldiers and finally succeeded in driving them out of the country. The emperor then sent them with him into Italy, and Philip, from Rome, and found the treaty of peace. Ser. R. Fr. x. 1.

‡ "Diction. Epist. ap. Ser. R. Fr. x. 164. "On the 10th of Lothaire, king of the Franks, Hugh Capet, the first of the Capetians, was unanimously chosen in his stead."

§ "Diction. Epist. ap. Ser. R. Fr. x. 164. "One of his servants saved him in a bundle of furs." Walter, *Cont. Hist.* c. 4, 5.

\* "Adrian ad ann. 1064. Hastings, pro amore, vendidit Thesaurum, et tale Carolum, cum discessit."

† "Diction. Epist. ap. Ser. R. Fr. x. 602. "Of whom he had a son, having a swan's neck and head. When the husband died, and the wife almost all the bishop's time was occupied by common consent, and suggested with the name of the excommunication fell by the pope, that he should be the king." See Butler's Dissertation on the queen Bertha, *prod. deo*, with the game foot.

‡ Robert was destined to marry Bertha, but the ground of objection was his having a bad gallstone in her son, and his marriage, which was considered to constitute a royal alliance, and according to the canon of the Church presented a bar to marriage with a previous royal marriage. Translation.

§ "Diction. Epist. ap. Ser. R. Fr. x. 164. "The king, who had been defeated at the battle of the Marston, was taken prisoner, and the king, who had been defeated at the battle of the Marston, was taken prisoner, and the king, who had been defeated at the battle of the Marston, was taken prisoner."

being crowned at Christmas. But the duke of Lorraine, the count of Namur, the bishops of Liege and of Metz, and all the barons of the country, hastened to meet and give him battle. He was slain while attempting to escape, and was only known by his wife's recognising a secret mark on his body.\* (A. D. 1037.)

His states, which, on his death, were divided into the countships of Blois and of Champagne, ceased to form a formidable power. More amiable than warlike, the counts of Blois and of Champagne, poets, pilgrims, and crusaders, had neither the settled purpose nor the tenacious spirit of their rivals of Normandy and of Anjou.

The house of Anjou was neither Norman, like those of Blois and of Normandy, nor Saxon, like that of the Capets, but indigenous. It ascribed its origin to a Breton, a native of Rennes, Tortulf, the stout huntsman.† His son took service with Charles the Bald; and, for his valorous deeds against the Normans, was rewarded with some lands in the Gatinais, and the hand of the duke of Burgundy's daughter. After these, Ingelger, Tortulf's grandson, and the two Fulk, were implacable enemies of the Normans of Blois and of Normandy, as well as of the Bretons; disputing with the first and second the possession of Touraine and of Maine, and, with the third, that of the territory extending from Angers to Nantes. Braver than the Poitevins and Aquitanians, and more united and amenable to discipline than the Bretons, the Angevins gained great advantages in the south, extended their conquests beyond the Loire, and pushed on as far as Saintes, succeeding to the preponderating influence momentarily possessed by the counts of Blois and of Champagne. When king Robert was obliged to give up Bertha—the widow and the mother of these counts—the Angevin, Fulk Nerra, forced him to marry his niece Constance, daughter of the count of Toulouse.‡ Fulk's brother, Bouchard, was already count of Paris, and held the important castles of Melun and of Corbeil; his son became bishop of Paris.§ Thus the good Robert, in the hands of the Angevins, and guided by his wife Constance and her uncle Bouchard, had learned to compose hymns and attend to the duties of service. Hugh de Beauvais, one of his most faithful attendants, who endeavored to pro-

ecure the recall of Bertha, was slain with impunity in his very presence.\* Beauvais was of the family of the counts of Blois, into which Bertha had been previously married. The bishop of Chartres, Fulbert, wrote to Fulk, accusing him of having instigated the murder. Fulk was already in bad repute with the Church for his daily spoliation of her possessions. He started for Rome with a round sum of money, purchased absolution from the pope, made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and, on his return, built the abbey of Beaulieu, near Loches, which, at the refusal of the bishops, he got consecrated by a legate. The whole career of this bad man was an alternation of signal victories, of crimes, and of pilgrimages. He went thrice to the Holy Land, the last time on foot; he died of fatigue at Metz.† He was twice married; and one of his wives he banished to Jerusalem, the other he burned as an adulteress. But he founded numerous monasteries, as those of Beaulieu, St. Nicolas d'Angers, &c., and built many castles; among others, those of Montrichard, Montbazou, Mirebeau, and Château-Gonthier. His black *Devil's Tower* is still pointed out at Angers. He is the true founder of the power of the counts of Anjou. His son, Geoffrey Martel, defied and slew the count of Poitiers, took prisoner the count of Blois, and exacted Touraine as the price of his ransom; and, as guardian of its young count, he also governed Maine. Despite internal discord, the house of Anjou finally prevailed over those of Blois and of Champagne; both of which were allied by marriage to the Norman conquerors of England. But the counts of Blois had but temporary possession of the English throne; while the Angevins, under the name of Plantagenets, kept possession of it from the twelfth to the thirteenth century, annexed to it for a time the whole of our coast from Flanders to the Pyrenees, and had all but annexed France.

The Isle of France and the king, both for a while in the power of the Angevins, soon escaped from their hands. As early as the year 1012, we find the Angevin, Bouchard, withdrawing to the abbey of St. Maur-des-Fosses, and leaving Corbeil to the Normans, who, at the time, are ruling under the name of king Robert, and striving to make him master of Burgundy, which would have been to make themselves masters of the whole course of the Seine. This poor king, whom they kept with them, finding the bishops and abbots of Burgundy against him, besought their pardon for making war upon them; and, indeed, the rela-

\* "The death of Eudes, king of France, was the result of the discovery of his secret mark on his body."—*Chronique de France*, p. 1037.

† "Fulk Nerra, count of Anjou, was slain at Metz, A.D. 1040."—*Chronique de France*, p. 1040.

‡ "Constance, daughter of the count of Toulouse, was married to Fulk Nerra, count of Anjou, A.D. 1045."—*Chronique de France*, p. 1045.

§ "Bouchard, brother of Fulk Nerra, was count of Paris, A.D. 1040."—*Chronique de France*, p. 1040.

\* "Fulk Nerra, count of Anjou, was slain at Metz, A.D. 1040."—*Chronique de France*, p. 1040.

† "Fulk Nerra, count of Anjou, was slain at Metz, A.D. 1040."—*Chronique de France*, p. 1040.

‡ "Constance, daughter of the count of Toulouse, was married to Fulk Nerra, count of Anjou, A.D. 1045."—*Chronique de France*, p. 1045.

§ "Bouchard, brother of Fulk Nerra, was count of Paris, A.D. 1040."—*Chronique de France*, p. 1040.

tions between the Capets and the dukes of Burgundy were of old date. Richard le Justicier, (the justicer,) the first duke, and father of Bosson, the king of Burgundy-Cisjurana, had another son, Raoul, who raised duke Robert to the throne of France in the year 922, and afterwards ascended the throne himself; and it was a son-in-law of Richard's who transferred the duchy of Burgundy to two of Hugh Capet's brothers. The younger of the two adopted as his heir his wife's son, Otto-Guillaume,—a Burgundian by the mother's side, though a Lombard by the father's,—who founded the house of Franche-Comté, but being attacked by the Normans and Robert on the one hand, and on the other threatened by the emperor, who laid claim to the kingdom of Burgundy, was obliged to renounce the title of duke; I say the title, for the barons were so powerful that the ducal dignity was only a vain name. Robert's youngest son, who was named after him, was the first Capetian duke of Burgundy, (A. D. 1032;) and this house subsequently gave kings to Portugal, as that of Franche-Comté did to Castile.

While the Capetians, as in Hugh Capet's and Robert's time, were under the pupillage of the house of Angou, the latter would seem to have made attempts on Poitou under cover of their name, as the Normans subsequently did on Burgundy. But notwithstanding a pretended victory of Hugh Capet's over the count of Poitou, the South remained quite independent of the North; or, rather, it was the South which exercised an influence on the manners and government of northern France. Constance, daughter of the count of Toulouse, and niece of the count of Angou, reigned, as we have seen, through her husband, Robert, and, in order to prolong her reign after his death, (A. D. 1031,) she wished to make her second son, Robert, his successor, to the prejudice of the eldest, Henri. But the Church declared for the latter; and the bishops of Reims, Laon, Soissons, Amiens, Noyon, Beauvais, Chalons, Troyes, and Langres, as well as the counts of Champagne and of Poitou, assisted at his coronation. The duke of the Normans took him under his protection, and forced Robert to content himself with the duchy of Burgundy;—and from this Robert issued that first house of Burgundy, which founded the kingdom of Portugal. However, the Norman duke gave the throne to Henri, except weak enough as he was, disarmed. He required the Vexin\* to be ceded to him, and was thus

established only six leagues from Paris. Henri vainly endeavored to escape from this thralldom, and to resume possession of the Vexin, by taking advantage of the insurrections against the new duke of Normandy, William the Bastard. This William, of whom we shall have to speak at length in the following chapter, subdued his barons, and defeated Henri; who, perhaps, owed his safety to the duke's directing his arms and his policy against England.

Henri and his son, Philippe I., (A. D. 1031–1108,) remained inactive and powerless spectators of the great events which convulsed Europe in their time. They took no share either in the Norman crusades against Naples and England, or in the European crusade to Jerusalem, or in the struggle between the popes and the emperors. They let the emperor, Henry III., quietly establish his supremacy in Europe, and refused to second the counts of Flanders, Holland, and of Brabant and Lorraine, in the great war of the Low Countries against the Empire. As yet, the French monarchy is only a hope, a title, a right. Feudal France, which is to be absorbed in it, has, up to this period, altogether an eccentric movement. To follow this movement, we must turn our eyes from the still powerless centre, assist at the great struggle between the Empire and the Priesthood, follow the Normans into Sicily and England, under the banner of the Church, and, finally, wind our way to the Holy Land with the whole of France. It will then be time to return to the Capets, and to see how the Church chose them for her instruments in place of the Normans, who were not sufficiently docile; how she made their fortune, and raised them so high that they were enabled to lower her herself.

## CHAPTER II.

THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY.—GREGORY VII.—ALLIANCE BETWEEN THE NORMANS AND THE CHURCH—CONQUEST OF THE TWO SICILIES AND OF ENGLAND.

NOT without reason have the popes called France the eldest daughter of the Church. By her support they made head in every direction against the political and religious opposition which they had to encounter in the middle age. As early as the eleventh century, when the Capetian monarchy, still weak and inert, is unable to second them, the sword of the Norman French repulses the emperor from the walls of Rome, drives the Greeks and Saracens out of Italy and Sicily, and subdues the dissenting Saxons of England. And when the popes precipitate

\* The Vexin, and the whole army took to flight. Robert, however, when he had taken the monastery of St. Remy, near Paris, the king being grievously wounded, when he returned to the city he was filled with grief and indignation at the cause of their dispersion.

\* The Vexin was a department of a once much more extensive territory, the apex of which and Ploisy, in the Vosges, surrounded the city of Reims. The feudal agreement which the King made with the king of the West Saxons, who, the kings of France, the emperor, and the king of Sicily, all swore to defend, was a great advantage. It showed, as seems that they were patrons of the advancement of St. Denis, and

\* It was with this support that the king of France waded the red sea, afterwards learned the secret of a great of the crown. The third portion of the Vexin was the third in date. Quarterly Review, No. cxcviii.—Illustration.

Europe into the crusades, France bears the principal share in this enterprise, which contributes so powerfully to their aggrandizement, and arms them with irresistible strength in the struggle betwixt the Hierarchy and the Empire.

The great contest of the eleventh century is between the Holy Roman pontificate and the Holy Roman Empire. Germany, which has overthrown Rome by barbaric invasions, endeavors to become her successor by assuming her name; and not only desires to succeed to her temporal dominions, (already the emperor's supremacy is recognised by the other monarchs,) but affects a moral supremacy, intituling itself the *Holy Empire*, as if out of its pale was neither order nor sanctity. Just as on high the celestial powers, thrones, dominations, and archangels are so many successive links of obedience, so are margraves and barons to look up to the dukes, the dukes to the kings, and the latter to the emperor—a haughty claim, indeed, but one pregnant with future consequences. A secular body assumes the title of a holy body, seeks to make civil life a reflection of celestial order and of the divine hierarchy, and to bring down heaven upon the earth. The emperor holds the globe in his hand on days of ceremony; his chancellor calls the other monarchs, the *provincial kings*,\* his jurisconsults declare him the *living law*.† He aspires to establish a perpetual peace as it were on earth, and to substitute a state of law for the state of nature in which the nations still exist.

At the time being, has he the right to do this great thing? Is this feudal prince, this barbarian of Franconia or of Suabia, worthy of accomplishing it? Is it his part to be the instrument of so great a revolution upon earth? Is it for the emperor of Germany to realize this idea of rest and order so long pursued by mankind, or is it to be deferred to the end of the world, to the fulfilment of time?

They say that their great emperor, Frederick Barbarossa, is not dead—he only sleepeth. His place of rest is in an old deserted castle, on a mountain. A shepherd, who had forced his way through briars and brambles, saw him there. He was arrayed in his iron armor, and sitting, leaning on his elbow on a stone table, and must have long been there, since his beard had grown round and encircled it nine times. The emperor, scarcely raising his heavy head, only said to the shepherd, “Do the Ravens still fly round the mountain?”—“Yes, still.”—“Ha, well! I can go to sleep again.”

Let him sleep! it is neither for him, nor for kings, nor for emperors, nor for the holy empire

of the middle age, nor for the holy alliance of modern times, to realize the grand idea cherished by mankind of peace under the shadow of the law—of the definitive reconciliation of the nations.

Undoubtedly, that feudal world which slumbers with the house of Suabia was a noble world; nor can one survey it, even after Greece and Rome, without casting upon it a wistful and regretful look. There were in it very faithful companions, devoted in all loyalty to their lord, and the lady of their lord, joyous at his table and by his hearth, to the full as joyous when crossing with him the defiles of the Alps, or following him to Jerusalem, and as far as the desert of the Dead Sea—pious men, and with white and unstained souls under their steel breastplates. And were these magnanimous emperors of the house of Suabia, this race of poets and of “very parfit, gentle knights,” so very much in the wrong for aspiring to the empire of the world? Their enemies admired even while combating them. The messengers in pursuit of Enzo, the fugitive son of Frederick II., discovered him by a lock of his hair.—“Ah!” said they, “there is no one in the world but king Enzo who has such beautiful fair hair.”\* But all this fair hair, poetry, and high courage, availed them not. Not the less did the brother of St. Louis behead the poor young Conradin, or the house of France succeed to the supremacy of the emperors.

The emperor, the Empire, and the feudal world—whose centre and highest type the Empire is—are doomed to perish. There is a blemish in that world, which draws down both its condemnation and its fall; this is, its profound materialism. Man has attached himself to the earth, and has struck root in the rock from which his tower rises. The saying, *no land without its lord*, is convertible into no lord without his land. Man belongs to a spot; and his fate is settled as soon as it can be ascertained whether he is from *above* or *below*. You see him located, fixed, immoveable under the weight of his heavy castle, his heavy armor.

The land, is man; and in it dwells true personality. As person, it is indivisible; it must remain one, and devolve on the eldest. As person, too, immortal, indifferent, and pitiless, it knows not nature or humanity. The eldest is to be sole possessor; what do I say? it is he who is possessed: the haughty baron is governed by the customs of his land. His land is his master, and imposes his duties upon him. According to the forcible expression of the middle age, he *must serve his fief*.

The son is to have all; the eldest son. The daughter has nothing to ask; is not her dower the chaplet of roses, and her mother's kiss?†

\* *Rogus Imperatoris*.—This was the term applied by the chancellors of the empire to all monarchs, at a diet held at Bamberg by Frederick Barbarossa. — The patronage of the whole world belongs to the emperor.” Otto Freising. viii. 34. This was the reason advanced by King of Hungary, for declining to do the emperor in 1145. Albert. 122 ap. Kuhn. and Robertson. v. 63.

† Imperium est servitium in terra. Urk. in Meibell. Histor. Freising. i. 17.

\* A young girl visited him in his prison in order to console him. They had a son, called *Brutorgius*, (l. v. 1) and some girls, who, according to tradition, was the founder of the dominion of many of that name.

† For instance, in the ancient customs of Normandy.

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close to the altar; and the bishop's disputes precedence with the count's.

Certes, I am not the man to speak against marriage. Married life has its sanctifying part, no less than single. Nevertheless,\* is not the virgin hymeneal of priest and church somewhat disturbed by a less pure union? Will he to whom nature gives children according to the flesh, remember the people whom he has adopted in the spirit? Will the mystic paternity hold its ground against the other? The priest may deny himself in order to give to the poor; but he will not take from his children for their relief! And, though he should hold out, and the priest triumph over the father, though he should fulfil all the obligations of his sacred office, I should fear his preserving its spirit. No, in the holiest marriage, there is something soft and enervating connected with a wife and family that breaks iron and bends steel. The firmest heart loses in the union a part of itself. The priest was more than a man: he is now but a man. He may exclaim, as did Jesus when the woman touched his garments—"I perceive that virtue is gone out of me."

And believe not that the poetry of solitude, the stern satisfaction of abstinence, the fulness of charity and of ecstatic sentiment in which the soul embraces God and the world, can subsist undeteriorated by wedlock. Undoubtedly, to awaken, and to see, on one hand, the cradle of one's little ones, and pillowed by one's side their mother's loved and honored head, is fraught with a pious emotion—but where are the solitary meditations, the mysterious dreams, the sublime storms in which God and the old Adam battled within us? *He who has never watched in sorrow, and watered his bed with tears, knows you not, ye heavenly powers!*†

Christianity was sped if the Church, softened, and with her soaring aspirations checked by marriage, should lapse into the selfish materialism of the law of feudal inheritance. The salt of the earth would have lost its savor: all would have been said. Thenceforward, no more internal strength; no more yearning towards heaven. Such a church would never have reared the ceiling of the choir of Cologne cathedral, or the arrowy spire of that of Strasbourg; never would it have brought forth the soul of St. Bernard, or the penetrating genius

of St. Thomas: men like these, require the concentration of solitude. Thenceforward, too, no crusade: to have a right to attack Asia, Europe must subdue the sensuality of Asia, must become more European, more pure, more Christian-like.

The endangered Church collapsed, in order to prolong her days, and summoned all her life to the heart. Ever since the tempest of barbaric invasions the world had taken refuge in the Church, and had sullied her. The Church took refuge with the monks; that is to say, with the severest and most mystical, let us say, too, with the most democratic portion of herself. Their life of self-denial was less sought after by the barons, and the cloisters were peopled by the sons of serfs.\* Facing this poor and splendid Church which arrays herself in aristocratic pomps, there rose another, poor, sombre, solitary, the Church of suffering, opposite to the Church of enjoyment. The last judged the first, condemned her, purified her, and gave her unity. To the aristocracy of the bishops succeeded the sovereignty of the pope. The Church became incarnate in a monk.

The reformer, like the Founder of Christianity, was a carpenter's son.† He was a monk of Cluny, an Italian by birth, being born at Saona; and thus belonging to that poetic and poetic Tuscan, which has produced Dante and Michelangelo. This foe to Germany, bore the German name of Hildebrand.‡

While he was yet at Cluny, Pope Leo IX., a relative of the emperor's, and nominated by him, lodged on his way to Rome in that monastery; and so great was the religious authority of the monk, that he persuaded the prince to repair thither barefooted, and as a pilgrim, and, renouncing the imperial nomination, to seek to be elected by the people.§ He was the third pope of the emperor's nomination, and thus seemed no room to complain, for these German popes were exemplary. Their nomination had put a stop to those frightful scandals of Rome, when two women—each in turn—gave the popedom to their lovers,|| and when a Jew's son, a child, twelve years of age, was placed at the head of Christendom. Nevertheless, it was, perhaps, still worse for the pope to be nominated by the emperor, since the two powers were thus brought together. The spiritual power

Clergé de Noyon, 1079, et de Cambrai, 1076.—The clergy complained of the injustice of refusing their children ordination. In the ninth century they not only married off their daughters with benefices, but their wives openly assumed the style of priestesses. D. Lobineau, 116. D. Morice, Preuves, i. 463, 542.—According to the biographers of the blessed Bernard de Tiron, and of Harduin, abbot of Bec, it was the same in Normandy: "Per totam Normaniam hoc erat, ut presbyteri publice uxores ducerent, filios ac filias procrearent, quibus hereditatis jure ecclesie relinquere et filias suas nuptial traductas, si alia deceret possessione, ecclesiam dabant in dotem."

\* The author necessarily places himself here in the strict Catholic point of view of the middle age; and one ought to recall to mind all that is great in it, now that St. Simonianism is proposing a reconciliation of spirit with matter, which is the triumph of matter over spirit.

halmeter.

\* The clergy of Laon reproached their bishop with having one day said to the king, "that the clergy were not to be revered, since almost all were born of serfs." Guibertus Norwingtonus, De Vita sua, l. iii. c. 6.—This shows how the Church was recruited under Charlemagne and Louis the Débonnaire. Hobo, archbishop of Reims, was a serf's son.—see a passage from Thomas, in a note at p. 92.

† Voigt, Hist. de Grégoire VII. l. iii.

‡ Signifying "son of the flame," or else, "flame of the son."

§ Otto Frisingensis. l. vi. c. 32. tum ejus, purpuram deposit et Summum Pontificem eligere.

|| (Theodor) and her daughter famous in character, raised XI., the last, Sergius III.—made pope.)—TRANSLATED.



mere reflection, a pale shadow—let him recognise who he is. Then, the world restored to true order, God will reign, and the vicar of God. An hierarchy will be reared after the spirit, and in holiness, for election will raise up the worthiest. The pope will lead the Christian world to Jerusalem; and his vicar will receive the oath of the emperor, and the homage of the kings, at the liberated tomb of Christ.

Such were the ideas which impelled the Church to vindicate the majesty of the law over nature, respectively represented by the popedom and the empire. The emperor was the fiery Henry IV., as wilful according to nature, as Gregory VII. was hard according to the law. At first these opposing forces seemed very unequal. Henry III. had bequeathed to his son vast patrimonial estates, feudal omnipotence in Germany, immense influence in Italy, and a claim to the nomination of the popes. Hildebrand had not Rome even; he had nothing, and he had every thing. It is the true nature of spirit to occupy no place. Everywhere expelled, and everywhere triumphant, he had not a stone whereon to lay his head, and with his dying breath he exclaimed, "I have loved justice and hated iniquity, and therefore I die an exile."\* (A. D. 1073-1086.)

Both parties have been accused of obstinacy. It has been overlooked that this was not a struggle between men. Mankind sought to unite, but could not. When Henry IV. remained for three days in his shirt upon the snow, in the court of the castle of Canossa,†

tiora dispoñit. Deus! luminaria, sic. . . . See, also, Innoc. III. l. i. epist. 401.—Bonifacii VIII. epist. ibid. 197. *Peccat Deus duo luminaria in igna, scilicet, Solem, id est, ecclesiasticum potestatem, et Lunam, hoc est, temporalem et imperialem. Et sicut Luna nullum lumen habet nisi quod recipit a Sole, sic. . . .* The following calculation occurs in the Gloss of the Decretals: "Since the earth is seven times greater than the moon, but the sun eight times greater than the earth, therefore the pontifical dignity is fifty-six times greater than the royal."—Laurentius goes further. . . . "the pope is a thousand seven hundred and four times greater than emperor or kings." Gieseler, ii. pt. ii. p. 98.

\* Paul. Bernried. c. 110. Otto Frising. l. vi. c. 36. *Dilexi iustitiam, et odivi iniquitatem: propterea moror in exilio.* He wrote to the abbot of Cluny: "My grief and my despair are at their height, when I see the Eastern Church separated by the rift of the devil from the Catholic faith; and if I turn my looks to the West, to the South, or to the North, I find scarcely any who are lawful bishops, whether as regards their conduct in their high office, or the manner in which they attended it. They govern their flocks, not for the love of Jesus, but through a profane ambition: and among secular princes, I find not one to prefer the honor of God to his own or justice to his interest. The Romans, Lombards, and Normans, among whom I live, will soon be, and I often tell them so, more overbearing than Jews and pagans. And when I turn my looks upon myself, I see that my vast enterprise is beyond my strength, so that I should lose every hope of ever securing the safety of the Church, did not the mercy of Jesus Christ come to my assistance; for if I hoped not for a better life, and were it not for the safety of the holy Church, I take God to witness that I would stay no longer at Rome, where I have already lived twenty years in spite of myself. I am conscious of being struck with a thousand bolts, like a man suffering from a never ending misery, and all whose hopes, unhappily, are only too far distant."

† Gregor. Ep. ap. Gieseler, ii. 21. *Ad opidulum Canossæ cum paucis adventi. . . . obsequio per triduum de positione et regio cultu, miserabiliter, utpote discoloratus et laceratus, persistens. . . . cum multo fletu.*—Montez, *Vita de, ap. Muratori, v. 305.* He threw himself at the

the pope could not help admitting him. Peace was desired on both sides. Gregory joined in communion with his enemy, beseeching to be struck dead if he were guilty, and imploring the judgment of God.\* God interfered not. Judgment and reconciliation were equally impossible. Nothing will reconcile spirit and matter, flesh and spirit, the law and nature.

The fleshly party was conquered, and as for us, men of flesh, our hearts bleed to think of it: nature was conquered, but in an unnatural manner. It was Henry the Fourth's son, who carried the decree of the Church into execution. When the poor old emperor was sent at the interview which took place at Mentz, and the bishops who had remained free from simony, tore off his crown and the royal robes, he besought with tears in his eyes this avenger whom he still loved, to abstain from his partial violence for the safety of his eternal soul. Stripped, abandoned, and a prey to cold and hunger, he sought Spire, and that very church of the Virgin which he had himself built, as implored to be admitted as a priest, alleging that he could read, and could also sing in the choir. Even this favor was refused him; and a resting place was refused to his mortal remains, which lay for five years unburied in a cellar at Liege.

In this terrible struggle which the holy saw carried on throughout Europe, it had two auxiliaries, two temporal instruments. The first was the famous countess Matilda, so powerful in Italy, the chaste and faithful friend of Gregory VII. This princess, a French woman by birth, had grown up in exile and under the persecution of the Germans. She was allied to the family of Godfrey of Bouillon; but Godfrey sided with Henry IV. He bore the banner of the Empire in the battle in which Rodolph, Henry's rival, was slain, and slain by him. Matilda, on the contrary, knew no other banner than that of the Church. She restored woman to her position in the eyes of the world. As pure and as courageous as Gregory himself, this heroic woman was the grace and strength of her party. She supported the pope, combated the emperor, and interceded for him.‡

Next to this French princess, the best sup-

pope's feet, his arms extended in the figure of a cross, and implored pardon.—"It was the first time," says Otto of Frisingen, "that a pope had dared to excommunicate an emperor. I read our histories over and over again, but in no purpose, for I can't find an instance." *Chronica, l. i. c. 33.* De Gestis Frederici I. l. i. c. 1.

\* See M. Villenian's History, referred to in a preceding note.

† He wrote to the king of France in 1108, "So soon as I saw him, touched to the very bottom of my heart as with grief as paternal affection, I threw myself at his feet, beseeching and conjuring him in the name of his God, and for his father's sake, and the safety of his soul, through a sense of his guilt, to abstain from punishment at the hand of God to refrain from sullying, through me, his soul, his honor and his name, for that no divine or divine law had ever appointed sons to be the punishers of their father's faults." *Montez, ap. Strus, l. 136. Sismond, République Italienne, t. i. p. 197.*

‡ At their interview at Canossa. See *Domini, Vita Matildis, ap. Muratori, v. 305.*



ling with castles, was not easily run over in the eleventh century. The time was past, when the little Hungarian horses galloped to the Tiber and Provence. Every ford, and every commanding position, had its tower. At each defile, down stalked from the hill some man at arms, with his knaves and his dogs, to demand toll or battle. He would examine the traveller's baggage, and take part of it; sometimes, indeed, the whole, and the traveller into the bargain. In travelling on this fashion, there was not much to *gagner*. Our Normans set about it better. Many of them would join company, well mounted and well armed, though muffled up as pilgrims, and bearing staff and cockle-shell; nor had they any objection to carry a monk along with them. Then, if any one sought to stay them, they could meekly reply, in their drawling and nasal tone, that they were poor pilgrims, wending their way to Monte-Cassino, to the holy sepulchre, to the shrine of St. James of Compostella; and so stoutly armed a devotion was generally respected. The fact is, they loved these distant pilgrimages; for it was their only means of escaping the dull routine of their manorial life. And then the roads they took were well frequented: good hits were to be made on the way, and there was absolution at the end of their journey. Or, at the worst, as these places of pilgrimage were the seats of fairs as well, they could do a little business, and get more than their cent per cent, while securing their salvation.\* Dealing in relics was the best trade going. They would bring back a hair of the Virgin's, or one of St. George's teeth, sure to dispose of it to great advantage, for there was always some bishop eager to bring custom to his church, or some prudent prince, who was not sorry to enter the battlefield with the safeguard of a relic under his cuirass.

A pilgrimage first took the Normans to Southern Italy, where they were to found a kingdom. Here there were, if I may so speak, three wrecks, three ruins of nations—Lombards in the mountains, Greeks in the ports, Sicilian and African Saracens rambling over the coasts. About the year 1000, some Norman pilgrims assist the inhabitants of Salerno to drive out a party of Arabs, who were holding them to ransom. Being well paid for the service, these Normans attract others of their countrymen hither. A Greek of Bari, named Melo or Meles, takes them into pay to free his city from the Greeks of Byzantium. Next, they are settled by the Greek republic of Naples at the fort of Aversa, which lay between that city and her enemies, the Lombards of Capua, (A. D. 1026.) Finally, the sons of a poor gentleman of the Cotentin,† Tancred of Hauteville, seek

their fortune here. Tancred had twelve children; seven by the same mother.

It was during William's minority, when numbers of the barons endeavored to withdraw themselves from the Bastard's yoke, that the sons of Tancred's directed their steps towards Italy, where it was said that a simple Norman knight had become count of Aversa. They set off penniless, and defrayed the expenses of their journey by the sword,\* (A. D. 1037.) The Byzantine governor, or *Katapan*,† engaged their services, and led them against the Arabs. But their countrymen beginning to flock to them, they no sooner saw themselves strong enough than they turned against their paymasters, seized Apulia, and divided it into twelve countships. This republic of Condottieri held its assemblies at Melphi.‡ The Greeks endeavored to defend themselves, but fruitlessly. They collected an army of sixty thousand Italians;§ to be routed by the Normans, who amounted to several hundreds of well-armed men. The Byzantines then summoned their enemies, the Germans, to their aid; and the two empires of the East and West confederated against the sons of the gentlemen of Coutances. The all-powerful emperor, Henry the Black, (Henry III.,) charged Leo IX., who had been nominated pope by him, and who was a German and kin to the imperial family, to exterminate these brigands. The pope led some Germans and a swarm of Italians against them; but the latter took to flight at the very beginning of the battle, and left the warlike pontiff in the hands of the enemy. Too wary to ill-treat him, the Normans piously cast themselves at their prisoner's feet, and compelled him to grant them as a fief of the Church, all that they had taken, or might take possession of in Apulia, Calabria, and on the other side of the strait; so that in spite of himself, the pope became the suzerain of the kingdom of the Two Sicilies, (A. D. 1052, 1053)—a fantastical scene which was repeated a century afterwards, when one of the descendants of these Normans made a pope prisoner, forced him to receive his homage, and forced him, moreover, to declare himself and his successors, legates of the holy see in Sicily. This nominal dependence rendered them in reality independent, and secured them that right

Alberic. ap. Leibnitzii Access. Histor. p. 194. "Of middling parentage."

\* Gaufrid. Malaterra, l. i. c. 5. Per divorem loca militum ter lucrum quarentes.

† *Karà viz*, commander-in-chief. William of Apulia explains the meaning in the following verse—

"Quod Catepani Græci, non jure dicimus omnes."  
L. i. p. 234.

‡ Each of the twelve counts had his quarter and his house apart, as shown by the per quoted in the preceding note—

"Pro numero comitum his sex statumè planas,  
Atque domus comitum totidem fabricatas in urbe."  
Id. *ibid.* p. 234.

§ Gaufrid. Malaterra, l. i. c. 9. Græci . . . innumam multitudinem ex Calabria et Apulia sibi condamnata, ungue ad sexaginta milia armatorum.

|| *Id.* *ibid.* c. 14. Guill. Apul. l. ii. p. 261. *Normanni* Coutra. ap. Scr. R. Fr. xi. 21.

\* Baron. Ann. Eccles. ad ann. 1064.

† Chronic. Malaterra. ap. Scr. R. Fr. xi. 644. "Wiscard, . . . being of a poor and unknown family."—Richard Cluniac. "Robert Wiscard, a poor man but a knight."—

of investiture which, through all Europe, was the subject of the war between the priesthood and the Empire.

Robert *l'Arise* (Guiscard) completed the conquest of Southern Italy; and made himself duke of Apulia and Calabria, notwithstanding the claim of his nephews,\* as sons of an elder brother. Robert treated no better the youngest of his brothers, Roger, who had come rather late to seek his share of the conquest. The latter supported himself for a while by horse-stealing;† then crossed over to Sicily, which he wrested from the Arabs after a struggle of the most unequal and romantic character. Unfortunately, our only accounts of these events are from panegyrists of the family. One of Roger's descendants united Southern Italy to his insular dominions, and so founded the kingdom of the Two Sicilies.

This feudal kingdom lying at the extremity of the peninsula, in the midst of Greek cities, and of the world of the Odyssey, was of great advantage to Italy. The Mahometans durst but seldom approach it; at least, until the creation of the Barbary states in the sixteenth century. The Byzantines quitted it; and their empire was even invaded by Robert Guiscard and his successors. The Germans, indeed, in the course of their ever-enduring expedition into Italy, more than once dashed heavily against our French of Naples; but the truly Italian popes, such as Gregory VII., shut their eyes on the plunderings of the Normans, and entered into close league with them against the Greek and German emperors. Robert Guiscard drove the victorious Henry IV. out of Rome, and gave an asylum to Gregory, who died with him at Salerno (A. D. 1086.)

This prodigious good fortune of a family of simple gentlemen, roused the emulous zeal of the duke of Normandy, (A. D. 1035-1087.) William the *Bastard* (he so styles himself in his charters‡) was of low origin on the mother's

side. Duke Robert had had him, by chance, by the daughter of a tanner of Falaise. He was not ashamed of his birth, and drew round him his mother's other sons. At first, he had much difficulty in bringing his barons, who despised him, to their allegiance; but he succeeded. He was a large, bald-headed man,\* very brave, very greedy, and very *sage*, (sage-) according to the notions of the time, that is, dreadfully treacherous. It was asserted that he had poisoned his guardian, the duke of Brittany; and a count, who disputed Maine with him, had fallen dead on rising from a dinner given in token of reconciliation, and William at once laid hand on the province.† He had no trouble from Anjou and Brittany, as they were convulsed by civil wars; and he contrived to put an end to the constant feud between Flanders and Normandy, by marrying his cousin Matilda, the daughter of the count of Flanders. This alliance was his stronghold; and, consequently, he burst out into a violent rage when he heard that the famous theologian and legist, Lanfranc, who taught in the monastic school of Bec, denounced his marriage as being with one too near of kin, and he issued orders to burn the farm from which the monks drew their subsistence, and for the banishment of Lanfranc. The Italian was not alarmed; but, like a shrewd man, instead of taking to flight, repaired straight to the duke. He was mounted on a sorry, lame horse; and he addressed the duke by saying, "If you wish me to leave Normandy, give me another steed."‡ William saw the advantage to which he might turn this man, and sent him at once to Rome with a commission, to render the pope propitious to the very marriage against which he had preached. Lanfranc succeeded; and William and Matilda were absolved for the founding those two magnificent abbeys, which still adorn Caen.

The friendship of William, indeed, was precious to the Roman church, already governed by Hildebrand, who was soon to be Gregory VII. Their projects agreed. In front of the Normans, on the other side of the channel, was another Sicily to be conquered,§ and which, though not in the power of the Arabs, was no less hateful to the holy see. The Anglo-Saxons, at first submissive to the popes, and therefore

\* Guiscard d'Arr. p. 225. "Guiscard sent word to his nephew Almod, that he had just got his brother in his power; but that if he would put his (Guiscard's) troops in possession of the estates of San Severino, he would restore the prisoner to liberty as soon as he should reach Mount Torosano." Almod immediately ordered the gates of the castle to be thrown open, and replying to his uncle with a cheerful and devoted air to Robert (Guiscard), and fulfil his promise. "My nephew," said Guiscard, "I do not think that I shall be able to get there these seven years."

† The first serious engagements of the Bastard were chronicled in the twelfth volume of the *Recueil des Historiens de France*, p. 267. Undoubtedly the appointment of Robert was not deemed a reproach in Normandy. We read in *l'Esprit*, Guiscard l. iv. c. 6. ap. *Per R. Fr.* a. 51.

William was Robert's son by a concubine. Robert received the titles of his duchy and great military heritage from the first arrival of this people in Gaul, it was necessary with them to have princes (even of common blood). The author of the *gesta Consuetudin. Anglorum* was the first to give this passage. *Per R. Fr.* a. 255. William the Bastard, the Bastard. *Chronic. Norm.* ap. *Per R. Fr.* a. 13. c. 3. We know, however, that William would not have reflections on the baseness of his birth by the title of Bastard. Lanfranc says in a certain place the bastard (bastard) was a testing stone, and crying out. The whole of the tale. His mother was a tanner's daughter; he had the feet and hands of thirty (two of them cut off.

\* Will. Malins l. i. ap. *Per R. Fr.* a. 190. "He was a tall, light, numerous, list of fierce countenance, his forehead bald, with very strong arms, and of great dignity whether sitting or standing, notwithstanding the too great procreancy of his belly."

† *Order. Vital.* ap. *Per R. Fr.* a. 222.

‡ *Order. Vital.* ap. *Per R. Fr.* a. 222.

§ England had long entertained a dread of Normandy. In 1066, Harold had sent an expedition against the Normans. When the men returned, he asked whether they had brought the duke of Normandy along with them. "We have not seen the duke," was their reply; "but we have fought to our loss with the terrible population of one county alone. We not only found there valiant warriors, but warlike women, who with their pikes, break the heads of the stoutest enemies." (So that, the king recognizing his folly, "rather full of grief," Will. Goussier l. v. c. 4. ap. *Per R. Fr.* a. 190.) In the year 1084, King Canute, through fear of Robert of Normandy, offered to give up half of England to Robert's sons. *Id. l. v. c. 12, ibid. a. 37.*

set up by them against the independent church of Scotland and of Ireland, soon acquired that spirit of opposition which was, it seems, necessary and fated in England; but it was not a philosophical opposition, such as that of the old Irish church in the times of St. Columbanus and John Erigena. The Saxon church seems to have been, like the people, gross and barbarous.\* For ages the island had been the scene of constant invasions. All the people of the North, Celts, Saxons, and Danes seem to have rendezvoused there, as those of the South did in Sicily. The Danes had ruled it for fifty years, living at will upon the Saxons—the bravest of whom had fled into the forests and become *wolf-heads*, as such outlaws were called. Disputes among the conquerors had enabled Edward the Confessor, the son of a Saxon king and of a Norman woman, and brought up in Normandy, to return and take possession of the throne. This good man, who was made a saint for having lived with his wife as with a sister, was impotent for good or for ill. But the people have loved him for his good wishes, and have mourned in him their last national sovereign, just as Brittany has remembered Anne de Bretagne, and Provence, king René. His reign was but a short interlude between the Danish and Norman invasions. Friendly to the more civilized Normans, amongst

\* "The Anglo-Saxons," says William of Malmesbury, "had, long before the arrival of the Normans, neglected the study of letters and of religion. The priests were content with a hurried education, could scarcely stammer out the words of the sacraments, and were all astonished if any one of them were acquainted with grammar. They all drank together; and this was the study to which they vowed their days and nights. They consumed their revenues in the joys of the table, in small, wretched houses; very different from the French and the Normans, who, dwelling in vast and superb buildings, go to very little expense in living. Hence, they had all the vices which attend drunkenness, and which enervate men's hearts. And thus, after having fought William with more rashness and blind fury than military skill, they were easily conquered by a single battle, and they and their country submitted to a hard slavery.—At this period, the dress of the English fell to the middle of the knee. They wore their hair short, their beard shaven, golden bracelets on their arms, and their complexion heightened by paint and colored pigments. They were glutinous to corpulence, and drunken to brutishness. They inoculated their conquerors with these two vices: in other respects, they adopted the customs of the Normans. On their side the Normans were, and are still," (in the middle of the twelfth century, the period at which William of Malmesbury wrote,) "careful in dress, even to fastidiousness, delicate in their food, though temperate; accustomed to warfare, and unable to live without it: though impetuous in attack, they knew how to make use of stratagem and corruption when force is powerless. As I have said, they build fine buildings, and lay out little on their table. They are envious of their equals, would wish to outvie their superiors, and while despoiling their inferiors, will protect them against strangers. Faithful to their lords; yet the least offence will make them unfaithful. They can weigh perfidy against fortune, and sell their oath. Lastly, they are of all people the most susceptible of friendly sentiments: they will honor strangers equally with their own countrymen, and do not disdain to intermarry with their subjects." Willelm. Malmesburiensis de Gestis Regum Anglorum, l. iii. ap. Ser. R. Fr. xi. 183.—Matth. Paris, (ed. 1644), p. 4. "The Saxon nobles . . . did not repair to church in the morning, according to Christian use, but loitering in their couches and their wives' embraces, they were content with hastily snatching a word of the solemn rites of matins and of mass."—Order. Vital. l. iv. ap. Ser. R. Fr. xi. 362. "The Normans found the Angles boorish, and almost without taste of letters."

whom he had passed his happiest years, he vainly strove to escape from the protectorship of a powerful Saxon chief, named Godwin, who had expelled the Danes and restored him to the throne, but who in reality reigned himself, and who possessed either of his own or by his sons the counties of Kent, Sussex, Surrey, Hereford, and Oxford, that is to say, the whole of the South of England.† Godwin was accused of having formerly invited Alfred, Edward's brother, and of having betrayed him to the Danes. This powerful family cared neither for the king nor the law; for Sweyn, one of Godwin's sons, having slain his cousin Beorn, the poor king Edward had been unable to avenge his murder.‡ The Normans whom he opposed to Godwin were forcibly driven from the island;§ Godwin's sons became the most potent, and one of them named Harold, who was, indeed, endowed with great qualities, acquired so much power over the weak monarch, as to induce him to name him his successor.

The Normans, who made sure of reigning after Edward, persevered with their customary tenaciousness of purpose. They asserted that he had named William his successor. Harold contended that his title was better founded, that Edward had named him on his death-bed, and that in England bequests made at the last moment held good.¶ William, however, avowed that he was prepared to plead either by the Norman or the English law;|| and, by a singular chance, he had acquired a right over England and over Harold, its new king.

Harold, forced by a storm on the banks of the count of Ponthieu, William's vassal, was by him given up to his suzerain. He pretended that he had left England to require from the duke of Normandy his brother and his nephew, whom the duke retained as hostages. William treated him well, but did not let him go so easily. He dubbed him knight, and Harold thus became his son at arms. Next, he made him swear on certain holy relics that he would assist him to conquer England|| after Edward's

\* Thierry, Com. de l'Angleterre, &c. 1826, t. i. p. 222.

† See Luard's History of England, vol. i. p. 424, 425.

‡ Guill. Malmesb. xi. p. 174. Godwinum tantum hunc valuit, ut Normanni omnes ignominie notam ab Anglis escaperet.

§ Guill. Pictav. ap. Ser. R. Fr. xi. 94.

|| Id. ibid. 95.

¶ Id. ibid. 87. Heroldus et fidelitatem amicus non Christianorum juravit. . . . de in curia Edwardi, quando se presentavit, duxit Guillelmum viuentem secum; cuiusmodi . . . ut Anglica monarchia post Edwardum decessum in ejus unum confirmaretur. "He swore, too," adds the same writer, "to put Dover castle in William's hands on Edward's death." See also, Guill. Malmesb. ap. Ser. R. Fr. xi. 174.—"According to some," says Wace, "king Edward demanded Harold from his voyage, telling him that William hated him, and would play him some trick." Rousset de Rou, ap. Ser. R. Fr. xii. 322. See, too, Rousset, ibid. xi. 322.—According to others, he sent him to rally to the duke his promise of leaving him the throne of England—

"N'en fut mie votre coelein,  
Mais l'en et l'autre eueit tuercein."

(I know not which to yield credit to, but we find William both one and the other report.)

Guillaume de Jumièges, (ap. Ser. R. Fr. xi. 424.) Rapit de Croyland, (ibid. 154.) Gislebert Vitis, (ibid. 324.) the Chronicle

death. Harold was likewise to marry William's daughter, and to give his own sister to a Norman count. The better to confirm this promise of dependence and of vassalage, William took him with him in an expedition against the Bretons. It is thus that in the *Nibelungen*, Siegfried becomes king Gunther's vassal by fighting for him.\* According to the notions of the middle age, Harold had become William's man.

When, on Edward's death, Harold was quietly seating himself in his new throne, a messenger arrived from Normandy who addressed him as follows: "William, duke of the Normans, reminds thee of the oath which thou hast sworn with thy mouth and with thy hand on true and holy reliquaries."† Harold replied that his oath had not been freely given, and that he had promised what was not his, since the crown belonged to the people. As for my sister, he said, she died this year; does your duke wish me to send him her body? William answered in a gentle and friendly tone,‡ by begging the king to fulfil one of the conditions at least of his oath, and to take his sister to wife. But Harold married another. William then swore that within a year he would cross over to enforce the whole of his debt, and would pursue the perjurer even there where he should esteem his footing surest and safest.§

Before resorting to arms, however, the Norman declared that he would defer to the judgment of the pope, and his claim on England was formally pleaded before the conclave of the Lateran. Four proofs were submitted of wrong done: the murder of Alfred, who had been betrayed by Godwin; the expulsion of a Norman, nominated by Edward to the archbishopric of Canterbury, in favor of a Saxon; Harold's oath; and Edward's alleged promise to William of leaving him the crown. The Norman envoys appeared before the pope; Harold neither appeared nor sent any representative. Judgment went by default, and England was pronounced to be the Norman's; a bold decision, which was due to Hildebrand's prompting, and was contrary to the opinion of many of the cardinals. The diploma conveying the country to him was sent to William together with a consecrated banner, and one of St. Peter's hairs.

\* See the Bayeux tapestry. See also the account of the death of Edward in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*.  
† *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, 1066, 1067.  
‡ *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, 1066, 1067.  
§ *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, 1066, 1067.

of Normandy, ap. *Rev. R. Fr.* t. iii. p. 229.  
St. Pierre, le message de Guillaume le duc de Normandie, ap. *Rev. R. Fr.* t. iii. p. 229.  
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## INVASION OF ENGLAND.

As the invasion thus assumed the character of a crusade, a crowd of men at arms flocked to William from every part of Europe; from Flanders, from the Rhine, from Burgundy, Piedmont, and Aquitaine. The Normans, on the contrary, showed no alacrity to assist their lord in a hazardous enterprise, which, if successful, might end in making their country a province of England. Besides, Normandy was threatened by Conan, the young duke of Brittany, who had hurled at William a most insulting defiance. All Brittany had put itself in motion for the conquest of Normandy, while the latter was about to depart to conquer England. Conan made a solemn entry into Normandy at the head of a numerous army, young, full of confidence, and sounding his horn in challenge to the enemy. But in the very act of giving it voice, his strength gradually failed him and the reins slipped from his hand—the horn was poisoned. His death happened opportunely for William, and not only relieved him from serious embarrassment, but numbers of the Bretons went over to him instead of attacking him, and followed him to England.

From this moment William's success seemed assured. The Saxons were divided; and Harold's own brother summoned the Normans, and then the Danes, who attacked England on the north, while William invaded it on the south. The heady attack of the Danes was easily repulsed by Harold, who cut them in pieces. William's attack was more deliberate; he had to wait long for a wind, but England could not escape him. The Normans enjoyed a vast advantage in the superiority of their arms and discipline, for whereas the Saxons fought on foot with short axes, the Normans were well mounted and used long lances.\* For a considerable time William had been purchasing the finest horses of Spain, Gascony, and Auvergne; and this, perhaps, may have been the origin of our strong and beautiful breed of Norman horses. The Saxons built no castles,† and so in losing a battle, they lost all, for they had no place to fall back upon, and the chances were that they would lose the battle, fighting in a level country against an excellent cavalry. England's only defence was her fleet, but Harold's was so badly provisioned, that after a short cruise in the channel it was obliged to put in to victual.§

William, on landing at Hastings, met with no more army than he had felt. Harold was at the time at the other end of England, busied in repulsing the Danes. At last he returned with victorious troops, but fatigued, lessened in numbers, and discontented, it is said, with the paragonism with which he had divided the booty. He was wounded, too. Still, however, the Norman

\* See the Bayeux tapestry.

† See the Bayeux tapestry.

‡ See the Bayeux tapestry.

§ See the Bayeux tapestry.



made no haste; but dispatched a monk to tell the Saxon that he would be content to divide the kingdom with him. "If he obstinately refuse my offer," added William, "you will tell him before his followers, that he is perjured and a liar, that he and all who support him are excommunicated by the pope's own mouth, and that I can show the bull."<sup>6</sup> This message had its effect. The Saxons began to doubt the goodness of their cause; and Harold's own brothers endeavored to persuade him not to fight in person, since, after all, was their argument, he had sworn.<sup>†</sup>

The Normans passed the night devoutly confessing themselves; while the Saxons drank, indulged in loud and tumultuous festivity, and sang their national songs. In the morning, the bishop of Bayeux, William's brother, celebrated mass, and gave his benediction to the troops, armed with a hauberk under his rochet. William himself wore hung from his neck the most sacred of the relics on which Harold had sworn, and the standard blessed by the pope was borne before him.

At first, the Anglo-Saxons, intrenched behind palisades, remained immovable and impassible under the discharges of William's archers, and although Harold fell struck to the brain by an arrow which entered his eye, the Normans had the worst. A panic seized them, for there was a rumor that the duke was slain; and, indeed, in the course of the battle he had three horses killed under him;‡ but he showed himself, stopped the fliers, and led them back to the fight. It was precisely the advantage gained by the Saxons, which ruined them. They came down to the plain, and the Norman cavalry gained the upper hand. The lances bore down the axes. The palisades were forced; and all were put to the sword, or compelled to flight. (A. D. 1066.)

To fulfil the vow which he had made to St. Martin, the patron saint of the soldier of Gaul, William built a fair and rich abbey—*Battle Abbey*—on the hill on which primeval England had fallen with the last Saxon king. The names of the conquerors were read not long since there engraved on tablets—constituting the golden book of the English nobility. Harold was buried by the monks on this hill, in face of the sea. "He guarded the coast," said William; "he may guard it still."<sup>§</sup>

The Norman began by bearing his honors meekly, and by showing some consideration for the conquered. He degraded one of his followers who had struck Harold's dead body with his sword; took the title of king of the English;

promised to observe the good laws of Edward the Confessor; attached London to him, and confirmed the privileges of the men of Kent. This was the most warlike of the English counties, (the Kentish men had a claim from time immemorial to the forming the vanguard of the English army,) and the one in which the old Celtic liberties were best preserved. When Lanfranc, the new archbishop of Canterbury, claimed exemption for the men of Kent, in virtue of their privileges, from the tyrannous exactions of William's brother, he was favorably listened to by the king. The conqueror even attempted to learn English,\* that he might the better administer justice to his new subjects; for he piqued himself on his judicial impartiality, which he exemplified by deposing his uncle (Malger, archbishop of Rouen) from his see, on account of the immorality of his conduct. Nevertheless, he built numerous forts, and took possession of all the strong places.

Perhaps William would have asked no better than to treat the conquered leniently. It was to his interest. He would only have been the more absolute for it in Normandy. But this was not the mark of the numerous followers to whom he had promised the spoil, and who were expecting it. They had not fought at Hastings to enable William to come to an amicable understanding with the Saxons. He withdrew to Normandy, where he remained several years, no doubt to elude and defer the execution of his promises, until the strangers who had followed his fortunes should become disgusted and vain to their several countries. But an alarming revolt broke out in his absence. The Saxons could not believe that they had been irretrievably conquered in one battle. Thus William stood in need of the services of his men at arms, and this time a division of the spoil was a thing of necessity. England was measured in its length and breadth, and accurately described. William created sixty thousand knights' fees at the cost of the Saxons, and inscribed their specification in the black book of the conquest—*Domesday Book*—the book of the day of judgment. Then began those frightful scenes of spoliation, which have been given to us in so lively and dramatic a history.† Yet must we

\* Chronique de Normandie, ap. Scr. R. Fr. xl. 231.

† William, on the contrary, proposed to decide the question by single combat. Proponat Willemus . . . non rem gladiis ventiletur. Matth. Paris, p. 2, col. 2, ed. 1644.

‡ Ord. Vit. ap. Scr. R. Fr. xl. 232. Tres equi sub eo confossi ceciderunt.—Gull. Pictav. lib. 93. Gull. Malmesb. lib. 184.

§ Lingard's England, vol. 1. p. 432.

¶ Matth. Paris, p. 3. Jacentis furor regis gladio pueri . . . militis palam. . . —Alberic. Tr. Hist. ap. Scr. R. Fr. xl. 261.

\* Ord. Vital. ap. Scr. R. Fr. xl. 243. Angliam bene- nem plurimque satagit edicere. The writer adds—But his busy life hindered him from acquiring it.—He acted out by severely repressing the licentiousness of his successors. Gull. Pictav. lib. 161. "The women were safe from violence, and even the common dissoluteness of the camp was forbidden. He did not allow the soldiery to frequent the soldiers too much . . . he prohibited all jangling, bloody strife, and plunder . . . he ordered the ports and all roads to be opened to merchants, and no injury to be done them." The conscientious Orderic Vital has copied this passage of William's panegyrist. Ibid. 238.—"The weak and timid," says William of Pautiers, "went about singing on his horns wherever he liked, without trembling at the sight of squadrons of horsemen."—"A girl, covered with gold," says Huntingdon, "might have walked through the whole kingdom without injury."—Scr. R. Fr. . . . At a later period the resistance of the Anglo-Saxons . . . William, and pushed him on to those acts of violence which fill all the chronicles.

† Thierry's

not believe that all was taken from the conquered. Many of them preserved estates, and this in every county. We find set down to one Saxon alone forty-one manors in the county of York.\*

The judgment formed of the Conqueror by the Saxons themselves will not be read without interest.—

"If any one wish to know what manner of man he was, or what worship he had, or of how many lands he were the lord, we will describe him as we have known him: for we looked on him, and some while lived in his herd. King William was a very wise man, and very rich, more worshipful and strong than any of his fore-gangers. He was mild to good men, who loved God; and stark beyond all bounds to those who with-said his will. On the very stede, where God gave him to win England, he reared a noble monastery, and set monks therein, and endowed it well. He was very worshipful. Thrice he bore his king-helmet every year, when he was in England; at Easter he bore it at Winchester, at Pentecost at Westminster, and in mid-winter at Gloucester. And then were with him all the rich men over all England, archbishops and diocesan bishops, abbots and earls, thanes and knights. Moreover he was a very stark man, and very savage: so that no man durst do any thing against his will. He had earls in his bonds, who had done against his will; bishops he set off their bishopries, abbots off their abbatrics, and thanes in prisons; and at last he did not spare his own brother Odo. Him he set in prison. Yet among other things we must not forget the good frith which he made to his land, so that a man that was good for aught, might travel over the kingdom with his treasure full of gold without molestation; and no man durst slay another man, though he had suffered never so nuckle-civil from the other. He ruled over England; and by his cunning he was so thoroughly acquainted with it, that there is not a hole of land of which he did not know both who had it and what was its worth; and that he set down in his writings. Wales was under his weald, and therein he wrought castles, and he welded the Isle of Man withal; moreover he subdued Scotland by his muckle strength. No man was his by kin, and over the earldom of Mans he ruled; and if he might have lived yet two years, he would have won Ireland by the force of his power, and without any argument. Yet truly in his time, men had muckle suffering and very many hardships. Castles he caused to be wrought and poor men to be oppressed, he was so very stark. He took from his subjects many marks of gold and many hundred pounds of silver; and that he took, some by right, and some by muckle might, for very little need. He had fallen into avarice, and goodness he loved withal. He let his lands to fine, as dear as he could; then came some other and bade more than the first had

given, and the king let it to him who bade more. Then came a third, and bid yet more, and the king let it into the hands of the men who bade the most. Nor did he reek how sinfully his reeves got money of poor men, or how many unlawful things they did. For the more men talked of right law, the more they did against the law. He also set many deer-friths:† and he made laws therewith, that whosoever should slay hart or hind, him man should blind. As he forbade the slaying of harts, so also did he of boars. So much he loved the high-deer, as if he had been their father. He also decreed about hares, that they should go free. His rich men moaned, and the poor men murmured; but he was so hard, that he recked not the hatred of them all. For it was need they should follow the king's will withal, if they wished to live, or to have lands, or goods, or his favor. Alas! that any man should be so moody, and should so puff up himself, and think himself above all other men!—May Almighty God have mercy on his soul, and grant him forgiveness of his sins."‡

Whatever the evils with which the conquest may have been attended, its result, in my opinion, was of immense service to England and to mankind.§ For the first time, there was a government. The social bond, loose and floating in France and Germany, was tightly strung in England. The barons, few in number, and in the midst of a whole people whom they oppressed, were obliged to serry themselves around the king. William received the oath of the *arrière-vassals* as well as that of the *vassals*.¶ Now the *vassals* of the king of France did ready homage to him; but had he gone to the duke of Guyenne or the count of Flanders, and demanded that the barons and knights dependent on either should do him, not them, homage, he would have fared very differently. But in this lay the germ of the whole,—a monarchy which depended on the homage of the great *vassals* alone, was purely nominal. Removed, by its elevation in the political hierarchy, from those lower ranks in which dwelt the true strength of the nation, it remained solitary and weak at the top of the pyramid, while the great *vassals*, placed between the two extremes, rested firmly upon the powerful base.

The Norman barons of the first century, conscious of the constant jeopardy of their situation, bore with strange stretches of authority on the king's part, intrusting him—as the depositary of the common interest of the conquest, and defender of its vast and terrible

\* These friths were forests in which the deer were under the king's protection of frith.

† *Chron. Saxon. ap. Ser. R. Fr. ann. 51.* The foregoing version is from Lingard, vol. ii. p. 94, 101.

‡ So think Gibbon, and the authors of the *Art de vérifier les Dates*.

§ *Chron. Saxon. ap. Ser. R. Fr. ann. 51.* *Omnes predia tenentes, quodcumque censum veluti mactur per totum Angliam, ejus facti sunt vasalli, ac et fidelitate permanenti possideant.*

injustice,—with full means to secure the safety of the kingdom. He was the guardian of all noble minors; and married noble heiresses to whomsoever he chose. These wardships and marriages he turned equally to account, consuming the property of the infants under his wardship, and deriving a revenue from those desirous of rich wives, and from those females who refused to marry as he recommended.\* Feudal rights of the kind existed on the continent, but under a very different form. The king of France could object to a marriage injurious to his interests, but not force a husband on his vassal's daughter; he was the guardian of minors, but only after the law of the feudal hierarchy, the wardship of *arrière-vassals* being his vassals' right and profit, and not his.

Independently of the *Denegelt*, which was levied on all, under pretext of providing for defence against the Danes, and independently of the tallage exacted of the conquered, and of those who were not noble, the king of England drew a tax from the nobles themselves, under the honorable name of *escuage*; which was a dispensation from military service. Worn out by constant summonses to the field, the barons preferred disbursing their money to following their adventurous sovereign in his numerous enterprises; and he gained in power by the exchange. He purchased, instead of the capricious and uncertain service of the barons, that of mercenary soldiers, Gascons, Brabançons, Gauls, and others; and men of this stamp depending completely on the monarch, constituted his strength against the aristocracy; which thus paid for the bit and bridle that he put into its mouth.

In this manner was the kingly power built up, and by its side the Church; a powerful and politic Church, like that founded by Charlemagne in Saxony, in order to tame down the ancient Saxons. Nowhere did the clergy take so large a share of things temporal; and even now, the revenue of the Anglican Church exceeds the collective revenues of all other churches in the world.† The centre of this Church was the archbishop of Canterbury, who was a sort of patriarch or pope, who did not always regard the orders of him of Rome, and who, on the other hand, often interposed between the king and people, and not unfrequently to the advantage of the conquered—of the Saxons.‡ “Archbishop Lanfranc, William's counsellor and confessor, encouraged and armed

by the favor of the pope and that of the king, attacked and broke down the power of the prelates and nobles, who were rebellious to the royal authority.”§ It was he who governed England when William went over to the continent.

So strongly organized a monarchy and a church as the Anglo-Norman, held out an impressive example to the world; whose kings envied the omnipotence of the English sovereigns, whilst their people desired the regular, though tyrannical, government, which prevailed in Great Britain.

It is true, the conquered paid dearly for this order and organization; but, at least, the desertion of the country peopled the towns,‡ and their strong and compact population prepared a new destiny for England. In order to confine the feudal jurisdictions,‡ William had kept up the Saxon tribunals of the county and hundred; and they were likewise narrowed and overrid by the supreme authority of the king's court. Thus England, enclosed in an iron frame, began to know public order; an order which gave development to prodigious social strength. In the two centuries succeeding the conquest, notwithstanding numerous calamities, there were reared those marvellous monuments, which the combined power of the present time could hardly equal. The low and sombre Saxon churches rose in bold spires and majestic towers; and if literature were prevented from taking an upward flight by difference of men and tongues, art, at least, began. It is by these monuments, and the social strength which they reveal, that we must form our judgment of the conquest, and not by the temporary distresses brought in its train. The Conquest was the complement of England, and the point from which she started; and it is this which constitutes its perfect justification.

Although the Normans were far from yielding all the church of Rome had promised herself, in the event of their success, she, nevertheless, was a large gainer. The Normans of Naples, from the beginning, and those of England in Henry the Second's time, and that of John, acknowledged themselves feudatories of the holy see. The Italian Normans often kept in check the emperors, both of the east and west, as regarded her; whilst the English Normans, formidable vassals to the king of France, long constrained him to submit unreservedly to the popes. At this very period, too, the Capetians of Burgundy were aiding the victories of the Cid, gaining by marriage the kingdom of Castile, and founding that of Portugal, (A. D. 1094 or 1095.) The Church was triumphant in every part of Europe, through

\* The bishop of Winchester paid a tun of good wine, for not reminding the king (John) to give a girl to the countess of Albemarle; and Robert de Vaux five best palfrays that the same king might hold his peace about Henry Pinel's wife. Another paid four marks, for leave to eat, (*pro licentia comedendi*.) Hallam, *Europe in the Middle Ages*, vol. ii. p. 438.

† According to an English journal, quoted by the *Temps* of Nov. 8, 1831, the revenues of the Church of England amount to 236,679,125 francs; that of the Christian clergy throughout the rest of the world, is 284,973,000 francs.

‡ See further on, Lanfranc, St. Anselm, Thomas à Becket, John Langton, &c.

\* Matth. Paris, *Libro de Abbat. S. Albani*, p. 28, et seq. Scr. R. Fr. xiii. 32.

‡ In the early times of the conquest, the population of the towns fell off rapidly. Hallam, *Europe in the Middle Ages*, vol. ii. p. 437.

§ Id. *ibid.* p. 434. The references to Hallam are uniformly to the edition in three volumes.

the sword of Frenchmen; who in Sicily and in Spain, in England and in the Greek empire, had begun or ended the crusade against the enemies of the pope and of the faith.

Nevertheless, these several enterprises had been undertaken too independently of each other, and on too selfish and interested grounds, to accomplish the grand aim of Gregory VII. and his successors—the unity of Europe under the pope, and the abasement of the two empires. It was essential to the realization of this grand aim of unity that the church should work visibly to effect it, and should summon Christianity to her aid. Amidst the differences which prevailed in it, the world of the eleventh century had yet one common principle of life—religion; and one common form of life, the feudal and warlike. Its unity could be effected by a religious war alone—it could only forget the differences of race and of political interests by which it was distracted, by being brought in presence of a general and a greater difference, so great, that every other should disappear in the comparison. Europe could only believe herself one, and become so, by seeing herself face to face with Asia. To this end the pope had directed their labors from the year 1000.

A French pope, Gerbert—Sylvester II.—had addressed all Christian princes in the name of Jerusalem. Gregory VII. had eagerly desired to put himself at the head of fifty thousand knights in order to deliver the holy sepulchre. This glory was reserved for Urban II., a Frenchman as well as Gerbert. Germany had her crusade in Italy, and Spain her own, at home. The holy war of Jerusalem, decided upon in France, at the council of Clermont, and preached by the Frenchman Peter the Hermit, was carried into effect chiefly by Frenchmen. The crusades are idealized in two Frenchmen—in Godfrey of Bouillon, by whom they were begun, and in St. Louis, with whom they ended. It was for France to contribute more than all the other countries to that great event which rendered Europe one nation.

### CHAPTER III.

#### THE CRUSADE. A. D. 1095--1099

Thus had those two sisters, those two halves of humanity, Europe and Asia, the Christian and the Mussulman, lost sight of each other, when they were brought face to face by the crusades, and their inspiring gaze met. That meeting was one of horror. Some time had to elapse before they could recognise one another, and mark and avow their common identity. Let us essay to appreciate what each then was, and to fix the age at which either had arrived in its religious life.

Islamism was the younger of the two, and yet the elder and more decayed. Her career was short. Born six hundred years later than Christianity, her term came with the crusades. All we have since seen of her has been a shadow, an empty form from which life has fled, and which is preserved by the barbarian heirs of the Arabs in silence and unquestioned.

Islamism, the most recent of the Asiatic religions, is also the last and the powerless effort of the East to escape the materialism which weighs heavy on it; an effort beyond Persia's strength, despite its heroic opposition of the kingdom of light to that of darkness, of Iran to Turan. Judea, too, locked up as she was in the unity of her abstract God, and concentrated to hardness within herself, was insufficient for the task. Neither could work the redemption of Asia. What can Mahomet, who only adopts the God of the Jews, and takes him from the chosen people to force him upon all? Shall Imael know more than his brother Israel? Shall the desert of Arabia be more fecund than Persia and Judea?

God is God—this is Islamism: it is the religion of unity. Man is to disappear; the flesh to hide itself. There are to be neither images nor art. This terrible God will be jealous of his own symbols. He chooses to be alone, with man alone; whom he must fill and suffice. The patriarchy is almost destroyed; so, too, is the bond of consanguinity; so, too, the community of the tribe—all the old links of Asia. Woman is buried in the harem: the wives may be four, but the concubines innumerable. Brothers and kinsmen are knit together by but slight ties—the terms are lost in the one word—Mussulman. Families have no common name, no distinguishing signs,\* and do not appear to descend, but to be renewed each generation. Each builds himself a house, and the house perishes with the builder. Man holds neither to his fellow-man, nor to the soil. Isolated, and leaving no trace, they pass as the dust of the desert, and equal one to the other just as grain resembles grain of sand, under the eye of a levelling God who wills there to be no hierarchy.

No Christ, no Mediator, no God-man—that ladder which Christianity had thrown us from on high, and which aspired to God through the Saints, the Virgin, the Angels, and Jesus, but which Mahomet rejects. He struck at the root of all hierarchy, both divine and human. God recedes in the heavens to an immeasurable distance, or else weighs upon the earth, broods upon it, and crushes it. We lie, miserable atoms, equals in nothingness, on the arid plain. This religion is veritable Arabia—sky and earth, with nothing between. No mountain raises us near to the heaven; no gentle vapor deities us as to distance, but pitilessly stretched

\* The Orientals have personal, but not hereditary nomenclature. *Inscription des Monumens Musulmans du Cabinet de M. de Biazac, t. i. p. 78, and p. 119.*

out like a helmet of burning steel, hangs a dome of sullen blue.

Islamism, born for extension, will not remain in this state of sublime and sterile desolation. She must traverse the world, even at the risk of change. That God, the idea of whom Mahomet has borrowed from Moses, might remain abstract, pure, and terrible on the Jewish mountain or in the Arabian desert: but the horsemen of the prophet parade him victoriously from Bagdad to Cordova, from Damascus to Surat. The instant the whirl of the sabre and wind of the cimeter cease to kindle his wild ardor, he will own the touch of humanity. I doubt his austerity when encircled by the paradises of the harem and its solitary roses, and by the sparkling fountains of the Alhambra. The flesh, denounced by this haughty religion, stubbornly rebels.\* Banished matter reappears under another form, and avenges itself with all the violence of an exile returning in triumph. They have shut up woman in the seraglio, but she shuts them up there with her. They would not have the Virgin; and they have been these thousand years fighting for Fatima.† They have rejected the God-man, and spurned the incarnation through hatred of Christ, while they proclaim that of Ali.‡ They have condemned magism, the reign of light; yet teach that Mahomet is the increate light—though, according to others, it is Ali, and the imams, Ali's descendants and successors, are incarnate rays. Ismail, the last of these imams, has disappeared from the earth; but his race yet exists in secret, and it is a duty to seek it out. The visible representatives of Ali and of Fatima, were the Fatimite caliphs of Egypt; but these doctrines had prevailed before their time in the eastern mountains of the ancient Persian empire, where Islamism had been unable to extir-

pate magism.\* They burst out in the eighth and ninth centuries, when the fanatic followers of Karmath, who styled themselves Ismaelites, set forth, sword in hand, in quest of their invisible imam, throughout Asia, to be exterminated by hundreds of thousands by the Abbassides. But one of them, taking refuge in Egypt, founded the Fatimite dynasty, to the ruin of the Abbassides and the Koran.

Under their sway, mysterious Egypt revived her ancient mysteries. The Fatimites founded at Cairo the lodge, or *House of Wisdom*; a vast and darksome arsenal of fanaticism and science, of religion and atheism.† The only fixed doctrine of these Protectors of Islamism was implicit obedience. You had only to resign yourself into their hands, to be led by nine stages from religion to mysticism,‡ from my-

\* Hammer, *History of the Assassins*, p. 39, seq. of the French translation.

† Ibid. p. 4.—The *House of Wisdom* in, perhaps, no other than that palace of Cairo, of which William of Tyre has left us so glowing a description. The degrees of wealth and of greatness, would seem to correspond with the degrees of initiation. However this be, we give a translation of the precious memorial of the past:—

"Hugh of Cæsarea, and Geoffrey, a soldier of the weight, entered the city of Cairo, conducted by the sultan, to discharge their mission. They ascended to the palace, called *Casaker* in the language of the country, with a numerous troop of apparitors, who preceded them swayed in hand and with great clamor. They were led through narrow and dark passages, and, at every gate, cohorts of armed Ethiopians did homage to the sultan, by repeated salutes. After clearing the first and second posts, they entered a large space, open to the sun and the broad light of day, where they find galleries with marble columns, washed with gold, enriched with sculpture in relief, paved with mosaic, and, throughout their whole extent, befitting royal magnificence. The richness of the material and of the workmanship involuntarily fastened the eye; and the greedy look, charmed by the novelty of the spectacle, could hardly be satisfied. There were basins, also, filled with limpid water; and the place resounded with the various warbling of birds unknown to our world, of strange form and color, such of which was fed with the different food to which its name inclined it. As they proceeded, under the conduct of the chief of the eunuchs, they find buildings as superior to the first in elegance, as were those to the meanest house. Now was an astonishing variety of quadrupeds, such as palaces imagine in the wantonness of their art, such as poets can describe, such as we see in dreams, such, in short, as we found in the lands of the Orient and of the South, while the West has never seen, and has scarcely ever heard of, aught of the kind.—After many windings and circuits, which might have fixed the attention of the loquacious, they reached the palace itself, where more numerous bodies of armed men and of satellites proclaimed, by their mantles and by their dress, the incomparable magnificence of their master: the appearance of the places, too, also announced his opulence and prodigious riches. When they had entered the interior of the palace, the sultan, to honor his master according to custom, prostrated himself twice before him, and suppliantly rendered him a worship, which reserved the only to him—a kind of adoration. Suddenly, the curtains, interwoven with pearls and gold, which hung in the middle of the hall, before the throne, were drawn aside with marvellous rapidity, and displayed the caliph, who appeared on a golden throne, arrayed more magnificently than kings, and surrounded by a few of his domestics and favorite eunuchs." *Willelm. Tyrens.* l. xix. c. 17.

‡ This mystic spirit of the Alides has often led them to apply to devotion the language of love, just as it has given them a tendency to rise from the love of the soul to that of the Ideal.

A Persian poet says, addressing God—

"It is your beauty, O Lord! which, hidden though it be behind a veil, has made an infinite number of lovers and of mistresses."

"Tis by the attraction of your perfume that I felt my kindled heart of Madam; 'tis through the appeal of your

\* With Mussulmans, the words "woman," and "an object forbidden by religion," are synonymous. *Bibl. des Croisades*, t. iv. p. 169.

† Fatima will enter Paradise next to Mahomet: the Mussulmans call her the *Lady of Paradise*.—Some Shiites (the followers of Ali) maintain that Fatima was not the less a virgin for becoming a mother, and that God was incarnate in her children.—*Description des Moutamess Mussulmans du Cabinet de M. de Blacas*, par M. Reinaud, li. 130, 302.

‡ Whole provinces, in Persia and in Syria, still entertain the same belief. "Those Shiites who have not dared to say that *He was God*, have believed that he was almost so; and the Persians often say, 'I do not believe Ali to be God, but he is not far from it.'—The Shiites say that so respondent was Ali's person, that none could support his look; and that the instant he went forth the people exclaimed—'Thou art God'; on which Ali would strike them dead, but then call them to life again, when they would begin to exclaim louder than before, 'Thou art God, thou art God.' Hence they have styled him the *Dispenser of Light*, and when they paint him, they cover his face." *Reinaud*, li. 163.

§ According to some doctors, at the very moment of creation, God had before him the idea of Mahomet, and this idea, at once a spiritual and a luminous substance, threw out three rays; of the first, God created the heavens; of the second, the earth; and of the third, Adam and all his race. Thus the notion of a Trinity enters into Islamism, as well as that of the incarnation.—The Westerns thought they detected in it the Christian hierarchy. "These nations," says Guibert de Nogent, "have their pope the same as we have ours." *L. V. ap. Bongars*, pp. 312, 313.



nastic chastity and the celibacy of the priests. The caliphate declined, and the papacy was on the rise. Mahometanism was dividing, Christianity was uniting. The first could only expect invasion and ruin; and, in fact, its sole power of resistance sprang from its receiving within its bosom the Mongols and the Turks, that is to say, from its becoming barbarian.

The pilgrimage of the crusade is neither a new nor a strange fact. Man is by nature a pilgrim: long is it since he set forth on his journey, and I know not when he will arrive at its end. Little is needed to put him in motion. First, Nature leads him about like a child by showing him a basking place in the sun, or offering him fruit—the vine of Italy to the Gauls, to the Normans the orange of Sicily;\* or else she tempts and attracts him under woman's form. Rape is the first conquest. 'Tis the beautiful Helen who inspires him; then, as moral feelings arise, the chaste Penelope, the heroic Brynhild or the Sabines. When the emperor Alexis invited our Frenchmen to the holy war, he did not forget to extol the beauty of the Greek women to them. It is said that the lovely dames of Milan had something to do with the persevering efforts of Francis I. to conquer Italy.

Our country is another mistress, who also lures us on. Ulysses felt not fatigue in his desire to see the smoke rise from his Ithacan home. Under the Empire, the men of the north vainly sought their Asgard, the city of the Asi, of their gods and heroes. They found a better thing. In their blind haste they hurtled against Christianity. Our crusaders, who marched filled with such ardent love to Jerusalem, perceived that the land of God was not by the brook of Cedron, or in the arid valley of Jehoshaphat. Then they turned their gaze upwards, and awaited in melancholy hope another Jerusalem. The Arabs were amazed when they saw Godfrey of Bouillon seated on the ground. The conqueror said sorrowfully to them—"Is not the ground good enough for a seat, when we shall return to its bosom for so long a sleep!"† They withdrew, filled with admiration. The West and the East had understood each other.

It behooved, however, that the crusade should go on to its end. It behooved that this vast and manifold world of the middle age, which contained within itself all the elements of the preceding worlds, Greek, Roman, and Barbarian, should reproduce all previous contests of the human race. It behooved that this world should represent under the Christian form, and in colossal proportions, the inva-

sion of Asia by the Greeks, and the conquest of Greece by the Romans, while the Greek column and the Roman arch should be bound together, and reared toward the sky in the gigantic pillars and aerial ceilings of our cathedrals.

Long had the concussion begun. From the year 1000, in particular; ever since mankind thought they had a chance of life, and entertained a gleam of hope, a crowd of pilgrims took up the staff and wended their way, some to the shrine of St. James, others to Monte-Cassino, to the holy apostles of Rome, and thence to Jerusalem. Their feet bore them thither of themselves; yet was the voyage dangerous and painful. Happy he who returned! Happier still he who died near the tomb of Christ, and who could exclaim in the presumptuous language of a writer of the time, "Lord, you died for me, I die for you."<sup>2</sup>

The early pilgrims met with a friendly reception from the Arabs, who were a commercial people. The Fatimites of Egypt, secretly hostile to the Koran, also treated them well. But the scene was changed when the caliph Hakim, the son of a Christian woman,† gave himself out for an incarnation of the Divinity. He hated alike the Christians for their belief that the Messiah had come, and the Jews for their obstinate conviction that he was yet to come, and persecuted both accordingly. From his time the holy sepulchre was only to be approached on condition of doffing it, as in later times the Dutch could gain admission into Japan only by trampling upon the cross. The story of the count of Anjou, Fulk-Nerra, who had so many sins to expiate, and went as often to Jerusalem, is well known. Constrained by the infidels to pollute the sacred tomb, he managed to pour costly wine instead of urine upon it.‡ Returning on foot from Jerusalem, he died of fatigue at Metz.

But neither fatigues nor insults checked the pilgrims. These haughty men, who for a word would have shed torrents of blood in their own country, piously submitted to all the humiliations which it pleased the Saracens to exact. In the eleventh century, the duke of Normandy, and the counts of Barcelona, of Flanders, and of Verdun, accomplished this trying pil-

\* Pierre d'Anvergne, ap. Raynouard, *Chans. de Pecheux des Troubadours*, iv. 113.—Rad. Glaber, l. iv. c. 6, ap. St. R. Fr. x. 50. "About the same time so countless a multitude began to flock from every quarter of the globe, to the sepulchre of our Saviour at Jerusalem, such as no man could before hope for—the common people . . . adding classes . . . kings and counts . . . bishops . . . many noble, together with poorer women . . . It was the heart-felt wish of many to die before they returned home."

† Hammer, *History of the Assassins*.

‡ Gesta Consulum Andegav. ad. 1097, l. iv. c. 236. "They told him, in order to divert him from his desire, that he would by no means be permitted to see the holy sepulchre, unless he would mix urine upon it. . . . The wretched man, albeit unwilling, commenced; and procuring the bladder of a ram, well purified and cleaned, and filling it with the best white wine, he filled it with his thighs, and taking off his shoes . . . advanced and poured the wine on the sepulchre."

\* To this day, the Icelandic expresses an ardent longing by the phrase—a *longing for Ager*.

† Wilhelm. Tyr. l. ix. c. 31. Respondit: "Quod homini mortali sufficere meritis terra pro sede temporalis poterat, cui post mortem perpetuum domicilium est presciturus." . . . The writer adds, "They departed, saying, 'Of a verity, this man will subdue all countries; and for his deserts will rule over the people and the nations.'"

grimage. Danger but increased the anxiety to perform it: the pilgrims only took the precaution of journeying in larger bodies. In 1054, the bishop of Cambrai attempted it with three thousand Flemings, but failed. Thirteen years afterwards, the bishops of Mentz, Ratisbon, Bamberg, and Utrecht, together with some Norman knights, forming on the whole a small army of seven thousand men,\* managed with great difficulty to reach Jerusalem; but only two thousand, at the most, saw Europe again. Meanwhile the Turks, masters of Bagdad and partisans of its caliph, had got possession of Jerusalem, where they massacred indiscriminately all believers in the incarnation, both Alides and Christians. The Greek empire, daily narrowed in its limits, saw their cavalry push on as far as the Bosphorus, in face of Constantinople.† On the other side, the Fatimites trembled behind the ramparts of Damietta and of Cairo. Like the Greeks, they addressed themselves to the princes of the West. Alexis Comnena had already established relations with the count of Flanders, whom he had entertained magnificently on his way to Jerusalem. The Greek ambassadors, with the talkative genius of their race, vaunted the wealth of the East, and the empires and kingdoms which were to be conquered there: the cowards went so far as to boast of the beauty of their daughters and of their wives;‡ and seemed to promise them to the men of the West.

All these motives would not have sufficed to move the people, and communicate to them that mighty impulse which bore them on to the East. They had long heard of holy wars. The life of Spain was but one crusade, and each day news came of some victory of the Cid's, the taking of Toledo or of Valencia: but how poor compared to the prize of Jerusalem! Had not the Genoese and the Pisans, the conquerors of Sardinia and of Corsica, been carrying on a crusade for a century? When Sylvester II. wrote his famous letter in the name of Jerusalem, the Pisans armed a fleet, landed in Africa, and there massacred, it is said, a hundred thousand Moors.§ Yet it was sensibly felt that religion had little to do with all this. Danger from the Spaniards, interest the Italians; who, at a later period, entertained the idea of cutting off the road leading to Jerusalem, and of intercepting and attracting to themselves the wealth which the pilgrims bore to the East, by lading their galleys with earth from Judea, bringing with it such what was sought at such a distance, and making a holy land in the Campo-Santo of Pisa.

But the religious feeling of the people could not be thus played with, nor they diverted from the holy sepulchre. Amidst the extreme sufferings of the middle age, men yet preserved tears for the woes of Jerusalem. That loud voice which, in the year 1000, had threatened them with the end of the world, again made itself heard, and bade them repair to Palestine in gratitude for the respite which God had granted them. The report ran that the power of the Saracens had reached its term. They had only to go right on by the high road which Charlemagne was said to have formerly opened,\* and to march unweariedly towards the rising sun, to seize the spoil which lay ready to their hands, and gather God's good manna. Wretchedness and slavery were at an end: the hour of deliverance had arrived. The East had wealth enough to make them all rich. Of arms, vessels, and provisions there was no need: to have troubled themselves about them, would have been to tempt the vengeance of God. They declared that their only guides should be the simplest of creatures, a goose and a goat.† Pious and touching confidence of infant humanity!

A Picard, who was vulgarly called *Cocuou Piétre*, (Peter Capouch—a *cucullo*, from the monkish *coeli*—or Peter the Hermit,) is said to have powerfully contributed by his eloquence to this great popular movement.‡ On his return from a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, he persuaded the French pope, Urban II., to preach the crusade, first at Placcenza, then at Clermont, (A. D. 1095.)§ In Italy the call was un-

\* Per viam quam pavidum Carolus Magnus, miles-  
cus Francorum rex apert fecit usque Constantinopolim.  
Anonymi gesta Franc. Hieronymi ap. Bongars, p. 1.  
Robert Monach p. 23. Prophets announced that Charle-  
magne himself would appear and put himself at the head  
of the crusade.

† Albert Aquens l. i. c. 31. "They asserted that the  
goose was filled with the Divine Spirit, and the goat like-  
wise, and chose them for guides."—In like manner the  
Mahomet descended from their mountains, led by a wolf,  
a woadsheep, and an ox, and Cadmus was guided by a cow  
into Thebes, &c.

‡ Gauthier Non Talier p. 1. "The lower order of people,  
destitute of resources, but very numerous, attached their  
wives to one Peter the Hermit, and stayed him as their  
master at least so long as matters passed in one country.  
I have discovered that this man originally, if I mistake  
not from the city of Amiens had at first led a solitary life  
under the habit of a monk in I know not what part of  
Upper Gaul. He set out thence by what inspiration I am  
ignorant, but we then saw him traversing the streets and  
burghs and preaching everywhere. The people surrounded  
him in crowds overwhelmed him with presents, and pro-  
claimed his sanctity with such great praise, that I do not  
remember the hours having been rendered to any one.  
He was very generous in distributing whatever was given  
him. He brought back to their husbands wives who had  
straggled from him without adding gifts from himself, and  
restored peace and a good understanding between those who  
had been divided with unmerciful authority. In what  
ever he did or said there seemed to be something divine in  
him so that they would even pluck the hairs out of his  
scalp to keep them as relics which I relate here, not as  
laudable but for the vulgar, who love all extraordinary  
things. He wore only a wooden tunic, and above it a cloak  
of coarse dark cloth which hung to his heels. His arms  
and feet were naked, he ate little or no bread, and sup-  
ported himself on wine and fish."

§ "Remember," he said, "God's own words, who has  
said to the Church, 'I will bring thy seed from the East

\* Regulus ap. Golden vol. 2. p. 294. 295. Additamenta  
Saxo. Gombard ap. Ser. R. Fl. II. 629. Baron Annal.  
l. vi. anno 1064.

† Regulus vol. 2. p. 275.

‡ Regulus Non Talier l. i. c. 4. ap. Bongars p. 674. Inferi  
dicitur in imperio in sublimi, prout hanc universam po-  
tenter in terrarum vixitque trahantur."

§ Michael Histore des Croisades, l. i.—See Gauthier's  
Letter ap. Ser. R. Fl. II. 625.







of Antwerp, duke of Bouillon and of Lothier, and king of Jerusalem. Godfrey's family, sprung, it is said, from Charlemagne, was already illustrated by great adventures and by signal misfortunes. His father, Eustache de Boulogne, was brother-in-law to Edward the Confessor, and had missed succeeding him in England, whither he had been summoned by the Saxons to oppose William the Conqueror.\* His maternal grandfather, Godfrey with the Beard, or Godfrey the Bold, duke of Lothier and of Brabant, who in like manner had failed to become master of Lorraine, maintained a thirty years' war with the emperors at the head of all Belgium, and burned the palace of the Carolingians in Aix-la-Chapelle. He was often defeated, banished, and a prisoner; and his wife, Beatrice d'Este, mother of the famous countess Matilda, was unworthily detained in captivity by Henry III., who at last deprived her of her patrimony, and gave Lorraine to the house of Alsace. When, however, Henry IV. was persecuted by the popes, and deserted by numbers of his former friends, the grandson of this banished man, the Godfrey of the crusade, did not fail in his duty to his suzerain. The emperor confided the imperial standard† to him, that standard which Godfrey's ancestors had often made waver, and against which Matilda had supported the banner of the Church; but in Godfrey's hands it was secure: he slew the rival Cæsar, Rodolph, the king raised up by the priestly party, with the spear of the standard,‡ (A. D. 1080), and then planted it victoriously on the walls of Rome, which he was the first to scale.§ Yet, the having violated the city of St. Peter, and expelled the pope, sat heavily on his tender conscience. While yet a child, he had often said that he would go with an army to Jerusalem;|| and, as soon as the crusade was proclaimed, he sold his lands to the bishop

of Liège, and set out for the Holy Land, at the head of an army of ten thousand horsemen and seventy thousand foot, French, Lorrains, and Germans.

Godfrey belonged to both nations, and spoke both tongues.\* He was not tall; his brother, Baldwin, was taller by the head; but his strength was prodigious.† It is said, that with one blow of his sword he "unseamed" a horseman from head to saddle; and with one back stroke would cut off an ox's or a camel's head; When in Asia, having one day lost his way, he found one of his companions in a cavern, engaged with a bear. He drew the beast's rage upon himself, and slew it; but the serious bites he received kept him long to his bed. This heroic man was of singular purity of mind: he never married, and died, without having known woman, at the age of thirty-eight.§

The council of Clermont was held in November, 1095. On the 15th of August, 1096, Godfrey departed with the Lorrains and Belgians, and took the route through Germany and Hungary. ¶ In September, William the Conqueror's son, his son-in-law, the count of Blois, brother to the king of France, and the count of Flanders, set forth, taking the route through Italy as far as Apulia, where they separated, one party crossing to Durazzo, another turning Greece. In October, our Southern, under Raymond de St. Gille, marched by way of Lombardy, Friuli, and Dalmatia. Robert, with his Normans and Italians, forced his way through the deserts of Bulgaria, which was the shortest and least dangerous passage, it being preferable to avoid the towns, and to encounter the Greeks in the open country only. The wild appearance of the first crusaders, led by Peter the Hermit, had alarmed the Byzantines, who bitterly repented their invitation to the Franks, but too late. They poured in countless numbers, through every valley and avenue of the Empire—Constantinople being the place of rendezvous. Vain were the emperor's cunning plans to cut them off by the way; the massy strength of the barbarians broke through every snare: Hugh of Vermandois was the only one who suffered himself to be entrapped: Alexis saw the army which he had made sure of destroying, arrive, divisions

\* See Thierry, *Histoire de la Conquête de l'Angleterre*, t. i.

† Wilhelm. Tyr. l. ix. c. 8. "The chiefs being summoned, the emperor asks to whom he can safely intrust the imperial standard, and commit the leadership of such large armies? And he was answered with one voice, that Godfrey, the lord duke of Lothier, was beyond all fit and sufficient for that burden. And to him . . . much gain saying and very unwilling, he delivered the eagle." See, also, Alber. Tr. Font. ap. Leibnitz *Accession. Hist.* l. 182.

‡ Wilhelm. Tyr. *ibid.* "Rodolph's army being broken and routed, in the sight of the emperor and of some of the chiefs, he plunged the spear of the standard which he bore right through the king's heart, and thus transfixed, bore him lifeless to the ground; then raised again the imperial banner, though all bloody." Alber. *ibid.* c. 10.

§ Fatigue bringing on a violent fever, he vowed to take the cross, and was cured. Alberic. p. 180. Godefridus . . . in oppugnando Romanorum partem morti, quo sibi obliterat, prius lapsus, postea, pro nimio labore, in nimis sibi munum vinum hauriens, febrem quartanam actus est. Audita autem in Roma via Hierosolymitana, illuc se iterum vocat, si Deus illi concederet sanitatem. Quo voto emissio, viresque penitus reuertuntur.

|| Gilbert. Nov. l. ii. c. 12. Drexel se desiderare profectus Hierosolymam, et hoc non simpliciter, ut illi, sed cum violentia exortus, si sibi suppetret, magni. —His mother, St. Ida, dreamed one day that the sun descended into her bosom; which signified, says the contemporary biographer, that kings would proceed from her. Acta SS. April 13, p. 141.

\* Alberic. ap. Leibnitz. Access. l. 180. "Brought up as if on the border of each nation, and familiar with both tongues, he stood betwixt the Franks, the Germans, and the Teutons, who are frequently wont to wrangle with certain bitter and invidious jests, and reformed their social intercourse in many respects."

† Wilhelm. Tyr. l. ix. c. 5. Robustus sine exemplo, c. 21. Alberic. p. 184. Rad. Cadom. c. 33.

‡ Robert. Monach. l. iv. it. ap. Bongars, p. 30 73. — Another time, he cut a Turk clean through the middle of the body. . . . "The Turk was made two Turks; the one that was lower rode on to the city, the other swam, holding his bow, down the stream." Rad. Cadom. c. 23, p. 204. Gilbert. Nov. l. vii. c. 11, 12.

§ Rad. Cadom. c. 14, p. 291. "Distinguished by his humility, clemency, sobriety, justice, and chastity, he chose rather the light of monks than the leader of soldiers." — He took with him a colony of monks, whom he settled at Jerusalem.

after division, at Constantinople, to salute their good friend, the emperor. The poor Greeks, condemned to see this fearful review of the human race defile before them, could not believe that the torrent would pass without carrying them along with it; and there was enough to be alarmed at in the innumerable languages and strange costumes of these barbarians, whose very familiarity and coarse pleasantries disconcerted the Byzantines. While waiting until the whole army should be collected, they established themselves amicably in the Empire, did just as they did at home, and laid hands in their simplicity on whatever they fancied; for instance, on the lead of the roofs of the churches, which they sold back to the Greeks.\* The sacred palace was not a whit more respected; they felt no awe of its swarm of scribes and of eunuchs, and had neither taste nor imagination sufficient to be influenced by the overpowering pomp and theatrical display of Byzantine magnificence. Alexis had a fine lion, which was both the ornament and the terror of the palace: they killed it by way of sport.

Constantinople, with all its marvels, was a great temptation for such as had only seen the mud-built cities of our West. Its gilded domes, marble palaces, and the master-pieces of antique art, which had been accumulated in the capital in proportion as the limits of the Empire had been contracted, presented an astonishing and mysterious whole which overwhelmed them, and which they were utterly at a loss to understand. The very variety of the manufactures, and of the merchandise exhibited for sale, was to them an inexplicable problem. All they could comprehend was, that they longed for all they saw, and doubted whether the holy city was to be preferred to it. Our Normans and our Gascons would have been well content to finish the crusade here: they would willingly have said, like the little children of whom Guibert speaks:—"Is not this Jerusalem?"†

Then came into their mind all the stratagems with which the Greeks had beset their march. They pretended that they had furnished them with unwholesome food, and had poisoned the fountains;‡ and laid to their charge the epidemic diseases which had been produced in the army by alternate famine and intemperance. Bohemond and the count of Toulouse argued, that they should stand on no scruple with regard to these poisoners, and that by way of chastigation they should take Constantinople: they might then conquer the Holy Land at their leisure. It would have been an easy matter, had they been all agreed, but the Norman was conscious that if he dethroned Alexis, this

might only be to give the Empire to the Toulouseans; besides, Godfrey declared that he had not come to make war on Christians.\* Bohemond supported his views, and found his virtue very profitable, since he got from the emperor every thing he wished.†

Such was the tact of Alexis, that he managed to persuade these conquerors, who could have crushed him,‡ to do him homage, and to make their conquest a fief of the Empire beforehand. Hugh took the oath first, then Bohemond, then Godfrey. Godfrey bent the knee to the Greek, in whose hands he placed his own, and declared himself his vassal: an act which cost little to one of his meek disposition. In point of fact, the crusaders could not do without Constantinople. Since it was not theirs, they behoved to have it at least as their ally and friend. About to plunge into the deserts of Asia, it was the Greeks alone who could preserve them from ruin in case of reverse; and to get rid of them, the Greeks promised whatever was asked of them,—provisions, auxiliary troops, and, especially, vessels to transport them as soon as possible across the Bosphorus.

Godfrey having set the example, all flocked to take the oath. Then one of them, a count of high birth, had the audacity to seat himself in the imperial throne. The emperor, long familiar with the *outré* conduct of the Latins, said nothing. But count Baldwin took the insolent noble by the hand, and led him away, giving him to understand that the emperors were not wont to suffer those who had done them homage, and who had become their *men*, to sit by their side; one should conform, he urged, to the customs of the country where one lived. The other made no reply, but regarded the emperor with an angry look, muttering in his own tongue some words which may be translated as follows—"See that clown sitting alone, when so many captains are standing." The emperor saw his lips moving, and got an interpreter to explain what he said, but made no remark at the time. Only when the counts, after the ceremony was over, withdrew and saluted the emperor, he took this proud baron aside, and inquired who he was, his country, and his origin. "I am a pure Frank," was the reply, "and among the noblest. I only know one thing, which is, that in my own land there is an old

\* Guibert Nov. l. i. c. 4. "Dux Gislefridus, Hugo Magnus, Robertusque Flandrensis et ceteri, discessit quia nusquam reatit scire qui Christianis concesserat agnoscere armis potestatem." Gest. Franc. Hieron. l. i. in ap. Bongars. p. 5. Raymond d'Agiles p. 161. Albert Aq. l. i. c. 16.

† He was led through a gallery in the palace, where, though a door left open as if by accident, he saw a room filled from floor to ceiling with gold, silver, jewels, and pearls, as innumerable. "What conquerors," he exclaimed, "might be won with such treasure at one's command?" "To you was the immediate reply. It did not need much entreaty to induce him to accept it." Ann. Commen. p. 161.

‡ They spoke of the Greeks with sovereign contempt—"Grecorum istos omnium inertissimos," etc. Guibert Nov. l. i. c. 2.

\* "Isti sunt qui ecclesie que plumbis pretulerant piumbum idem Grecis vende prebent." See also Rodric Hist. Hierosolym. ap. Bongars. p. 20. (I do not therefore apply only to the anecdote by Peter the Hermit.)

† Ann. Commen. Alexias. § Alex. l. i. c. 120. "Totius vel summis vel iis vel vestibus infundimus."

church at the place where three roads meet, and where, whoever desires an adventure, comes to pay his orisons to God, and wait for his adversary. But vainly have I waited at this cross-road: no one durst come.' 'Well,' said the emperor, 'if you have found no opponent as yet, the time is come when you will not fail to meet one.'"<sup>\*</sup>

Behold them in Asia, the Turkish cavalry before them. The heavy mass advances, harassed upon the flanks. The crusaders first sit down before Nicaea, for the Greeks, wishing to recover that city, led them there. Unskilled in the art of besieging fortified places, they might, with all their valor, have lingered there forever; but at any rate, they served to alarm the besieged, who entered into negotiations with Alexis, so that one morning the Franks saw the emperor's banner floating over the walls, and they were bade from the ramparts to respect an imperial city.†

They pursued, then, their route to the South, punctually escorted by the Turks, who cut off all loiterers; but they suffered still more from their numbers. Notwithstanding the succors of the Greeks, sufficient provisions could not be got together for them, and water was every moment failing them on the arid hills they had to traverse. During one halt, five hundred persons died of thirst. "The dogs of chase belonging to the great lords, which were led in leash, died," says the chronicler, "by the way, and the falcons died on the wrists of those who bore them. The women's sufferings brought on untimely labor; and they remained all naked on the plain, without bestowing a thought on their new-born children."<sup>‡</sup>

Light cavalry to oppose that of the Turks would have been of great advantage to them: what could their heavily-armed lances do against these clouds of vultures! The crusading army marched, imprisoned, so to speak, in a circle of turbans and of cimeters. Once only did the Turks endeavor to stop them, and offer them battle. It did not turn to their account. They felt what the weight of their arms could do, to whom they were so superior in desultory warfare and with missile weapons. Nevertheless, the loss of the crusaders was immense.

Thus harassed, they forced their way through Cilicia, and as far as Antioch. The army desired to press onward to Jerusalem; but their

leaders insisted on stopping, for they were impatient to realize their ambitious dreams. Already they had disputed, sword in hand, what Tarsus was to be, both Baldwin and Tancred claiming to have been the first to enter it; but the army, caring little for the private interests of the chiefs, and not wishing to be delayed, demolished another city, about which a similar dispute was on the point of breaking out.\*

The great city of Antioch contained three hundred and sixty churches, and four hundred and fifty towers; and had been the metropolis of a hundred and fifty-three bishoprics—a fine prize for the count of St. Gilles and Bohemond, and its possession alone could console them for having missed Constantinople. Bohemond was the more able of the two, and opened a correspondence with the citizens. The crusaders, deceived here as they had been at Nicaea, saw the red banner of the Normans streaming from the walls;† but this did not hinder them from entering the city, or count Raymond from throwing his followers into some of the towers, and fortifying himself there. The abundance of this great city proved fatal to them after such long deprivations, and an epidemic carried off the crusaders in crowds. Their waste soon exhausted the plenty before them, and they were again reduced to famine, when a vast army of Turks arrived to beleaguer them in their new conquest. Hugh of France, Stephen of Blois, and numbers besides, conceived the destruction of the army at hand, and, escaping, spread the news of the disastrous failure of the crusade.

And, indeed, to such excess of prostration were those who remained reduced, that Bohemond was obliged to have the houses fired,‡ to force them to leave the shelter where they lay cowering. Religion supplied a still more efficacious means. One of the common men, warned in a dream, announced to the chiefs that by digging in a certain spot, they would find the holy lance which had pierced the side of our Lord.§ He deputed to the truth of his revelation by submitting to the ordeal of fire, and was burned; but, nevertheless, they about-

\* Rayn. de Agil. p. 161. "Rising weak and infirm from their beds, they came to the walls leaning on sticks; and stones, such as three or four pair of oxen could hardly draw, a furnished man would easily heave from the walls, when they would roll to a distance."

† Guibert, Novig. l. vi. c. 16. "... Trecentas et sexaginta ecclesias nullo ingenio ambibiles. . . . Circumposita eadem quadringentis quinquaginta turribus. Centum quoque viginti trium episcoporum. . . . —Albertus makes the number of the churches only three hundred and forty. p. 153.

‡ Gesta Francorum, c. 50. "Summo dilectulo aduersariis illi, qui foris erant in tentoriis, vehementissimum rancorem stupore per civitatem, euerant festinatione, et viderant vexillum Bohemundi. Fulcher, Carnot. p. 302. . . . Vexillum Bohemundi rubicundum."

§ Guibert, l. v. c. 21. "Cum . . . vix aliquos caudare valeret. . . . gravi animadversione citatus, jubet ignem supponi."

|| Raymond, de Agil. p. 155. "I have seen those things which I speak of, and there (in battle) I bore the lance of the Lord." Fulcher de Chartres exclaims, "Heard to a fraud, and not a fraud!" and afterwards, "He found a lance, perhaps deceitfully hidden" c. 10.

\* Ann. Comnen. Alexias, ed. Paris. p. 301. "Ὁ δὲ Φραγκοὶ μὴ τὴν ἐκείνου, ἰσθὺν, τὸν κύριον, ἀλλὰ δι' ἐπικουρίας. . . . Ἐπειρὰ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἀπερῶν, ἰσθὺν. Ἐπὶ πόλιν μὲν τότε ἔστησαν οἱ Φράγκοι, πᾶσι δὲ τοῖς καίροις δὲ πολλῶν αὖτε πολέμων ἔσθλην οὖν ἔκινε."

† "At the same time he sent large presents to the chiefs, and solicited their friendship both by letters, and through his deputies. He returned them a thousand thanks for this ; and service, and for the addition they had thus made to the Empire." Willelm. Tyr. l. iii. c. 12.—"He sent," says Guibert, l. iii. c. 9, "numerous gifts to the princes, and large sums to the poor, thus sowing the seeds of hate among those of the madding condition, from whom his munificence seemed to be turned away." See, also, Raymond d'Agiles, p. 142.

‡ Albertus Aqueus. l. iii. c. 2.

ed a miracle.\* Giving the horses all the forage that remained, and choosing the moment when the Turks were disporting and drinking, thinking themselves secure of their famished prey, they sallied forth at every gate, and with the holy lance at their head. Their numbers seemed to them to be doubled by squadrons of angels, they broke through and scattered the innumerable army of the Turks,† and became masters of the country round Antioch, and of the road to Jerusalem.

Antioch became Bohemond's, despite Raymond's efforts to keep possession of its towers. The Norman thus reaped the profit of the crusade; yet he could not escape accompanying the army and assisting at the siege of Jerusalem. That vast army had by this time been thinned down to five and twenty thousand men; but these were all knights and their immediate retainers. The common herd had found a tomb in Asia Minor and in Antioch.

The Fatimites of Egypt, who, like the Greeks, had summoned the Franks against the Turks, in like manner repented. Having taken Jerusalem from the Turks, they essayed to keep it in their own hands, and are said to have assembled forty thousand men for its defence. The crusaders, who, in the first transports of enthusiasm into which they had been thrown at the sight of the holy city, had felt assured of carrying it by assault, were repulsed by the besieged. They found themselves compelled to resort to the slow process of a siege, and to sit down before the city in this desolate region, alike destitute of trees and of water. It seemed as if the demon had blasted every thing with his breath, at the approach of the army of Christ. Sorenesses appeared on the walls,

who hurled fatal words at the besiegers, but it was not by words that they were answered: and one of them, in the midst of her conjurations, was struck by a stone launched from the machines of the Christians,\* which had been made under the direction of the viscount of Bearn, from the trees of the only wood which the neighborhood furnished, and which by his orders had been cut down by the Genoese and Gascons. Two moveable towers were built, one for the count of St. Gille, and the other for the duke of Lorraine. Daily, for eight days, and barefooted, the crusaders had walked in procession round Jerusalem † which done, a general assault was made by the whole army. Godfrey's tower rolled to the walls, and on Friday, the 15th of July, 1099, at three o'clock, on the very day, and at the very hour of the Passion, Godfrey of Bouillon descended from his tower on the walls of Jerusalem. The city was taken, and a fearful massacre followed: ‡ for the crusaders, in their blind fury, not taking into account the distance of time, believed that in each infidel they slew in Jerusalem, they put to death one of the executioners of Jesus Christ.

When it appeared to them that they had sufficiently avenged our Saviour, that is, when hardly an inhabitant was left alive in the city, they repaired with tears and groans, and beatings of the breast, to worship the holy tomb.

• Wilhelm Tyf 1. Juni 13

\* Gubert, I. vii. c. 16. They did this in hopes that the miracle of Jericho might be repeated. *Memoriae Hieronimi quondam causae . . . cum multa spectamina et copulante multitudine juvenumque agens, sanctum nomen flabitu inclamans, multipudala extendens, Jerusalem circumstunt. Aliosque ap. Laodiceam Arcemque Hecce.* 173.

<sup>5</sup> The Mussulman poet, Alcaudi, composed a poem on the taking of Jerusalem, of which the following is the poem.

And we have mingled blood with the abundance of our tears. There is no other blood shed in answer to the multitude that thrall and oppress, and thus it is again to shed tears, when we first and foremost are speaking of the children of Israel: many battles remain for you to maintain, in which your heads will be full of your feet. *How sleep and chase* the years when a prey to circumstances which would amaze the wisest man? Your brethren in Syria have only the backs of their camels to rest upon, or the skulls of your cities. The Romans cover them with disgrace, and you, you suffer your garments shamelessly to sweep the ground, like one who has nothing to fear. How much blood has been shed. How many women who have only had their hands left to show their shame! The shock is so fearful between the strokes of the lance and of the sword that the feet of the same men turn children's heads gray. Such is the fate that they who are wholly its rage in the hope of glory, soon pay, their death with regret. I seem to see him who weeps at Medina, Mahomet rise and cry out with his strength of soul, aloud of Mehemet—What my people do not fly to meet the enemy lance in hand, when the very foundations of religion are crumbling beneath their feet! They do not to the sword, the fire, for fear of death and dishonor, but they find an ever enduring wound. Will they then the shock of the Arabians against themselves to be a crisis and the waters of Persia subvert this degradation? We do not feel since they no longer fight through zeal for religion, so that they would offer resistance in order to save the faithful. If the vengeance heavenly rewards when danger strikes them, will not they at least be attracted by the Light of unity? *Ben-Nachour des Cracades, Cracades des Aquilins Arabes, Ben M. Remand*

The next question was, who was to be king of the conquest, who was to have the melancholy honor of defending Jerusalem. A court of inquiry was held on each of the princes, in order to choose the worthiest; and to come at their secret vices, their servants were questioned. The choice would probably have fallen on the count of St. Gille, the richest of the crusaders, had not his servants, in their fear of being kept by him at Jerusalem, made no scruple of blackening their master's character, and so sparing him the pains of sovereignty. When the duke of Lorraine's servants were examined in their turn, they could find nothing to say against him, except that he remained too long in the churches, even beyond the hours of service, and stayed inquiring of the priests the stories represented in the sacred images and paintings, to the great discontent of his friends, who were thus kept waiting for their dinner.\* Godfrey resigned himself to the burden; but would not assume the kingly crown in a spot in which the Saviour had worn one of thorns.† The only title he would accept was, that of defender and baron of the holy sepulchre. To the patriarch's claim to Jerusalem and the whole kingdom, he made no objection, but freely surrendered all in presence of the people, and only reserved for himself the possession, that is to say, the defence of the city.‡ In the very first year of his reign, he had to fight an innumerable army of Egyptians, who had attacked the crusaders at Ascalon. He had, in short, a never-ending war on his hands, and found his conquest to be nothing but irremediable misery—one long martyrdom. The Arabs infested his kingdom from the beginning, penetrating to the very gates of the capital, so that it was hardly possible to till the land. Tancred was the only chief that remained with Godfrey; who could with difficulty detain three hundred knights to defend the Holy Land.§

Yet was it a great thing for Christendom thus to occupy, in the very midst of the infidels, the cradle of their religion. A petty Asiatic Europe was formed here, in the likeness of the great; and feudalism was organized even under a severer form than it had assumed in any western country. The hierarchical order, and all the details of feudal justice were regulated in the famous ASSIZE OF JERUSALEM, by Godfrey and his barons; and there were present a prince of Galilee, a marquis of Jaffa, and a baron of Sidon. The addition of these titles of the mid-

dle age, to the most venerable names of biblical antiquity, sounds like a burlesque; and, assuredly, Daniel had seen in no vision, that a duke of Lorraine would crown the fortress of David with battlements, or that a barbaric giant from the West, a Gaul,—a fair head masked with iron,—would call himself marquis of Tyre.

Judea had become a France. Our language, carried by the Normans into England and Sicily, was introduced into Asia by the crusade. The French tongue succeeded, as the language of policy, to the universal Latin tongue, from Arabia to Ireland. The Westerns went under the common name of Franks.\* And, however weak the French monarchy might still be, the brother of the cipher Philippe the First, that very Hugh of Vermandois who had fled from Antioch, was nevertheless styled by the Greeks the brother of the chief of the Christian princes, and of the king of the kings.†

## CHAPTER IV.

### TERMINATION OF THE CRUSADE.—THE COMMONS.—ABELARD.—THE FIRST HALF OF THE TWELFTH CENTURY.

It is for God to rejoice over his work, and to say—this is good. Not so with man. When he has finished his work, when he has wrought well, when he has run and sweated, when he has gained his end, and at length has hold of the desired object, he ceases to know it, he lets it fall from his hands, and conceives a disgust both at it and himself. Then he no longer wishes to live: all his efforts have but succeeded in depriving him of his God. Thus, Alexander died of sorrow when he had conquered Asia, and Alaric, when he had taken Rome. No sooner could Godfrey of Bouillon call the Holy Land his, than he sat down pros-

\* Willelm. Tyr. l. ix. c. 2. . . . Sed de singulis imaginibus et picturis rationem exigebat a sacerdotibus, et sic qui horum videbantur habere peritiam: Ita quod solus eius, affectus aliter, in tardum vertitur . . . et pendia . . . minus tempestive magisque insipida sumerentur. Alberic. p. 179.

† Guibert. l. vii. Alberic. p. 183.

‡ Willelm. Tyr. l. ix. c. 16.

§ Id. ibid. c. 19. He had two thousand infantry, as well. Iuxta solus, et dominus Tancredus . . . a domino duce erat detentus . . . ut vix invenirentur equites trecenti et pedum duo milia.—At Antioch, Tancred had sworn that he would not abandon his post so long as forty knights remained with him. Guibert. l. v. c. 18.

\* Guibert. l. ii. c. 1. "Last year I conversed with an archdeacon of Mentz, touching the rebellion of his countrymen, and I heard him calumniate our king and people, solely because the king had received and hospitably entertained our lord pope Pascal, as well as his princes. He denoted the French so far, as to call them in scorn *Francos*. Then I said to him, 'If you hold the French to be so weak and cowardly, as to pre-sume to insult by your writings a name, the fame of which has reached as far as the Indian ocean, tell me to whom pope Urban applied for succor against the Turks?' Was it not to the French?"—Id. l. iv. c. 3. "Our princes, having held a council, resolved to build a fort on the summit of a mountain, which they called *Mt. Regard*, for a new point of defence against the Turks." The French tongue was the most used in the army of the crusaders.

† O. Jacobi, sive Basilidis, ad d. regis de vob. *Θαυμαστόν εστί*. Matthew Paris (ad ann. 1234) and Frobenius (c. iv. p. 307) give the king of France the title of *Rex Regum*, and style him chief of all Christian kings.—The Turks themselves wished to make out a descent from the Franks. *Dieunt se esse de Francorum generatione* (the reason they gave was, that "No man was naturally a soldier, save he was Frank or Turk"; quia nullus homo naturaliter debet esse miles nisi Turci et Franci. *Gesta Francorum*, ap. Bongars. p. 7.

trate and discouraged, and longed to rest in its bosom. Little and great, in this we all resemble Alexander and Godfrey—the historian and the hero fall under the same category. The cold and dry Gibbon himself suffers an expression of regret to escape, on his great work's being brought to a close;\* and I, if I dare speak of myself in the same breath, look forward with fear equal to my hopes, to the term of the long crusade through past ages, which I am undertaking for my country.

The men of the middle age felt sad when they had accomplished their adventurous enterprise, and enjoyed the so much longed for Jerusalem. Six hundred thousand men had started, bearing the cross. But five-and-twenty thousand remained when they left Antioch; and, when they had taken the holy city, Godfrey stayed to defend it with three hundred knights, and a few others were stationed at Tripoli with Raymond, others at Odessa with Baldwin, and a few at Antioch with Bohemond. Only ten thousand men revisited Europe—what had become of all the rest? They might easily be tracked through Hungary, the Greek empire, and Asia, by the bones which whitened the roads. Such mighty efforts to have this result! It is not surprising to find the victor himself conceive a disgust for life. Godfrey blamed not God, but he languished and died †.

It is that he had no conception of the true result of the crusade; a result which, though it could neither be seen nor touched, was not the less real. Europe and Asia had been brought together, and had recognised each other. Already had the hatred which springs from ignorance been diminished; as is evident from the language of contemporary writers, before and after the crusade.

"It was laughable," says the fierce Raymond d'Agiles, "to see the Turks, pressed on all sides by our men, cast themselves flying one on the other, pushing each other over the precipices. 'Twas an amusing and cheering sight!"

After the crusade, all is changed.‡ King Baldwin, Godfrey's brother and successor, mar-

ries a woman of noble birth "from among the Gentiles of the country."<sup>§</sup> He adopts the customs of the natives, wears flowing robes, suffers his beard to grow, and enforces obedience after the oriental fashion. He begins to account the Saracens human beings. When his physicians desired, once that he was wounded, to inflict a similar wound on a prisoner, in order to study the nature of the hurt,† he refused permission; and, in pity to a Mussulman woman who was taken in labor, he halted with his army, rather than abandon her in the desert.‡

And what is the effect of the crusade on the Christians as regards each other? Humanity, charity, and equality have been the lessons taught by this fellowship in extremity of peril and of misery. Christendom, momentarily collected under the same banner, has felt a sort of European patriotism.§ Whatever the temporal views mixed up with their enterprise, the greater number have tasted the sweets of virtue, and at least dreamed of holiness; have striven to rise above themselves, and have become Christians, at least in hate of the infidels.¶

The day on which, without distinction of freemen and of serfs, the powerful among them called their followers, *Ora Proa*,—that day was the era of freedom.¶ Man having been for a moment drawn out of local servitude, and led

\* *Id. Lib. v. c. 26.* "He displayed the greatest pomp in his duchy, so much so, that whenever he went forth he caused a golden buckler to be borne before him in the shape of a torch, buckler and on which was the figure of an eagle. Adopting the customs of the Orientals, he wore long robes, let his beard grow, gave ear to those who paid him adoring homage, ate on carpets laid on the ground, and when entering any of his towns, two knights sounding their trumpets preceded his car."

† *Id. ibid. c. 13.* "No man's life," he said, "not even were he lowest of the low, should be risked for so slight a chance of benefit."—Pursuing of the first crusader, Albert d'Art says, "God punishes them for their cruel cruelty to the Jews, for God is just and desires not to see to be used to bring any one to him."

‡ He gave his own cloak to cover her. "montello suo, quod erat indutus, cum involvens." *Willelm. Tyr. Lib. v. c. 11.*

§ We have a ready shown that the barons gave up their respective war cries for the crusader's cry, "God with us!"

¶ Who has ever heard tell of so many nations speaking different tongues being collected together in one army—Franks, Germans, Britons, Latins, Britons, Antiochens, Lombards, Germans, Bavarians, Normans, French, English, Aquitanians, Apulians, Germans, Germans, Germans, Armenians? When a Briton or German spoke to me, I could give him no answer. But although divided by such differences of language, we all seemed to many brethren and near relatives united by one hundred spirit for love of our Lord. If any of us, out any thing belonging to him, he who had found it, carried it carefully about with him, and for many days until by reiterated inquiry he had discovered the owner, to whom he right gladly restored it, as it behooved men who have undertaken a holy pilgrimage." *Ulrich. Carner. p. 269.*

When I came to pass that neither baron nor knight was allowed, even suffered to be spoken of especially, since they dreaded being delivered up to the sword by the judgement of God, and if any unmarried woman was found with child, she and her guilty accomplices were consigned to cruel tortures." *Ulrich. Carner. Lib. v. c. 13.*—The general manners of the Turks were a striking contrast to this Christian chivalry. After the great battle of Antioch, new born infants of whom the Turkish women had slain us, were found in the fields and woods. *Guibert. Lib. v.*

¶ Raymond d'Agiles, p. 163, and elsewhere—*Pauparum, pauperum.*

\* My pride was soon humbled, and a sober melancholy was cast over my mind by the idea that I had taken an everlasting leave of an old and agreeable companion, and that what was might be the future date of my History, the life of the last man might be short and precarious." *Life of Gibbon, p. 14.* *See Decline and Fall, &c.*

† *Id. ibid. Nov. 1. c. 22.* "The prize of a neighborly strife of duellists sent him presently infected with a deadly poison. Godfrey took them without the least doubt to his bed, and took to his bed and died shortly after. According to others, he died a natural death."

‡ *Id. ibid. c. 22.* *Agiles, ap. Bongars. p. 109.* *Jerusalem spe- cta. c. 1.* *Jerusalem post mox in tempora nobis factum.*

§ *Id. ibid. c. 22.* *Agiles, ap. Bongars. p. 109.* *Jerusalem spe- cta. c. 1.* *Jerusalem post mox in tempora nobis factum.*

¶ *Id. ibid. c. 22.* *Agiles, ap. Bongars. p. 109.* *Jerusalem spe- cta. c. 1.* *Jerusalem post mox in tempora nobis factum.*



in full blaze of day through Europe and Asia by the great movement of the crusade, encountered liberty while he sought Jerusalem. The liberating trumpet of the archangel, which the world fancied it had heard in the year 1000, was sounded a century later by the preaching of the crusade. At the foot of the feudal tower, which oppressed it by its darkening shadow, awoke the village; and that ruthless man who had only stooped down from his vulture's nest to despoil his vassals, armed them himself, led them with him, lived with them, suffered with them: community of suffering touched his heart. More than one serf could say to his superior, "My lord, I found a cup of water for you in the desert—I shielded you with my body at the siege of Antioch, or of Jerusalem."

Strange adventures, singular chances, could not fail to attend such an enterprise. To have survived the fearful destruction which swept off so many nobles, in not a few instances conferred a nobility of its own. A man's worth was then known. The serfs had their own page of history, which told of their heroic acts. The relatives of the dead became the kindred of martyrs; and decked out their fathers and brothers in the old legends of the Church. They knew that it was a poor man who had saved Antioch by discovering the holy lance, while the sons and brothers of kings had fled from that city. They knew that the pope had not gone to the crusade, and that the sanctity of monks and priests had been eclipsed by the holiness of a layman—Godfrey of Bouillon.

Then did humanity begin to honor herself in the lowliest condition. The first revolutions of the commons precede, or follow hard upon, the year 1100; when they broached the notion that each ought to be free to dispose of the produce of his own labor, and to marry his children without another's consent, and were emboldened to believe that they had a right to go and come, to sell and buy, and even suspected, in the excess of their presumptuousness, that men might chance to be equal.

Up to this time, this formidable notion of equality had never been clearly enounced. We are, indeed, told that before the year 1000, the peasants of Normandy had broke out in revolt; but it was easily suppressed. A few knights scourged the country, dispersed the *villains*, cut off their feet and hands, and the matter was forgotten.\* Generally speaking, the peasants had too little communication with each other; so that their *jacqueries* all failed in the middle age; and it must, alas! be confessed, they were also

too degraded by slavery, and rendered too brutal and savage by the extremity of their sufferings, to have used victory otherwise than barbarously.

It was in the populous burghs which had risen round the castles, and particularly round the churches, that ideas of liberty mostly fermented. Population had been encouraged in these burghs, by grants of land from their lay or ecclesiastical lords, who were anxious to increase their strength and the number of their vassals. They were not large, commercial cities, like those in the south of France, and in Italy; but carried on manufactures of the coarse kind, had some smiths, many weavers, butchers, and in the burghs lying on the high roads, hatters. Sometimes their lords would allow skilful artisans—to embroider the stole or forge the armor; and these men could not but have some liberty allowed them, since they carried their all in their hands and arms, and would otherwise have fled the country.

Liberty, then, was to have its beginning in the towns, in the towns of the centre of France, which were to be called privileged towns, or communes, and which would either receive or extort their franchises. The general pretext was the necessity of securing the inhabitants from the oppression and robbery of the feudal lords: the special, the defence of the *Isle of France* against the pre-eminently feudal country, Normandy. "At this period," says Orderic Vital, "the popular community was established by the bishops, so that the priests accompanied the king to sieges and battles, with the banners of their parishes and their parsonages." According to the same historian, there was a Montfort, (an illustrious family, which in the following century, destroyed liberty in the south of France and founded that of England.) Amaury de Montfort, who counselled Louis-le-Gros, after his defeat at Breteuil, to oppose the Normans with the men of the communes arrayed under the banners of the respective parishes. (A. D. 1119.)† But when these commons returned to the shelter of their own walls, they rose in their demands. It was death to their humble thoughts of themselves when they saw flying before their parochial banners mighty horses and their noble horsemen, when, with Louis-le-Gros, they had put a stop to the robberies of the Rocheforts, who had forced the den of the Coucy's. With respect of the twelfth century, they could exclaim: "We are men as they are; as great heart have we; as much endure can we."‡ All covered

\* The rustics having held many meetings over all Normandy, unanimously determined to live as they pleased, and in contempt of all laws, took the short cuts through the woods, or used the rivers and fords at will, quatenus tam in silvarum compendium quam in aquarum commercium, nullo obstante ante statuta pura obire, legibus uterentur sine. The writer adds, that after the severe handling they got, as mentioned in the text, truncatis manibus arpedibus, multos sine remisit: they gave up their meetings, and returned to their ploughs." Will. Geste. l. v. ap. Ser. 2. P. 2. 193.

\* Order. Vit. l. II. Tunc ergo communione in Francia popularis statuta est a prelatibus, ut presbyterii communetur regi ad obsequium vel pugnam cum vexillis et parochianis omnibus.

† Id. l. XII.

‡ Il parais e li vilain  
C'il del boiage e cil del plain  
Ne sai par hel entichement,  
Ne ki les men prisonement;  
Par vinx, par trentains, par cens  
L'un tenus plous prisonement. . . .



saint of the parish, enforced the common peace between the Oise and the Loire; while the king, on horseback, bore in front the banner of the abbey of St. Denys.\* The vassal in his capacity of count of the Vexin, and as abbot of St. Martin of Tours, and canon of St. Quentin, defender of the Church, he warred in holy wise to put down the robberies of the lords of Montmorency and of Puiset, and the detestable cruelties of the Coucys.

He was supported by the rising *bourgeoisie* and by the Church—all the rest, both strength and glory, belonged to feudalism. He was lost, poor little king as he was, among the vast domains of his vassals.† And many of the latter were great men—at least, men powerful by their valor, energy, and wealth. What was a Philippe I., or even the brave Louis VI., the

fat pale man,\* between the red William of England and of Normandy, the Roberts of Flanders, conquerors and pirates,† the wealthy Ramonds of Toulouse, the Williams of Poitiers,‡ Fulko of Anjou—troubadours and historians and, lastly, the Godfreys of Lorraine, intrepid antagonists of the emperors, sanctified in the minds of all Christendom by the life and death of Godfrey of Bouillon.

What had the king to oppose to all this glory and power? Not much, apparently; nothing sensible to sight or touch—right: an old right revived by Charlemagne, but preached by priests, and renewed by the poems of the day, and, indeed, the feudal rights seemed a usurpation of this royal right. According to it the fief of every vassal who died childless, reverted to the sovereign as to its source. This gave him a commanding position, and secured him many friends, for it was to one's interest to be on good terms with him who was the bestower of vacant fiefs; and this claim to universal lordship secured him immense popularity. Meanwhile the Church supported and maintained him. She had too much need of the services of a military chief against the barons, ever to desert the king. This was seen when Philippe I. scandalously married Bertrade de Montfort, whom he had seduced from her husband Fulko of Anjou. (A. D. 1092.) While the bishop of Chartres, the famous Yves, thundered against him, the pope laid him under interdict, and the council of Lyons condemned him, the whole of the northern Church remained faithful to him, and he had on his side the bishops of Reims, Sens, Paris, Meaux, Soissons, Noyon, Senlis, Arras,‡ &c.

Louis VI., who, in his old age, was styled the Fat, had been at first surnamed the Sprightly, or Awakened, (*l'Éveillé*.) His reign, indeed, is the awakening of the monarchy. Braver than his father, and more obedient to the Church, it was in her cause, in defence of the abbey of St. Denys and the bishoprics of Orléans and of Reims,§ that he sheathed his mailed sword; and when we reflect that the lands of the Church were then the only asylums of order and of peace, we appreciate the charity and humanity of the task undertaken by their defender. 'Tis true that he found his account in it, since the bishops, in their turn, armed their men for him. It was he who protected the pilgrims, and the merchants who flocked to their fairs and their festivals, and who secured the safety of the high road from Tours and Orléans to Paris, and from Paris to Reims. Together with the counts of Blois and of Champagne, he strove to place in some degree of peace and security the country between the Loire, the Seine, and the Marne—a small circle hemmed

Spain, Germany, and England, just as in France. And not only were communes universal, but the communes of France are not those which, as communes, under this name and in the middle age have played the greatest part, and enjoy the highest place in history. The Italian communes gave birth to glorious republics; the German communes became free and imperial cities, which have a history of their own, and have had a great influence on the general history of Germany; the communes of England, connecting themselves with a branch of the feudal aristocracy, constitute, in conjunction with it, the influential house of the British Parliament, and early played an important part in the history of their country. The French communes in the middle age, and as they existed while bearing this name, were far from rising to the same height of political importance, or to the same historical dignity. Yet it is in France, that the population of the communes, the *bourgeoisie*, has been most thoroughly and efficiently developed, and has ended by acquiring the most decided preponderance in society. There have been communes in all Europe, but no true *terra erat* except in France. This *terra-erat*, which, in 1789, brought about the French Revolution, is a destiny, a power, that belongs solely to our history, and will be vainly sought elsewhere." Lecom I. t. v. p. 128.

\* This was the famous Oriflamme, which became the standard of the kings of France when Philippe I. had acquired the Vexin—a dependency of the abbey of St. Denys. Ser. R. Fr. xi. 394; xii. 50.—See note, p. 191.

† The sovereignty proper of the king of France extended over the Isle of France, and a part of the Orleanais—answering to the five departments of the Seine, the Seine and Oise, the Seine and Marne, the Oise, and the Loiret. Still, small as this district was—it was but thirty leagues from east to west, and forty from north to south—it was far from being wholly subject to the crown. We find, on the contrary, that it was the great business of Louis-le-Gros's life, during his whole reign, to reduce to obedience the counts of Chaumont and of Clermont, the lords of Montlhéry, Montfort l'Amaury, Courcy, Montmorency, Puiset, and numerous other barons, who, within the precincts of the duchy of France and the royal demesnes, refused all obedience to him.

‡ To the north of this small district, the countship of Vermandois, in Picardy, which belonged to Philip's brother, only answered to two of our present departments, and the countship of Boulogne to one only. But the countship of Flanders comprised four, equalling Philip's kingdom in extent, and by far surpassing it in population and riches. The house of Champagne, divided between its two branches of Champagne and Blois, covered of itself six of our present departments, and hemmed in the king on the south and the east. The house of Burgundy occupied a territory equal to three departments, the king of England, as duke of Normandy, possessed one equal to five, the duke of Brittany the same, and the count of Anjou's was nearly equivalent to three, so that the king's nearest neighbors of the great lords were his equals in power. As to the countries lying between the Loire and the Pyrenees, and which now comprise thirty-three departments, although they recognised the sovereignty of the French monarch, they were in strictness as alien from him as the three kingdoms of Lorraine, Burgundy, and Provence, which held of the emperor, and which answer to twenty-one of our present departments." Bonald, *Histoire des Français*, t. v. p. 7.

\* He was poisoned when young, and remained pallid ever after. Order. Vit. i. xi. ap. Ser. R. Fr. xii. 653.

† See the story of Robert-le-Friscon, (the Frisianleader.)

‡ Mismondii, t. iv. p. 522.

§ Rogerii Vita Ludovici Grossi, c. 2-6, ap. Ser. R. Fr. xi. lalido.

n by the large feudal masses of Anjou, Normandy, and Flanders: the latter reached as far as the Somme. The circle comprised between these large fiefs was the first arena of loyalty, the theatre of its heroic history. Here the king maintained immense wars and terrible struggles against those pleasant spots which are now our faubourgs. Our prosaic plains of Bré and of Hurepoix have had their Harbottle. The Montforts and the Garlandes often supported the king, while the Conceys, the barons of Rochefort, and especially the lords of Puiset, were arrayed against him. They troubled the whole neighborhood with their rapine. There was some possibility of going in safety from Paris to St. Denis; but beyond, one could only ride lance in rest—for here was the sombre and unlucky forest of Montmorency, while, on the other side, the tower of Monthery exacted its tolls. The king could not travel from his city of Orleans to his city of Paris, without an army at his back.

The crusade made the king's fortune. The terrible lord of Monthery took the cross, but did not go further than Antioch. When the Christians were besieged there, he left his companions in arms, his brother pilgrims, let himself down from the walls by a rope, after the example of some others, and returned from Asia to Hurepoix with the nickname of *Rope-dancer*. All this humanized the haughty baron, and he gave his daughter in marriage to one of the king's sons, with his castle as her dowry.

which was, in fact, to give him a clear road between Paris and Orleans.

Not was the absence of the great barons less advantageous to the king. Stephen of Blois, who had acted like the lord of Monthery, chose to return to Asia. The brilliant count of Poitiers, the libertine and the troubadour, felt the responsibility of being an accomplished knight without a journey to the Holy Land, besides, he liked encountering many romantic adventures, together with material for some good romances.<sup>1</sup> His duchy of Aquitaine did not cost him many sighs, and he offered it to the king of England for a sum of ready money. He set out with a large army, all his men, and all his treasures.<sup>2</sup> As to the Languedocians, the count of Tripoli and Toulouse went on to the Holy Land. The count of Tripoli was Alphonse of Poitiers, whose father had had an escape from the town of Jerusalem, which, being offered to the count of Anjou, he took it, and was killed.<sup>3</sup> The Angevins had no business with the Holy Land, but with the commercial and agricultural natives of Languedoc, the case was different. It was an excellent market for them,

and they drew from it the provisions of the Levant, rivalling the Pisans and Venetians.

Thus, ponderous feudalism had begun to move and to uproot itself from the soil. It went, and came, and lived upon the beaten highway of the crusade, between France and Jerusalem. As for the Normans, they wanted no other crusade than that of England; which gave them full occupation. The king alone remained faithful to the soil of France, and became more powerful daily through the absence of the barons, and their devotion to external objects. He began to become something in Europe. He received—he, the opponent of the petty barons of the banlieue of Paris—a letter from the emperor, Henry IV., who complained to the *King of the Cists* of the violence of the pope.<sup>4</sup> So deceptive was his title, compared with his means, that the count of Barcelona sent from the Pyrenees to ask his assistance to repel the terrible invasion of the Almoravides, which threatened Spain and Europe. In like manner, when the hero of the crusade, the glorious Bohemond, prince of Antioch, came to rouse the compassion of the people for the Christians of Asia, he thought he did a popular act in marrying the sister of Louis-le-Gros.<sup>5</sup> He took care not to solicit the aid of his countrymen, the Normans; and the count of Barcelona mistrusted his neighbors of Toulouse. No one doubted the king of France.

The danger of his position arose from his proximity to the Normans, but this very proximity rendered him dear to the Church, and to the *bourgeois* of central France. The Normans had taken Gisors in despite of treaties, and from it commanded the Vexin almost up to Paris. These conquerors respected nothing. But for the jealousy of Flanders and of Anjou, the poor royalty of France would have been unable to make head against them. The count of Anjou demanded and obtained the title of senechal of the king of France<sup>6</sup>—this gave him the privilege of laying the dishes on the royal table, but feudalism held all domestic offices noble, and the count of Anjou was too powerful to admit of this voluntary servitude's being ever made a handle against him; it was simply equivalent to his entering into a strict league against the Normans.

The latter gained no decisive advantage. They employed against the French king only the smallest part of their force. In point of fact, Normandy was no longer on the continent, but in England. Their victory at Brenneville in an engagement between cavalry, in which the two kings encountered and acquitted themselves gallantly and well, was followed by no

<sup>1</sup> "The count of Tripoli and Toulouse, Louis-le-Gros. Now the count of Tripoli, which, very different from the true crusade, had been made up almost of old men, and the count of Toulouse, who, as I have said, had never known any high power, and quiet."—Hugues, *Vie de Louis-le-Gros*, chap. xiv. See R. P. 110, 111.

<sup>2</sup> He never really travelled for this purpose only.

<sup>3</sup> Guizot, Nov. 1. 1101. *Barons combattant pour le roi.*

<sup>4</sup> Hugues, *Comptes de l'empereur*, p. 110.

<sup>5</sup> Hugues, *Vie de Louis-le-Gros*, c. 9. ap. Per. R. P. 110, 111.

<sup>6</sup> For the victory of the Franks and their king Louis, was so easily overcome, that the Normans themselves felt ashamed at the outcome.

<sup>7</sup> Hugues de Clermont, de Senneceval, ap. Per. R. P. 110, 111.





tongue: he sang them, too.\* Besides, his erudition was extraordinary for that day. He alone, of his time, knew both Greek and Hebrew. May be, he had studied at the Jewish schools, (there were many in the South,) or under the rabbins of Troyes, Vitry, or of Orléans. There were then in Paris two leading schools: the old Episcopal school of the *parvis* Notre Dame, and that of St. Geneviève, on the hill, where shone William of Champeaux. Abelard joined his pupils, submitted to him his doubts, puzzled him, laughed at him, and closed his mouth. He would have served Anselm of Laon the same, had not the professor, being a bishop, expelled him from his diocese. In this fashion this knight-errant of logic went on, unhorsing the most celebrated champions. He himself declared that he had only renounced tilt and tourney through his passion for intellectual combats.† Henceforward, victorious and without a rival, he taught at Paris and Melun, the residence of Louis-le-Gros, and the lords flocked to hear him; anxious to encourage‡ one of themselves, who had discomfited the priests on their own ground, and had silenced the ablest clerks.

Abelard's wonderful success is easily explained. All the lore and learning which had been smothered under the heavy, dogmatical forms of clerical instruction, and hidden in the rude Latin of the middle age, suddenly appeared arrayed in the simple elegance of antiquity, so that men seemed for the first time to hear and recognise a human voice. The daring youth simplified and explained every thing; presenting philosophy in a familiar form, and bringing it home to men's bosoms. He hardly suffered the obscure or supernatural to rest on the hardest mysteries of faith. It seemed as if till then the Church had lisped and stammered; while Abelard spoke. All was made smooth and easy. He treated religion courteously and handled her gently, but she melted away in his hands. Nothing embarrassed the fluent speaker: he reduced religion to philosophy, and morality to humanity. *Crime*, he said, *consists not in the act, but in the intention.*§ It followed,

\* Abel. *Lit. Calam.* p. 12. "Now (he alludes to the time of his love) whatever songs I devised were amatory, not the secrets of philosophy. Many of these songs, as thyself knowest, are yet commonly sung in many countries; chiefly by those who find enjoyment in existence."—*Helicium* Epist. l. "Two qualifications, indeed, you peculiarly enjoyed; a tone of voice and a grace in singing, which engaged every female heart. These are not common to philosophical men: seldom do they vary their severer studies by the composition and performance of love sonnets. In both these you were so eminent as to charm all of every rank: I was usually the subject of them; my name was thus celebrated, and envied, in every city and region."

† *Liber Calam.* p. 4. *In quoniam dialecticorum rationem armaturam omnibus philosophis documentis praeval, his armis alia commutari et trophæis holiorum conflictus pre-tuli disputationum. Profundo diversis disputando perambulanti provinciam. . . .*—From another of his letters we learn that he had at first devoted himself to the study of the law.

‡ *Id.* p. 5. *Quoniam de potentibus tunc consilio libidem habebat (Guillelmus Campellensis) amulos, detras eorum auxilio, voti mei compos exiti.*

§ *P. Abelardi Ethice, seu Liber Dialecticæ, Sæpe de speum,*

that there was no such thing as sin of his or of ignorance—*They who crucified Jesus, not knowing him to have been the Saviour, are guilty of no sin.*\* What is original sin?—*Is a sin, then a punishment?*† But then, when the redemption and the passion, if there was no sin!—*It was an act of pure love. God desired to substitute the law of love for that of fear.*‡

What is sin? It is not God's will, but is God's contempt.§ The intent is all; the act, nothing: a slippery doctrine, safe only for sincere and enlightened minds. How it was abused by the Jesuits in the seventeenth century is well known; but how far more dangerous must it not have been in the ignorance and rudeness of the twelfth?

The doctrine spread instantaneously, evening at once, sea and Alps,|| and penetrating among all classes. The laity began to handle sacred topics; and the most important mysteries were eagerly canvassed—no longer in the schools only—but by all, great and little, men and women, in market-places and in highway.¶ The tabernacle, as it were, was thrown into; and the Holy of Holies dragged into the street. The simple were shaken, the ascetics staggered, the Church was silent.

(*apud Bern. Petri Theodor. Anecdota, p. 2, p. 627.* . . . *Operacionem peccati nihil addere ad vitam—Nihil autem, nisi quod ipse est, consequitur: hoc est, non enim, quoniam voluntate peccatum esse dicitur. P. 628. 629.*—*Opera indifferentia sunt in se, sed sunt non sunt nisi, si voluntate digna, videtur, nisi voluntate infusa intentione, que est ratio bonum vel malum peccatum factum. (monaster. in Epist. ad Roman. (ap. Abel. et Hel. op. . . . 62.)*

¶ *p. 635. Non peccatum dicitur peccatum vel peccatorum (quoniam peccatum non consistit in hoc, . . . "We must suppose then," the author, "that God has only punished them separately, and by way of example."*

† "When we say that original sin is inherent in children, or that we have all sinned in Adam, it is equivalent to saying, that his sin was the origin of our punishment, and condemns us to damnation." See, also, *Commentar. in Epist. ad Roman.* (Abel. et Hel. op. p. 208.)—"But can God punish the innocent? That is unjust and cruel."—"Perhaps," is his answer, "it is not so in God."—*Id.*

‡ *Commentar. in Epist. ad Rom.* p. 230, 232. *Receptio itaque nostra est illa summa in nobis per peccatum Christi dilectio. . . . ut amore ejus potius quam timore carere impleamus.*—"Then what is it that Jesus Christ has come to redeem? It can only be the elect. And, then, when the good?"—*Id.*—St. Bernard taunts him in a strain of vehemence with this error. *St. Bernardi Opera, ad Malinon, 1690, t. i. p. 650, 653.*

§ *Ethica, ap. B. Petri Th. t. iii. p. 627. Peccatum contemptus Creatoris est.* See, also, p. 638.—Abelard, in his *Ethica*, (p. 632, &c.), employs the word *voluntas* in the sense of *desire*. He distinguishes, it is true, the will (*voluntas*) from desire; but this confusion of terms must have frequently occasioned a dangerous misapprehension of meaning. In the *Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans*, he uses *voluntas* for the will.

|| *Guil. de S. Theodor. Epist. ad St. Bern.* (ap. B. Bernardi Opera, t. i. p. 302.) *Libri ejus transierunt avaria, in-volant Alpes.*—St. Bernard writes to the cardinals at Rome, in 1140: "I pray you to read Peter Abelard's Book of Theology, as he calls it. You must have it at hand, since he boasts that it is read by many of the college."

¶ The French bishops wrote to the pope, in 1140: *Cum per totam fere Galliam, in civitatibus, vicis et castris, a scholaribus, non solum inter scholas, sed etiam in civitatibus, nec a literatis aut proceribus laicis, sed a pauperibus et simplicibus, aut certe stultis, . . . .*—*St. Bernardi* 58, ad Cardinales: *In . . . .*—*St. Bern. Epist.* l. 370.—*St. Bern. Epist.* ad Cardinales: *In . . . .*—*St. Bern. Epist.* ad Cardinales: *In . . . .*

All Christianity, however, was at stake, for its very foundations were attacked. If original sin were no longer a sin, but a punishment, the punishment was unjust, and Redemption useless. Abelard protested against the inference; but he justified Christianity by such weak arguments, that he only injured it the more when he avowed that he knew no better answers. He suffered himself to be pushed *ad absurdum*, and then threw himself upon authority and faith.

Thus, man ceased to be guilty; the flesh was justified and rehabilitated. The manifold sufferings by which men had sacrificed themselves, had been superfluous. To what end, the hosts of voluntary martyrs, the fasts and macerations, the vigils of monks, the tribulations of hermits, the unnumbered tears poured out in the sight of God—all had been vanity and folly. Thus God was a kind and easy God, indifferent to every thing of the sort.

The Church was then swayed by a monk, a simple abbot of Clairvaux—St. Bernard. Like Abelard, he was of noble birth. Originally from Upper Burgundy,\* from the country of Bossuet and of Buffon, he had been brought up in that powerful abbey of Cîteaux, the sister and rival of Cluny, which sent forth such a host of illustrious preachers, and which, fifty years later, originated the crusade against the Albigenses. But Cîteaux was too splendid and too wealthy for St. Bernard; and he descended into the poorer region of Champagne, and founded the monastery of Clairvaux in the Valley of Worms.† Here, he could lead a life of solitude and suffering to which he cleaved, and from which nothing could tear him, for he was never weary of being any other than a monk. He might have been archbishop or pope; but he refused to reply to the various monarchical propositions. Finally, he found himself allured by his own dispute, and condemned to exile in Europe. It was a letter of St. Bernard, which caused the king of France to recall his exiles from Champagne,‡ and which, by the simultaneous elevation of Innocent III. to the papal throne, had the effect of restoring the French church to its former splendor. St. Bernard, and he alone, had been chosen by Innocent §. England and the continent had chosen the abbot of Clairvaux. He wrote to the king of England, then, taking up the cause of the hand, he led him through the mountains of Italy, which received him on his knees. The people rushed to touch the hem of his robe, and would struggle with each other but

for a thread drawn out of his gown. His whole road was marked by miracles.

But, as we learn from his letters, these things were not his chief business. He lent, but did not give himself to the world—his heart and treasure were elsewhere. He would write ten lines to the king of England, and ten pages to a poor monk. Abstracting himself from all outward concerns—a man of prayer and sacrifice; no one knew better how to be alone, though surrounded by others; his senses took no note of external objects. Having, his biographer tells us, walked the whole day along the lake of Lausanne, he inquired in the evening whereabouts the lake might be. He would mistake oil for water, and coagulated blood for butter.\* Almost every thing he took, his stomach rejected. He quenched his hunger with the Bible, his thirst with the Gospel. He could scarcely stand upright; yet found strength to preach the crusade to a hundred thousand men. He seemed rather a being of another world than mortal, when he presented himself to the multitude with his white and red beard, his white and fair hair, meager and weak, hardly a tinge of life on his cheeks, and with that singular transparency of complexion so admired in Byron.† So overpowering was the effect of his preaching, that mothers kept their sons from hearing him, wives their husbands;‡ or all would have turned monks. As for him, when he had breathed the breath of life into the multitude, he would hasten back to Clairvaux, rebuild his hut of boughs and leaves,§ and sooth in studies of the Song of Songs, the interpretation of which was the occupation of his life, his love-sick soul.]

Think with what grief such a man must have learned the successes of Abelard, and the encroachments of logic on religion, the prosaic victory of reason over faith, and the extinguishing of the flame of sacrifice in the world—it was tearing his God from him.

St. Bernard was far inferior to his rival as a logician, but the latter labored at his own ruin. He took upon himself to prove the consequences of his doctrine, by applying it in his own conduct. He had reached that height of prosperity, when intemperance commonly hurries us into some great fault. All had prospered with him,

\* See *l'abbé de St. Bernard*, t. ii. c. 1.

† *Platine*, c. 1. Theobaldus (Bogus) ap. Ser. B. *Publ.* 98—*Geograph.* c. 1. *l'abbé de St. Bernard*, t. i. p. 117. *Rehabilitation* c. 1. *l'abbé de St. Bernard*, t. i. c. 1.

‡ *Platine*, c. 1.

§ *Arnauld de Bonneval*, t. ii. c. 4. *Guill. de St. Thome*, t. ii. c. 4. Up to this period, all that he has read in the Holy Scriptures, and the spiritual sense he affixes to it has been established by his praying and meditating in the fields and woods, and he is accustomed to any pleasant solitude in the hills; he has never had any other masters than the rocks and forests. St. Bernard writes to one Murdach, who he is persuading to become monk. Believe me, who has tried, you will find something more in woods than in cities. Rocks and stones will teach you what you can not learn from teachers. Do not the mountains distil sweetness, and the birds flow with milk and honey, and the valleys are und with corn? (*l'abbé de St. Bernard*, t. i. p. 118.)

¶ *Arnauld de Bonneval*, t. ii. c. 4.

† *l'abbé de St. Bernard*, t. i. p. 117. *Rehabilitation* c. 1. *l'abbé de St. Bernard*, t. i. c. 1.

‡ *l'abbé de St. Bernard*, t. i. p. 117. *Rehabilitation* c. 1. *l'abbé de St. Bernard*, t. i. c. 1.

§ *l'abbé de St. Bernard*, t. i. p. 117. *Rehabilitation* c. 1. *l'abbé de St. Bernard*, t. i. c. 1.

¶ *l'abbé de St. Bernard*, t. i. p. 117. *Rehabilitation* c. 1. *l'abbé de St. Bernard*, t. i. c. 1.



Men were mute in his presence; and the women gazed with looks of love on the fascinating and resistless youth, a model of manly grace, and all-powerful in intellect, who drew the world after him at pleasure. "To such a pitch had I arrived,"—these are his own words,— "that I had not to fear a repulse from any woman whom I honored with my love."\* Rousseau makes the very same boast, where he describes in his *Confessions* the success of his *Nouvelle Heloise*.

The Heloise of the twelfth century was niece to the canon, Fulbert. Young, lovely, accomplished, and even then celebrated,† her uncle put her under the tuition of Abelard, who seduced her. The crime had not even love for its excuse. Coldly, deliberately, and as the whim of an idle hour, did Abelard abuse Fulbert's confidence—his cruel punishment is known. He renounced the world, and joined the Benedictines of St. Denys, (about A. D. 1119.) Here he found not peace, for clerical prosecution sought him out. The archbishop of Reims, a friend of St. Bernard's, summoned a council to sit in judgment upon him at Soissons, where he narrowly escaped being stoned by the mob. Abelard felt alarmed, even condescended to tears, burnt his books, and subscribed to whatever was desired. He was condemned without examination; and his enemies asserted that his having taught without license from the Church were sufficient grounds for the sentence.‡

He was confined in St. Médard's abbey at Soissons; and flying thence to the abbey of St. Denys, was obliged to quit this asylum as well, having taken it into his head to doubt whether St. Denys the Areopagite had even set foot in France. To touch this legend was to attack the religion of the crown;|| and henceforward he lost the support of the court, which had previously been his. He fled to the territory of the count of Champagne, and concealed himself in a desert spot on the Ardusson, two leagues from Nogent. He was at this time poor, and had only one clerk with him. Building a hut of reeds, and an oratory in honor of the Trinity, whom he was accused of denying, he named this hermitage, the Comforter, the Paraclete. But his disciples, discovering his retreat, flocked to him. They built them-

selves huts.\* A town soon sprang up in the desert, sacred to learning and liberty: and he was necessitated once more to mount the professorial chair, and lecture. But again he was compelled to desist, and to accept the patron of St. Gildas in Brittany *bretonnante*, where he was unacquainted with the language of the country. It was his fate to find no rest. His Breton monks, whom he desired to reform, endeavored to give him poison in the communion cup; and from this time, the hapless maled a wandering life, and is even said to have entertained the idea of seeking refuge on inland ground. Yet, first, he wished to measure his strength once for all with the redoubted adversary whose zeal and sanctity pursued him everywhere. Instigated by Arnold of Brescia, he challenged St. Bernard to a logical duel before the council of Sens; where the king, the count of Champagne and of Nevers, and a crowd of bishops, were to be present and judge the combat. St. Bernard, conscious of his inferiority, attended with reluctance;† but the threats of the mob and his rival's pusillanimity came to his rescue. Abelard shrank from defence, and contented himself with appealing to the pope (A. D. 1140.) Innocent II. owed every thing to St. Bernard, and hated Abelard in the person of his disciple Arnold of Brescia,‡ who was at that moment making the tour of Italy and calling on the towns to assert their freedom. He therefore, condemned Abelard to imprisonment. The latter, however, had anticipated his sentence by seeking refuge in the monastery of Cluny; whose abbot, Peter the Venerable, became answerable for him, and where he died two years after.

Such was the end of the restorer of philosophy in the middle age, the son of Pelagius, the

\* Ibid. p. 28. *Ceperunt undique concurrere, et nova civitates et castella solitudinem inhabitare, etc.*

† St. Bernard, *Epist.* 189. "I declined, both because I was young in such things, and because I was an experienced warrior from his earliest days; and because I thought it unworthy that matter of faith should be intrusted to the decision of poor human reason."

‡ St. Bern. *Epist.* ad Papam, p. 182. "Goliath . . . . . preceded by his armor-bearer, Arnold of Brescia. Scale is joined to scale, so that there is no breathing place between the two; for as much as the town which was in France has hitherto been in Italy, and they have come together against the Lord." (*Siquis squas conjungit, et nec spiculum incedit per eas. Squas sublevisit apic, que erat in Francia, apic de Italia, et veniens in unum adversus Dominum.*)—*Epist.* ad Episc. Comacensem, p. 187. "Would that his doctrine were as sound as his is strict! For you must understand, that the man is not a gluttonous nor a wine-bibber, but eats and drinks the bread of souls with the devil only."—*Epist.* ad. *trid.* p. 170. "He with a dove's head and a serpent's tail, whom Jesus has vomited forth, Rome abhors, France rejects, Germany abominates, Italy will not harbor."—He (Arnold of Brescia) was a disciple of Pierre de Bruns as well. *Biblioth. des Universit.* Paris, ii. 155. Platina says, that no one knew whether he were priest, monk, or hermit.—*Truthman* relates, that he said from his professor's chair, address himself to the cardinals, "I know that ye will soon pronounce me a heretic. . . . . I call heaven and earth to witness, that I have taught you even as the Lord has commanded me. But you despise me and your Creator. Now it is strange that you should deliver up to death me, a sinner, who proclaim the truth to you, when, if Peter should arise, and condemn your unnumbered vices, you would not spare him." *Ibid.* 106.

\* Abel. *Liber. Calamit. Mevrum*, p. 10. *Tanti quippe tunc numerus erant, et juvenutis et forme gratia preeminuerant, ut quicunque eorum non modo dignaretur amare, nullum verum non pulsum.*

† *Ibid.* "Not the lost in leant, she was first in extent of learning, and the rarer this gift of literary knowledge is in women, the more it distinguished her youthful self, and made her name known throughout the kingdom."

‡ Heloise wrote to him—"Desire drew thee to me more than friend love, and just rather than love."

§ See *Lett. et Lett. Amicitium*, p. 20, 21. *Guizot, Charivall.* l. iii. c. 5.

|| He himself endeavored to reform the morals of the abbey of St. Denys, which was conducive to the court. Abelard says himself, "I knew it to be the royal demerit that the abbey should be disorderly, since it was the more submissive and useful, as far as regards the disposal of its revenues." *Liber Calam.* p. 27.

father of Descartes, and, like them, a Breton. Under another point of view, he may be considered as the precursor of the *humane and sentimental* school, which reappeared in Fénelon and Rousseau. Bossuet, during his dispute with Fénelon, is known to have had St. Bernard's works constantly in his hands. To feel how Rousseau stands with regard to Abelard, we must view the latter in his two disciples, Arnold and Heloise—the personifications of classical republicanism, and of impassioned eloquence. In Arnold is the germ of the *Contrat Social*, and in the letters of the ancient *Heloise* we trace the *New* (Nouvelle.)

There are none whose memory is more popular in France than is that of Abelard's mistress. This forgetful people, from whose minds every trace of the middle age has been obliterated, and who are more mindful of the gods of Greece than of our national saints, have not forgotten Heloise, but still visit the graceful monument which unites the two spouses, with as much interest as if their tomb had been dug but yesterday.\* Of all our love legends, 'tis the sole survivor.

The fall of man made the greatness of woman without Abelard's misfortune, Heloise would have been unknown; she would have remained obscure and in the back-ground, and would have desired no glory apart from that of her spouse. At the time of their separation he made her take the veil, and built her the Paraclete, of which she became the abbess, and opened there a famous school of theology, Greek, and Hebrew. Many similar convents rose around, and, some years after Abelard's death, Heloise was named by the pope, head of the order. But her glory consists in her constant mild interest in love, which is heightened and set off by its contrast with the hardness and coldness of Abelard. Compare the last page of the two lovers:—

"Fiduciam," says Abelard, "delivered her unreservedly to my care, in order to her instruction by me on my return from the schools, and with a cease to chastise her severely, should she be idle. Was not this to give full scope to my desires? So that if I did not succeed by persuasion, I might bend her to my will by this at least law."<sup>†</sup>

Such is the contrast of this cowardly humanity of a priest of the twelfth century, with the exaltation and interest of the sentiments expressed by Heloise:—"Never, and God knows it, did I seek any thing in thee, but myself, myself, self, and not what was thine. I loved, I wanted, not marriage, nor dowry,

nor did I seek to satisfy my own will, or pleasures, but thine. And though the name of wife is more holy and forms a firmer bond, yet did that of thy mistress seem sweeter to me, or that—be not angry—of thy concubine or harlot, (*concubina vel scorta*.) The more I humbled myself for thee, the greater my claim, I thought, upon thy favor,\* and the less chance of injuring thy high reputation. . . . I call God to witness that if the master of the world, if the emperor, should have wished to honor me with his hand and to confer on me the government of the universe, dearer and sweeter would it have been to me to have been called thy whore than his empress, (*tua dici meretrix, quam illius imperatrix*.)"† She gives a singular reason for her constant refusal to become Abelard's wife:—"Would it not have been an unseemly and grievous thing, that a wife should take and appropriate to herself him whom nature had created for all. . . . What mind devoted to the meditations of philosophy or the contemplation of heavenly things, could endure the cries of children, the gossiping of nurses, the trouble and noise of serving men and women?"‡

The form alone of the letters between the two indicates the poor return the passionate love of Heloise met with. Abelard divides and subdivides his mistress' letters so as to reply to them methodically, and by heads. He subscribes his own, "To the bride of Christ, the slave of Christ," or else, "To his dear sister in Christ, Abelard, her brother in Christ."§ How different Heloise! who writes, "To her lord, no, to her father; to her husband, no, to her brother,—his servant, his wife, no, his daughter, his sister—to Abelard, Heloise."¶ Passion tears from her words, altogether alien from the religious reserve of the twelfth century—"In every situation in which I am placed, I dread offending thee, God knows, more than God himself: See do I desire to please more than him. . . . yet thy will, not the love of God, which induces . . . to be one man."‡ She repeated these strange words at the very altar. At the very moment of taking the veil, she uttered the apostrophe of Cicerio in Latin:—"O my husband, greatest of men, who dostst deserve a far happier bride than I. Fate had thus much power over thy illustrious head! Why, wretch that I am, did I marry thee to thy undoing? Now art thou avenged, willingly do I sacrifice myself to expiate my crime."\*\*

\* Heloise I, p. 45.

† Ibid.

‡ The same has been preserved by Abelard, I, art. 1, p. 10.

§ Heloise I, art. 1, p. 10. See in Cicerio, A. 1, c. 1, p. 10.

¶ Heloise I, p. 10. See in Cicerio, A. 1, c. 1, p. 10.

‡ Heloise I, p. 10. See in Cicerio, A. 1, c. 1, p. 10.

\*\* Heloise I, p. 10. See in Cicerio, A. 1, c. 1, p. 10.

†† "I have me compas"  
O tholomis indigne me"<sup>†</sup> hoc juris habebat

\* A. 1, p. 10. See in Cicerio, A. 1, c. 1, p. 10.  
† A. 1, p. 10. See in Cicerio, A. 1, c. 1, p. 10.  
‡ A. 1, p. 10. See in Cicerio, A. 1, c. 1, p. 10.  
§ A. 1, p. 10. See in Cicerio, A. 1, c. 1, p. 10.  
¶ A. 1, p. 10. See in Cicerio, A. 1, c. 1, p. 10.  
‡ A. 1, p. 10. See in Cicerio, A. 1, c. 1, p. 10.  
\*\* A. 1, p. 10. See in Cicerio, A. 1, c. 1, p. 10.  
†† A. 1, p. 10. See in Cicerio, A. 1, c. 1, p. 10.

Before the mystics, and before Fenelon, Abelard had laid down in his writings this high ideal of pure and disinterested love, as the aim and end of the religious soul.\* Woman raised herself to it, for the first time, in the writings of Heloise—still, it is true, devoting it to man, to her husband, to her living god. Heloise was to revive, under a spiritual form, in St. Catherine and St. Theresa,—who fixed their affections on high.

The restoration of woman, which Christianity had begun, was principally effected in the twelfth century. A slave in the East, shut up, too, in the gynæceum of the Greeks, but emancipated by the jurisprudence of the empire, she was recognised, by the new religion, as man's equal. Christianity, however, hardly freed from the sensuality of paganism, still feared woman and mistrusted her. Man knew himself to be weak and tender. He kept her at a distance; the more he felt his heart sympathize with her. Hence, the hard, and even contemptuous expressions, by which he strives to fortify himself against her power. The common term for woman in ecclesiastical writers, and in the capitularies, is the degrading yet profoundly expressive phrase—*Vas infirmus*, (the weaker vessel.) At the period of Gregory the Seventh's efforts to emancipate the clergy from their double bonds—woman and territorial possessions, there was a new outbreak against the dangerous Eve whose seductions lost Adam, and who is ever persecuting him in his sons.

With the twelfth century began a movement, the direct reverse of this. The free spirit of mysticism undertook to raise up what sacerdotal severity had dragged in the mire; and this mission was chiefly discharged by a Breton, Robert d'Arbrissel. He led back woman to the bosom of Christ, founded asylums for her, and built Fontevault; and Fontevaults soon arose throughout all Christendom.† Robert's

venturous charity led him to address himself preferably to great sinners; and he preached in the most abandoned and repulsive quarters God's clemency, and his immeasurable mercy. "One day that he was at Rouen, he entered a notorious house, and seated himself by a hearth to warm his feet. The courtesans surrounded him, supposing that he had come through wantonness. He begins to preach the word of life, and to promise the intercession of the Saviour. Then, the mistress of the house exclaims, 'Who art thou, who sayest these things? Truly for twenty years I have lived in this house to commit crime, and during all this time no one ever entered it to speak of God and his goodness. Yet, were I but sure these things were true!' . . . On the instant, he took them out of the city, and joyfully led them to the desert, where he made them do penance, and transferred them from the devil to Christ."

'Twas a fantastic sight to see the blessed Robert d'Arbrissel teaching night and day, in the midst of a crowd of disciples of both sexes who slept around him;† but neither the bitter sneers of his enemies, nor the disorderly scenes to which these meetings gave rise, could check the charitable and courageous Breton. He covered all with the large mantle of grace.

As grace prevailed over the law, a great religious revolution insensibly took place. *That* if I may so speak, changed sex. The Virgin became the world's God, and took possession of almost all the temples and altars. Polygamy was converted into the enthusiasm of chivalrous gallantry. The mother of God was proclaimed to be pure and spotless; and the mys-

conventional veils. He also exhorted to scant speech, the avoidance of meat, and to coarse raiment.

\* *Quidam dicit, cum venisset Rothomagensi, laqueum ingressus, sedenque ad focum, pedes calefacturus, meretricibus circumdatur et circumstantibus cum causis fornicationis ingressum. Sed predicante eo verba vitæ, ac mihi erroris Christi eis promittente, una a meretricibus, quæ exprobrabat, dixit ei: Qui es in qui talia loqueris? Respondit quia per viginti quinque annos, quibus hæc ad perpetranda scelera sum ingressa, nunquam aliquis advenit qui de Deo loqueretur, vel de ejus misericordia sumere nos faceret. Tamen si scirem vera esse, etc. Scilicet eas de civitate eduxit, et ad eremum cum eis gressus direxit, ibique, penitentibus, Christo feliciter transiit.*—*Manuscript in the abbey of Vaux Cerisy, quoted by* Boyle, in his article, FONTEVRAULT.

† Letter of Marbodius, bishop of Reims, to Robert d'Arbrissel:—"You are said to be more given to rush bare with women, in which kind you have formerly sinned. They say, that you not only place them at one corner of the table in the day, but in one common room place them at your head of disciples lying round, while you lie between the two, and set the laws of sleeping and waking to both sexes." D. Moret, l. 490.—"You are said to suffer women to live too familiarly with you, and to kiss them frequently to be with them, and between them of a table. If you do, or have done this, you have discovered a new and unheard-of, but heinous kind of martyrdom. . . . You are reported to torment your cell privately with a new kind of martyrdom, by lying with certain women, as we have before." Letter of Geoffroy, abbot of Vendôme, to Robert d'Arbrissel, given by Father Raymond. (*Œuvres de Robert d'Arbrissel*, p. 32).—"I say nothing of the brothers who have allowed to profess without examination and exorcism after change of dress, you have shut up in different cells. Their wretched life proves the extravagance of the sect for some, on the eve of perturbation, have escaped their prison, while others have been confined there." *Clypeus Nannetensis Ordinis Fontevralensis*, l. i. p. 60.

In tantum fortuna caput! Cur implis nupti,  
Si miserum ceteris fui? Nunc accipe panas,  
Sed quis sponte regit?

\* Comment. in Epist. ad Romanos, p. 622.

† There were thirty abbies of the order of Fontevault in Brittany. D. du, i. 321.—Only founded about the year 1100, it numbered, according to Eucher, (Epist. ad Eugen. 11), nearly five thousand nuns as early as 1145. Buloz, li. 7.—Act. 28, February, in p. 607. "It had more than two, or close upon three thousand servants and handmaids of God." The women were shut up, sang, and prayed; the men worked. When he fell ill, Robert calls his monks and says to them, "Consider with yourselves, while yet I live, what you will abide by your purpose, and, for the health of your soul, be obedient to the handmaids of Christ. For ye know that all the religious houses which, by God's aid, I have raised, I have placed under their rule. . . . On this, almost all with one voice exclaimed, 'For from us, etc.' He was anxious to give his followers a leader before he died. "Ye know my best beloved, that I have dedicated all my labors to I have put in the service of our holy virgins, and have placed all my possessions at their disposal; and, what is more, I have submitted myself and my disciples to the behests of our virgins, to the rule. Wherefore, I have dedicated them to my abbey." Reflecting that a virgin brought into the cloister, and that in a few spiritual things and a few temporal things, would be enough to tempt to murder the virgin, and would be a loss in the last measure of life, he nominated a widow, and advised that the abbess should never be chosen from such as might be brought up within



to estimate the true character of the king of France and the king of England, as visible in the collective aspect of the middle age.

The first, the suzerain of the second, preserves, in general, a certain immoveable majesty.\* Compared with his rival, he is calm and insignificant. With the exception of the petty wars of Louis-le-Gros, and the unfortunate crusade of Louis VII., which we are about to relate, the king of France seems buried in his ermine. He lords it over the king of England as over his vassal and his son: an unnatural son, who beats his father. The descendant of William the Conqueror,† whoever he may

be, is of sanguine complexion, white, smooth-haired, with large belly, brave and greedy, sensual and ferocious, gluttonous and scornful, surrounded by evil men, a robber and a violator, and on bad terms with the Church. It must be owned that he has not so easy time as the king of France. He has more business on hand, having to govern the blows of his lance three or four nations whose language he is ignorant of. He has to cover the Saxons by means of the Normans, the Normans by means of the Saxons, and to keep check the Welsh and Scotch mountaineers well. During this time, the king of France seated in his arm-chair, can play him more than one trick. In the first place, he is his own rain; then, he is the eldest son of the Church: the lawful son: the other is the bastard and the offspring of violence. They are Ishmael and Isaac. The king of France has the law on his side; "the rusty curb of old father's law," the law."‡ The other laughs at it and he is strong, and, inasmuch as he is a Norman a master of chicane. In this great mystery of the twelfth century, the king of France may be said to represent God, the other the devil. On one side, the legendary genealogy of the English monarch traces him up to Robert the Devil; on the other, to the fairy Melusina. "I am the use and wont of our family," said Richard Cœur-de-Lion, "for the sons to hate the father; from the devil we came, and to him shall return."§ Patience; the holier king will have his day. He will suffer much, undoubtedly, and is born to suffer. The king of England may take his wife and provinces from him but he will recover all some morning. His claws are beginning to show from under his ermine. The *saintly man of a king* (le saint homme de roi) will presently be Philippe Auguste, or Philippe-le-Bel.

An immense power, which but wants the element of development, dwells within that pale and unimportant figure. He is the king of the Church and of the *bourgeoisie*, the king of the people and of the law. In this sense, duty is right is his. His strength does not burst forth in heroic guise, but waxes great with a vigorous growth, and with a constant progress as slow and as fated as nature. The general expression of an immense diversity, the symbol of a whole nation, the more fully he represents it, the more insignificant he himself seems. Personality is weak in him; he is less a man than an idea. An impersonal being, he lives in universality, in his people, in the Church, the daughter of the people. He is a profound

\* This is very striking on their seals. The king of England is represented, on one side, seated; on the other, on horseback, brandishing his sword. The king of France is always seated. If Louis VII. is sometimes represented on horseback, (A. D. 1137, 1138, Archives du Royaume, K. 40.) it is as *duke of Aquitaine*. The exception proves the rule.

† The enormous size of William is well known. "When will that fat man be brought to bed?" said the king of France. At his burial, the grave was found to be too narrow, and his body burst. He laid out enormous sums on his table. "He wasted," says William of Malmesbury, "the wealth of churches on his extravagant banquetings." (Guill. Malmesb. l. iii. ap. Ser. R. Fr. xi. 184.) The authors of the *Art de Vérifier les Dates*, relate, on the authority of a manuscript chronicle, a singular instance of his violence. When Baldwin of Flanders refused him his daughter Matilda, "he forced his way into the countess's chamber, found the count's daughter, took her by her tresses, dragged her about the room, and trampled her under his feet." t. xiii. c. 15.—His eldest son, Robert, was surnamed Short-Hose, (*Courte-Hauche*). "He had," says Orderic Vital, (ap. Ser. R. Fr. xii. 526), "a bloated countenance, and was fat and short, whence his common epithet of *Gamburon* and *Brevia Osca*. He wasted his substance on mummings and prostitutes." (Ibid. pp. 602, 604.)—The Conqueror's second son, William Rufus, was "short and corpulent, with flaxen hair, and a ruddy complexion; from which last circumstance he derived the name of Rufus, or the Red." Lingard, vol. ii. p. 147. "His death," says Orderic Vital, "was the ruin of the abandoned and debauched, and of the prostitutes. The bells of many of the churches, which had tolled for the needy or for poor women, did not toll for him." Ser. R. Fr. xii. 679.—Ibid. "He never had a lawful wife, but was a foul and insatiable fornicator and adulterer," p. 635. "Self-willed and lascivious," p. 624. "He was but little Godward, and a scant attendant at public worship,"—Sugar, *ibid.* p. 12. "Addicted to lasciviousness and desire . . . a cruel spoiler of churches," &c.—Huntingd. p. 216. "His debaucheries were such as cannot be spoken of, yet he did not attempt to conceal them, but indulged in them openly." &c.—Henry Beauchamp, his younger brother, is known to have been attached to several mistresses, and of his illegitimate children no fewer than seven sons and eight daughters lived to the age of puberty. Many writers affirm, that his death was occasioned by the excess with which he ate a dish of lampreys." Lingard, vol. ii. p. 212. William and Richard, his sons, were sullied by the most infamous vices. Huntingd. p. 218. *Modumque libe diebantur et erant iracundi*. Gervas. p. 1339. *Luxurie et libidinis omni fide maculati*. (Lingard remarks in a note:—vol. ii. p. 137, that from Anselm's expression, "nefandissimum sodum scelus neciter in hac terra divulgatum," he should infer that this sin of sins was introduced by the Normans.—TRANSLATOR.)—Glaber (ap. Ser. R. Fr. x. 51) observes, that from the period of their arrival in Gaul, the Normans had almost always bastards for their princes.—The Plantagenets seem to have continued this sullied race. Henry II. was red faced, and disfigured by the enormous size of his belly, but always on horseback and hunting. Petr. Bles. p. 99. "He was," says his secretary, "more raging than a lion." *Leo et leone truculentior, more vehementius exardescens*. Id. p. 75. In his fits of passion, his blue eyes became blood-hot, his countenance flushed, and his voice trembled with rage. Girald. Cambren. ap. Camden. p. 743. In one of these fits he bit a page's shoulder; and his favorite, Humet, having one day contradicted him, he ran after him as far as the staircase, and not being able to catch him, he gnawed in his rage the straw with which the floor was strewn. "Never," said a cardinal, after a long conversation with Henry, "did I witness this man's

equal in lying." Epist. S. Thom. p. 306. His successor Richard and John, will be noticed hereafter.—The whole of these monarchs is Richard III., the Richard the Third of Shakespeare, as well as the Richard of history.

\* Shakespeare, First Part of King Henry IV. sc. 2.

† De Diabolo venientes, et ad Diabolum transivisse J. Bromton, ap. Ser. R. Fr. xiii. 215.

‡ He laves off from Louis VII. his wife Eleanor, Peter Guyenne, &c.



the apparent obligation, as his successor, of fulfilling his vow. (A. D. 1117.)

The difference between this crusade and the first is palpable, although the contemporary writers seem emulously to have striven to shut their eyes to the fact. The idea of religion, of everlasting salvation, was no longer attached to one city, to one spot. Jerusalem and the Holy Sepulchre had been seen, and closely; and men had begun to doubt, whether religion and sanctity were confined to that little corner of the earth which lies between Libanus, the Desert, and the Red Sea. The materialist point of view which localized religion, had lost its empire. Vainly did Suger try to divert the king from embarking in the crusade.\* St. Bernard himself, who preached it at Vézelay and in Germany, was not convinced of its being necessary to salvation, and refused to go to the Holy Land and guide the army, as he was prayed to do.† The wondrous enthusiasm of

\* "At a later period he wished to put himself at its head. Convinced that it was of the first necessity to spare the king of the French, and the army which had just returned from the Holy Land, from new dangers, and that they both had scarcely had time to recover from their fatigues, he persuaded the bishops of the kingdom to meet to deliberate on the subject, exhorting and inspiring them to aspire themselves to the glory of a triumph, denied to the most powerful monarchs. Having twice failed to rouse the bishops, and conscious of their deplorable weakness and cowardice, he thought it became him, in default of all the rest, to take upon himself alone the accomplishment of his noble desire. He would, indisputably, have preferred to keep secret, for a time at least, the magnificent extent of his pious devotion, on account of the uncertainty of all things, and the fear of his being accused of vain-glory; but his immense preparations betrayed his munificence. He then ardently busied himself in sending to Jerusalem, by the hands of the knights of the holy temple, all the money necessary to the success of so great a project, and in raising it upon the increase of the revenues produced to his monastery by his services and skill; and, certainly, no one can justly complain of this, seeing how the care of Suger raised the returns of all the possessions of his church, and how many new domains and churches his monastery acquired under his administration. Apparently, he seemed intent, by all these dispositions, on sending his retainers in his stead; but the truth is, that if his life had been spared, he would himself have gone to the East." Vita Sugerii, ap. Ser. R. Fr. xii. 101.

† He dissuaded an abbot from going on pilgrimage to Jerusalem, in 1128. *Operum*, t. i. p. 85, 323.—In 1129, he writes to the bishop of Lincoln, on the subject of an Englishman, of the name of Philip, who had stopped at Clairvaux on his way to the Holy Land, and taken the cowl there—"Your Philip, in his desire to reach Jerusalem, has found a short road, and has quickly reached his journey's end . . . for his feet now stand in the halls of Jerusalem; and him whom he had heard of by the Euphrates, discovered in the glades of the wood, he cheerfully worships in the place where his feet have stopped, (et quæm audierat in Euphrate, inventum in campis silvæ libenter adorat in loco ubi steterunt pedes ejus).—The allusion appears to be to Philip and the Ethiopian, Acts viii. 26-39.) . . . He became, then, not only a curious spectator, but a devout inhabitant, and constant citizen of Jerusalem, though not of that earthly Jerusalem, with which Sinai of Arabia is joined, serving it with her sons, but of that freed Jerusalem, which is our mother above. And if you seek to know, this is Clairvaux. (Factus est ergo non curiosus tantum spectitor, sed et devotus habitator, et civis conscriptus Jerusalem, non autem terrene hujus, cui Arabia mons Sinai conjunctus est, quar servit cum his suis, sed liberæ illius, quæ est sursum mater nostra. Et si vultis scire, Clairvaux est.)" P. 64.—The following is a passage from an Arab writer, which presents a remarkable coincidence with the ideas just expressed by St. Bernard—"They who fly to seek the Cross, when they have attained the object for which they have undertaken so much fatigue, see a lofty and sacred house of stone, in the midst of a desert valley. They enter, that

the first crusade was wanting. St. Bernard clearly exaggerates when he tells us that there remained but one man to every seven women! The army which descended the Danube in divisions under the leading of the emperor Conrad and king Louis VII.,† may be estimated at two hundred thousand men; and the Germans, especially, mustered at this time in large numbers. However, numerous princes, withheld of the empire, the bishops of Toul, Metz, the counts of Savoy and Montserrat, and all the barons of the kingdom of Arles, joined, by preference, the French army, which there marched, under the king's command, the counts of Toulouse, Flanders, Blois, Nevers, Dreux, the lords of Bourbon, Combrault, Lusignan, Courtenay, and a host of others. With them, too, was queen Eleanor, whose presence was, perhaps, necessary to secure the obedience of her Poitevins and her Gascons. This is the first time that a woman is of importance in history.

It would have been wiser to have taken the sea passage, as counselled by the king of Sicily; but that by land, besides being consecrated by the remembrance of the first crusade, and the traces of so many martyrs, was the only one which could be taken by the crowds of poor, who sought to visit the holy places under the protection of the army. The French king preferred this route; and had made certain of the good will of the king of Sicily, of Conrad, the emperor of Germany, of the king of Hungary, and of Manuel Comnenus, the emperor of Constantinople, while the relationship of the two emperors, Manuel and Conrad, seemed to augur some success for the crusade. The expedition was not blindly undertaken; and Louis strove to preserve some discipline in the French army.‡ The Germans had already set out with the emperor Conrad and his nephews at their head; and their impatience and brutal impetuosity were without example. The emperor Manuel Comnenus, whose victories had restored the Greek empire, met their wishes. He transported these barbarians with the utmost haste across the Bosphorus, and launched them on Asia by the shortest but most mountainous road, that by way of Phrygia and Iconium. Here, they found ample opportunity for their heady ardor. With their heavy arms,

they may see God: they seek him long, and see him not. When they have sorrowfully sought through the haze they hear a voice above their heads, 'O worshippers of a house! why adore stone and mud? Adore the other house—that sought by the elect.'" (This beautiful fragment, which we are indebted to a young oriental scholar, M. Ernest Fournet, was inserted by M. Victor Hugo, in the notes to his *Orientales*, p. 416, ed. pr.)

\* St. Bernard, Ep. 246, ap. Baron, xii. 321.

† Sismondi, *Histoire des Français*, t. v. p. 328. William of Tyre, (l. xvi.), on the authority of many of the crusader states, that there might have been in each of the two armies about seventy thousand men, armed with cuirasses, without counting the footmen and light cavalry.—Odo de Deuil goes much further—"The Greeks have assured me that the crusaders crossed the sea, to the number of nine hundred thousand five hundred and sixty-six."

‡ Sismondi, l. v. p. 331.

they were soon exhausted in mountain warfare against the Turkish cavalry, which flew from point to point, now on their flanks, now in their van. They perished, scoffed at by the Greeks, and by the French themselves, who would cry, *Push on, push on, German*. "Tis a Greek historian who has preserved us these two words without translating them.\*

The French were not more fortunate. They at first took the long and easy route by the shores of Asia Minor. But losing patience at its windings, they, too, plunged into the interior of the country, and experienced the same disasters. The vanguard, first, having pushed too quickly on, was likely to have been cut off. Each morning, the king, after strict confession and absolution, cut his way through the Turkish horsemen,† but to no purpose. The army would have been destroyed in these mountains but for a knight, named Gilbert, to whom the command was intrusted as to the most worthy, and of whom, unfortunately, no information has come down to us.‡ The crusaders accused the perfidious Greeks, who gave them worthless guides, and sold at their weight in gold the provisions which Manuel had engaged to supply, as the authors of their misfortunes; and the historian Nicetas himself confesses that the emperor betrayed them.§ The fact was evident when they reached lesser Antioch; where they found that its Greek inhabitants had given shelter to the Turkish fugitives.¶ Yet the conduct of Louis towards Manuel had been unimpeachable, and, as Godfrey of Bouillon had done, he had turned a deaf ear to those counselors who exhorted him by the way to seize Constantinople.¶

At length they arrived at Satalia, in the Gulf of Cyprus. They had still forty days' march to reach Antioch by land in following the circuit of the gulf; but the patience and the zeal of the barons were worn out, and the king found it impossible to detain them. They would go by sea to Antioch, and the Greeks furnished all who could pay with vessels. The rest were left under the escort of the count of Flanders, of the Sire de Bourbon, and of a body of Greek cavalry which the king hired to protect them,\*\* them, giving all that was left him to these poor people, he embarked with Eleanor. But the Greeks who were to defend them, were the first to give them up, or they else made them their own slaves. Those who escaped owed it to the persevering spirit of the Turks, who made them embrace their religion.††

Such was the shameful termination of this expedition; yet those who had embarked constituted the real strength of the army, and might have been of great service to the Christians of Antioch or of the Holy Land. But shame, and the recollection of the hapless beings whom they had deserted in Cilicia, weighed heavily on them. Louis VII. would do nothing on behalf of the Prince of Antioch, Raymond of Poitiers, the uncle of his wife Eleanor. This Raymond was the handsomest man of his time, and his niece seemed to be on too good terms with him. Louis, fearing his wishing to detain her, suddenly left Antioch and repaired to the Holy Land. He did nothing worthy of note here. Conrad joined him; and their rivalry caused the failure of the siege of Damascus, which they had undertaken. They returned with disgrace to Europe, and the rumor ran that Louis, taken prisoner for a moment by Greek vessels, owed his deliverance to a casual meeting with a fleet of Sicilian Normans.\*

A return of this kind was melancholy, and was the theme of universal derision. What had become of the thousands of deserted Christians, abandoned to the fury of the infidels! Could such levity and hard inhumanity meet in the same persons! All the barons were guilty; but the disgrace was the king's. The sin rested on him alone. During the crusade, the haughty and violent Eleanor had shown the store she set by such a husband. From the time of their arrival at Antioch she had declared that she could not continue the wife of one whose relative she was,† and that, besides, she would not have a monk for her husband.‡ Some say that she was smitten with Raymond of Antioch; others, with a handsome Saracen slave, and it was, moreover, rumored that she had received presents from the Sultan.§ On her return she sought a divorce from the council of Beaugency; to whose decision Louis deferred, and lost at one swoop the extensive provinces which Eleanor had brought him. The South of France was once more isolated from the North, and a female is about to carry to the object of her choice the whole weight of the West.

The lady seems to have secured another husband before hand. The divorce was pronounced on the 18th of March, and by Pentecost, Henry Plantagenet, Duke of Anjou, grandson of William the Conqueror, Duke of Normandy, and soon to be king of England, had married Eleanor, and with her Western France from Nantes to the Pyrenees. Even before his becoming king of England, his states were more than twice as extensive as those of the king of France. He was not long in England ere he triumphed over Stephen of Blois, whose son had married a sis-

\* Hist. de l'Empire. Jeanne Goussier l. i. c. 14.

† Ibid. l. i. c. 15. And on his return he always asked his vassals and subjects never, ever asking that the Aphysians, through of such designs?"

‡ Hist. de l'Empire, v. p. 64, 65.

§ Ibid. p. 65. He says, "sent pressing letters to the emperor of the Turks, pressing him to march against the Germans." See Hist. de l'Empire, l. i. c. 15, p. 65. The error is corrected from the 14th of Constantinople. (Ibid. de l'Empire.)

¶ Hist. de l'Empire, l. i. c. 15.

\*\* Ibid. p. 71.

† Ibid. p. 64.

‡ Ibid. p. 71, 72.

\* Jeanne Goussier l. i. c. 19. See Rouss. p. 135 note.

† Hist. de l'Empire, l. i. c. 15, p. 65.

‡ Ibid. Noting l. i. c. 15, p. 65. & l. i. c. 102. He mentions, however, nothing.

§ V. de l'Empire. Special. Hist. l. i. c. 120, ap. Rouss. l. i. c. 231.



ter of Louis the Seventh;\* and thus all turned out against the latter and in favor of his rival.

Let us inquire what this royalty of England might be, whose rivalry with France is about to claim our attention.

The hideous basis of the Anglo-Norman power was the spoliation of a whole people. That life of robbery and violence which each baron exercised on a petty scale round his manor, was carried out on the largest on the other side of the channel. There a whole people was the serf; and the horrors of this slavery approximated to those of the ancients, or of our own colonies. There was no tie to unite the conquered and the conquerors; they spoke a different language, and were of different races. The consciousness of unlimited power gave rise to an execrable ferocity; and the conquerors were equally irrespective of human considerations and uncurbed by legal restraints, for, as sharers in his conquest, the barons were almost equals of the king—Robert earl of Moreton alone had above six hundred fiefs.† These barons were ready to be called the king's *men*; but, in reality, he was only the first of themselves, and, on great occasions, they would sit in judgment on him. Yet the risk was too serious for them to arrogate perfect independence. Few in number, and in the midst of a large population whom they brutally trampled under foot, they needed a central point, a chief who could rally them in case of revolt, and represent the Norman party in the heart of the conquered. Hence the strength of feudal order in the very country, in which the more powerful vassals must have had the greatest temptations to despise it.

The situation of this king of the Conquest was extremely critical, and exposed to sudden violence. The new order of things, built up of murder and of rapine, was maintained by him. He was its bond of union. Against him were directed the "curses, not loud but deep," of an outraged people. For him the Saxon outlaw of the *New Forest*, pursued by the sheriff, kept his last arrow: forests were unlucky to the Norman kings. As a protection against him, quite as much as against the Saxons, the barons built those gigantic castles, whose haughty beauty still attests how little was thought of the sweat of men's brow in their erection. A king so detested, could not fail to be a tyrant. Terrible, measureless, and pitiless, were the laws which he promulgated against the Saxons;‡ but more care was required in dealing with the Normans, to secure himself against whom he was ever engaging mercena-

ries from the continent, Flemings and Bretons who were wholly at his disposal, and who was the more formidable to the Norman aristocracy, inasmuch as the Flemings spoke a kindred dialect to that of the Saxons, and the Bretons that of the Welsh. On several occasions he did not hesitate to employ the Saxons themselves;\* but this he was soon compelled to discontinue. He could only have become dear to the Saxons by overthrowing the whole work of the conquest.

Such is the situation in which the Conqueror's son, William Rufus, found himself. Barring with all the impetuosity of a tyrannical disposition which found itself checked on every side; terrible both to Saxons and to barons: crossing and recrossing the sea; hurrying with the rapidity of a wild-beast from one end to the other of his dominions; grasping to excess, and, as the chronicle has it, a *marvellous dealer in soldiers*;† a speedy waster of wealth: the outrager of humanity, of law, and of nature: beastly in his pleasures, a murderer, and blasphemous scoffer—when his red and blood-far-flushed with rage, and his speech became precipitate and unintelligible, wo to those who chanced to be present; his words were decrees of death.‡

Tons of gold passed through his hands, as so many shillings. He was the prey of an incredible poverty: with all his violence and his passion he was poor. He had to pay for pleasure, and to pay for murder. The ingenuous and inventive friend, who ever knew how to find gold for such occasions, was a certain priest, who had at first thrust himself into notice as an informer. He became William's right hand; his purveyor. But to undertake to fill this bottomless gulf was a hard task. He set himself about effecting it in two ways. He recast, revised, and corrected the book of the Conquest, *Domesday Book*, so as to be sure that nothing had escaped;§ and then was carefully over the work of spoliation, set himself about gnawing the already well-gnawed bones, and managed to get something off them. He left nothing, though, for those who came

\* For instance, William Rufus, and his successor Henry Beauclerc, both summoned the English to oppose the invaders of their older brother, Robert Short-Reign. Galt. *Malmesb.* p. 150, 156. *Howel. c. 61. Chronic. Sax. 1083. Math. Paris. 42.*

† *Mirabilis militum mercator et soldator.* "Sage, *Vie Lud. Gross.* ap. *Scr. R. Fr.* xii. 18.

‡ *Lingard*, vol. ii. p. 147. (The entire passage is as follows:—"In person he was short and corpulent, with flame hair, and a ruddy complexion: from which last circumstance he derived the name of Rufus, or the Red. In ordinary conversation his utterance was slow and cumbersome; in the hurry of passion, precipitate and unintelligible. He seemed in public a haughty port, rolling his eyes with fierceness on the spectators, and endeavoring by the tone of his voice and the tenor of his answers to intimidate those who addressed him. But in private he descended to an equality with his companions, amusing them with his wit, which was chiefly pointed against himself, and seeking to lessen the odium of his excesses, by making them the subjects of laughter.")

—TRANSLATOR.

§ *Order. Vital. ap. Scr. R. Fr.* 633. *Regnes lothaires et totius Anglie regibus comprehensum liberum partem.*

\* *Chronic. Turn.* ap. *Scr. R. Fr.* xii. 468.

† Hallam's *Middle Ages*, vol. ii. p. 433. These possessions, it is true, were scattered—244 manors in Cornwall, 54 in Sussex, 196 in Yorkshire, 99 in Northamptonshire, &c. (Hallam observes, that "this was more like a great French fief, than any English earldom.")

‡ To form this royal chase, thirty-six parishes were cleared of their inhabitants, and afforested.

§ *Thierry, Com. de l'Angleterre*, t. iii. p. 328, 327, seq.



ship which the dukes of Normandy had never succeeded in enforcing; and taking Anjou, Maine, and Touraine from his brother, he left him by way of indemnification to make himself duke of Brittany, (A. D. 1156.) He reduced Gascony, and governed Flanders, as its defender and guardian, in its count's absence; he took the Quercy from the count of Toulouse, and would have taken Toulouse as well, had not the French king undertaken its defence, (A. D. 1159,) and thrown himself into the town;\* though the Toulousan was nevertheless obliged to do him homage. The ally of the king of Arragon, and count of Barcelona and of Provence, Henry sought a princess of Savoy for one of his sons, in order to obtain a footing in the Alps, and so turn France on the south, while in its centre he reduced Berry, the Limousin, and Auvergne, and bought the Marche.† He even managed to detach the counts of Champagne from their alliance with the French king; and, finally, at his death, he possessed countries corresponding with forty-seven of our departments, whilst the king of the kingdom had a territory corresponding with fewer than twenty.‡

From his birth, Henry II. had found himself the object of singular popularity, without his having in any way deserved it. His grandfather, Henry Beauclerc, was a Norman—his grandmother, a Saxon—his father, an Angevin; and he thus united in his own person all the western races. He formed the link between the conquerors and the conquered; between the south and the north. The conquered, in particular, had indulged the highest hopes, believing that in him was fulfilled Merlin's prophecy, and that Arthur had again come to life. It happened, to strengthen the prediction, that he obtained, forcibly or otherwise, the homage of the princes of Scotland, Ireland, Wales, and Brittany, that is, of the whole Celtic world; and he had Arthur's tomb sought and found out,§ that mysterious tomb, whose discovery was to mark the term of Celtic independence, and the fulfilment of time.

Every circumstance conspired to fan the belief that the new sovereign would realize the hopes of the conquered. He had been brought up at Angers, one of the cities in which jurisprudence had been earliest professed. It was the epoch of the revival of the Roman law, which was in so many ways to promote the consolidation both of the monarchical power and of civil equality. The idea of equality under one ruler, was the last legacy bequeathed us by the ancient world. In the year 1111, the celebrated countess Matilda, the cousin of Godfrey of Bouillon, and friend of Gregory VII., had given her license to the school of Bologna,

founded by Innerio, of that city;\* and the emperor, Henry V., had confirmed the license, aware of all the advantages which the imperial power might derive from the traditions of the ancient empire. The young duke of Anjou, Henry Plantagenet, son of the Norman king—who was the widow of this same Henry—found at Angers, at Rouen, and in England, the traditions of the school of Bologna. As early as the year 1124, the bishop of Angers was a learned jurist.† The famous Italian Lanfranc, William the Conqueror's right hand, the primate of the conquest, had first taught at Bologna, and had been one of the revivers of Roman jurisprudence. "It was," says one of the continuators of Siebert of Gembloux, "as was Lanfranc of Pavia, and his companion Garnerius, who, having discovered at Bologna the laws of Justinian, began to read and lecture upon them. Garnerius continued so to do. As Lanfranc, who professed the liberal arts in theology in Gaul, and had many disciples there, repaired to Bec, where he turned monk."‡

The principles of the new school were proclaimed precisely at the period Henry II. mounted the throne, (A. D. 1154.) The jurists, who had been summoned by the emperor, Frederick Barbarossa, to the diet of Roncaglia, (A. D. 1158,) addressed to him, by the mouth of the archbishop of Milan, these remarkable words: "Know that the right of making laws which belonged to the people is yours; your will is law, for it is said—the prince's pleasure is law, since the people have given up all their empire and power into his hands."§

On opening the diet, the emperor himself had said—"We, who are invested with the royal title, rather desire to rule according to law for the preservation of the rights and liberty of all, than to follow our own pleasure with impunity. To give one's self every license, and to change the office of government into a haughty and violent sway, is tyranny."|| This pedestal of republicanism, which is taken textually from Livy, gave an erroneous explanation of the idea

\* Abb. Urspergensis Chron. ap. Savigny, Geschichte des Römischen Rechts im Mittelalter, iv. 10. Dominus Willelmus imperator legum, qui dudum neglecta fuerant, ad primum Matildis comitissa renovavit.

† In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the whole of the clergy of this city were jurists. When Guillaume Le Moine was bishop, (A. D. 1200-1214,) nearly all the canons of his Church were professors of law. Bodin, Recherches sur l'Anjou, li. 222. Four out of the thirteen bishops who formed the assembly of the clergy in 1328, had filled the law chair at the university of Angers. Ibid. 223.

‡ Robert de Monte, ap. Savigny, Römischen Rechts, &c. iv. 10.—Order. Vital, ap. Mer. R. Fr. xi. 362. "He was famed for his learning over all Europe, and crowds of disciples flocked to him from France, Gascony, Brittany, and Flanders."

§ Radevicus, li. c. 4. ap. Gieseler, Kirchengeschichte, i. P. 2, p. 72. Neius itaque omne jus populi in comendationibus tibi concessum, tua voluntas fuit est, sicut dicitur: "Quod Principi placuit, legis habet vigorem, cum populus et in cum omne suum imperium et potestatem concesserunt."—Henry the Second's counsellor, the celebrated Ranulf de Glanville, repeats this doctrine. De Leg. et Consuet. Ang. Anglie, in primis.

|| Radevicus, ibid.

\* Hist. du Languebec. l. xviii. p. 494.

† Bened. Petroburg p. 167.—He paid fifteen thousand marks of silver for it. The count was leaving for Jerusalem, and did not know what to do with his possessions. Gaufrid. Vitiensis, ap. Ser. R. Fr. xii. 447.

‡ See Sismondi, l. vi. p. 4.

§ See Thierry, l. iii. p. 28.



Becket felt no scruple of the sort,\* and advised an immediate assault; but Henry feared being deserted by his vassals, if he risked so startling a violation of the feudal law, and the warlike chancellor had no other satisfaction than the honor of having fought with and disarmed a knight of the opposite party.†

The maintenance of the mercenary troops which Henry employed by Becket's advice, and which he so much needed for the coercion of his barons, was beyond the means of the Norman exchequer. Their cost could only be defrayed out of the clergy, whom the conquest had largely enriched. Henry longed to have the Church within his grasp; and for this, it was essential to make sure of its head, that is, of the archbishopric of Canterbury—which was almost a patriarchate; an Anglican papacy, an ecclesiastical royalty, without which the other, the temporal royalty, were incomplete. Henry, therefore, resolved to take it for himself, by giving it to a second self;‡ to his good friend, Becket. The two powers thus united, he would have raised the sovereign authority to that pitch which it reached in the sixteenth century, in the hands of Henry VIII., of Mary, and of Elizabeth. It was a convenient thing for him to make Becket the nominal head of the Anglican Church, as he had recently made him the nominal commander of his army. Becket, it is true, was a Saxon; but then the Saxon *Breakpearl* (Adrian IV.) had just been elected pope as Henry II. ascended the throne. Becket would have declined the honor: "Have a care," were his words, "I shall be your greatest enemy."|| But the king would not listen to him, and made him primate, to the great scandal of the Norman clergy.

Since the time of the Italians, Lanfranc and St. Anselm, the see of Canterbury had been filled by Normans; since to none other durst kings and barons have intrusted the dangerous dignity. The archbishops of Canterbury were not simply primates of England; but were likewise invested with a kind of political character. From the time of the famous Dunstan,

\* Lingard, vol. ii. p. 286.

† *Ibid.*

‡ Becket's predecessor in the see of Canterbury wrote to him: "It is in every one's mouth that you two are one heart and soul." Bles. Epist. 78.—"Who knows not that you are next to the king in the four kingdoms?" Petrus Celensis. Marten. Thes. Anecd. iii. The English clergy wrote to Becket: "His affection is so unbounded that he has willed you to be master of all subject to him, from the northern ocean to the Pyrenees; so that they alone are deemed to hate who have found favor in your sight." Epist. S. Thom. p. 140.

§ The very Englishman who has sat in the chair of St. Peter.

|| *Cito non a me auferes animum, et gratia, que nunc inter nos tantum est, in atrocissimum odium convertitur.* See R. Er. vi. p. 433.

¶ When Dunstan and Edgar were reconciled, after the latter's deposition, the saint insisted upon two points as essential to their perfect good understanding:—1st, That Edgar should promulgate a code of laws, by which justice might be administered uniformly; 2dly, That he should contribute at his own expense throughout the different dioceses, to the purchase of the Holy Scriptures for the edification of the people. Indeed, according to Lingard, the true reading of God's text ought to be *legum rationes sanctas, sanctas conserberet, scriptas per*

the pitiless humbler of the Anglo-Saxon monarchy, down to Stephen Langton, who expelled King John to sign Magna Charta, to find them ever the leaders of the national opposition. They were more particularly the guardians of the liberties of Kent; which preserved more of its franchises than any other English county. Let us take a momentary survey of the history of this singular district.

The country (*pays*) of Kent, which comprehended a much wider range than the county the same name, embraced a large portion of the South of England. Lying at the angle of Great Britain, opposite to France, it constituted its vanguard; and, indeed, it was the pivot of the Kentish men to form the vanguard of the English army. In all times they have been first to meet invaders—their county offered the readiest landing-place. Here Cæsar embarked; then Hengist; then William the Conqueror. Here, too, Christianity first shone in its light. Kent is sacred ground. St. Augustine, the English Apostle, founded his monastery here; and its abbot and the archbishop of Canterbury were the lords of the district and the guardians of its privileges. It was they who set the men of Kent against William the Conqueror; when the latter came to march from Dover to London, after the battle of Hastings, thought he saw, as the legend runs, a moving wood, which was in fact a moveable rampart of branches borne by the Kentish men: falling on the Normans, they forced from William a guarantee of their liberties.\* However doubtful this triumph of the general servitude they preserved their freedom and recognised no other dominion than that of the Church; just as our Bretons of la Cornouaille were comparatively free under the bishops of Quimper, and insulted feudalism by their yearly mockery of the statue of old King Grallo.

The principal of the customs of Kent, which is still kept up in the county, is that of succession—of the equal division of property between the children of the same parent, called by the Saxons *gavel-kind*, by the Irish *gaeltine*, (family settlement,) and which, with certain modifications, is common to all Celtic races—to Ireland, to Scotland, to Wales, as, in part, to our Brittany.†

omnes fines imperii sui populo custodiendas manderet, ut ei should enact just laws, and, when ratified, have *res* distributed throughout his empire; instead of *sanctas conserberet scripturas*, that he should have *copias* made of the Holy Scriptures.) Lingard, Antiquities of the Anglo-Saxon Church, vol. i. p. 492.

\* Thorn, 1786, as cited by Lingard, History of England, vol. ii. p. 6.

† See p. 71.

‡ "Gavelkind," says Lingard, vol. ii. p. 332, "is that species of tenure, by which lands descend to all the co-heirs equally, and without any consideration of primogeniture. It prevailed in former ages among all the British tribes, and some relics of it in an improved form remain in England, even at the present day. Among the Irish it existed as late as the reign of James I.; and still retained the main features of the original institution. While it continued as



of the king, and with the advice of such prelates as the king may call to his assistance.—In suits, in which each or either party is a clergyman, the proceedings shall commence before the king's justices, who shall decide whether the cause is to be tried in the secular or episcopal courts: in the latter case a civil officer is to be present to report the proceedings, and if the defendant be convicted in a criminal action he is to lose his benefit of clergy.—No tenant in chief of the king, no officer of his household or of his demesne, shall be excommunicated, or his lands put under an interdict, until application shall have been made to the king, or in his absence to the grand justiciary, who is to take care that what belongs to the king's courts shall be there determined, and what belongs to the ecclesiastical courts shall be determined in them.—No archbishop, bishop, or dignified clergyman can lawfully go beyond the sea, without the king's permission.—Clergymen, who hold lands of the crown, hold by barony, and are bound to the same services as the lay barons.\*

These constitutions were nothing less than the entire confiscation of the Church in favor of Henry. When the king was to receive the revenues in the event of a see's becoming vacant, one might be sure that it would long remain so; just as in the time of William Rufus, who had farmed out one archbishopric, four bishoprics, and eleven abbeys.\* The bishoprics would become the reward, not of the barons, perhaps, but of the officials of the Treasury, of the scribes, and of complaisant judges. The Church, subject to military service, would become altogether feudal. Almonries, schools, and religious obligations would go to the support of Brabanters and Cotereaux, and pious foundations discharge the costs of murder. Losing with the power of excommunication the only weapon which remained to her, the Anglian church, cut off from all communication with Rome, and imprisoned in her island home, would at the same time, together with the loss of communion with the Christian world, lose all feeling of universality, of catholicism. The most serious attack upon her was the abolition of the ecclesiastical tribunals, and the repeal of the *benefit of clergy*. Undoubtedly, these rights had given rise to great abuses, and under their shelter the clergy had committed many crimes with impunity; but we have only to call to mind the frightful barbarism, the execrable venality of the lay tribunals of the twelfth century, to confess that the ecclesiastical jurisdiction was at the period an anchor of safety. It might save the guilty; but then how many innocent did it save! The Church offered almost the only means by which the despised races could hope to retrieve their position; and the two Saxons, Breakspear (Adrian IV.) and Becket, are cases in point. At this time the

liberties of the Church were identified with those of the world.

And, therefore, the conquered races lent to archbishop of Canterbury a stout and firm support. His struggle for liberty was unbroken in Aquitaine, though with more timidity and moderation, by the bishop of Poitiers,\* and at a later period, in Wales, by the famous Gruffyddus Cambrensis, to whom we are indebted among other works, for his very curious description of Ireland.† The Lower Bretons sided with Becket. A Welshman followed him into exile at the peril of his life;‡ as did the famous John of Salisbury.§ The Welsh students seem to have been the bearers of Becket's messages; for their schools were closed by king Henry's orders, and they themselves were prohibited from entering any part of England without first receiving his permission.

To see in this contest only a struggle between two hostile races, and to find in Thomas Becket a Saxon only, would be to circumscribe this grand subject. The archbishop of Canterbury was not merely the saint of England, the saint of the conquered—Saxons and Welsh—but quite as much the saint of France and of all Christendom. His memory was cherished by us, not less vividly than by his own countrymen. The house which he inhabited at Auxerre, and a church which he built in Dauphiny, during his exile, are still pointed out to

\* To whom Henry II. addressed, through two of his privy-councillors, more stringent resolutions than even those embraced by the constitutions of Clarendon. See the Pope's letter, ap. Ser. R. Fr. xvi. 216.—See, also, (ibid. 222, 223, &c.) the letters written him by John of Salisbury, and by him informed of all that was done in Becket's case.—The bishop of Poitiers gave way in 1166, and made his peace with the king. Joann. Sarracur. Epist. ibid. 523.

† Elected bishop in 1176 by the monks of St. David and expelled by Henry II. in favor of a Norman; re-elected in 1190 by the same monks, and again expelled by John Lackland. Too feebly supported, he failed in his courageous struggle for the independence of the Welsh church, but his country honored his memory for it.—"Long as our country shall endure," says a Welsh poet, "they who were and they who sing, will remember thy noble daring."

‡ Ser. R. Fr. xvi. 235. Thierry, iii. 160.

§ Salisbury is in the country of Kent, but not in the country of that name. "The author must surely mean that Salisbury is ecclesiastically speaking, in the province of Canterbury." TRANSLATOR.—In the time of archbishop Theobald (Theobald) it was John of Salisbury who was accused of the attempts made by the church of Canterbury to recover its privileges. He writes, in 1159—"I am the mark & the king's wrath . . . If the name of Rome is treated by any one, I am at the bottom of the matter; and if the Anglian church dare to claim a shadow of liberty, either in the conduct of elections or of spiritual causes, all is put down to me, as if I alone instructed my lord of Canterbury and the other bishops what to do." . . . J. Sarracur. Epist. ap. Ser. R. Fr. xvi. 496.—He contends, in his Pollacur. (Loyers, 1839, p. 206) that "it is praiseworthy and just to defend a tyrant, in order to throw him off his guard and kill him."—In Thomas Becket's case, his letters betray self-humiliation. He is ever upon a visit to the confinement of his prisoner. Ser. R. Fr. xv. 364, 312, &c., as well as indecision and timidity. (ibid. p. 309.) He often gets others to intercede for him with the king (p. 311, &c.), and counsels Becket to make excuses (p. 310, 327, &c.). He seems little troubled with remorse of conscience, and this demand of liberty allows free will no power but for evil. (Petr. d. p. 97.) We must not draw any hasty conclusion from his having studied and read Abelard, his prayers are for St. Bernard and his disciple, Eusebius III. (ibid. p. 311.)

\* Petr. Brev. in., cited by Lingard, vol. II. p. 135.

the stranger. No tomb was more visited in the middle age than that of St. Thomas of Canterbury; no pilgrimage in greater request. A hundred thousand pilgrims are said to have visited it in a single year; and the tradition runs, that in one year nine hundred and fifty pounds sterling were laid on the shrine of St. Thomas, and only four pounds on that of the Virgin, while not a single offering was made to God himself.

Thomas was dear to the people above all the saints of the middle age, because by his low and obscure birth, by his Saracen mother and Saxon father, he was one of themselves. The worldly life which he had at first led, his love of dogs, horses, hawks,\* and all those youthful tastes which he never entirely lost, were quite to their taste. Under his priestly robes he bore a knightly, loyal, and courageous heart, whose impulses he found it difficult to repress. In one of the most critical moments of his life, when the barons and bishops who sided with Henry seemed ready to tear him in pieces, a voice called him traitor. At the word he stopped, and, hastily turning round, rejoined, "Were it not that my order forbids me, that coward should repent of his insolence."

The great, the magnificent, and the terrible in the fate of this man, arises from his being charged, weak and unassisted as he was, with the interests of the Church universal, which were those of mankind—a post, which was of right the pope's, which Gregory VII. had maintained, but which Alexander III. feared to occupy. He had enough to do with the anti-pope, and with his supporter, Frederick Barbarossa, the conqueror of Italy. Alexander was the head of the Lombard league, an Italian patriot and politician, who negotiated, fought, fled, came back, stirred up party zeal, encouraged desertion from the opposite ranks, made treaties, and founded cities. It did not suit his policy to offend the greatest king of Christendom, I mean Henry II., when he had the emperor already on his hands. His whole conduct towards Henry was shamefully timid and cringing; his sole object being to gain time by wretched equivocations, by letters and rejoinders, by long daily expedients, temporizing between England and France, and playing the diplomatist like a lay prince, while the king of France accepted the patronage of the Church, and Becket suffered and died for her—a strange position, who taught the world to seek any wisdom but at Rome for the representative of truth, and the type of sanctity.

This great and dramatic struggle Becket was cruelly tried, and had to bear up alike against threats, affronts, and his own scruples.

Hence the hesitation observable in him in the beginning of the contest—a hesitation akin to fear. He gave way at first in the council of Clarendon, either through dread of personal violence, or that he was still influenced by the sense of his obligations to the king: a weakness, indeed, which commands our pity in a man who might be distracted between two opposing duties. On the one hand, he owed much to Henry; on the other, still more to his own see, to the Church of England, to the Church Universal, of whose rights he was the sole champion. This incurable duality of the middle age, divided between the state and religion, has been the grief and torment of the greatest minds,—of Godfrey of Bouillon, of St. Louis, and of Dante.

"Wretch that I am," exclaimed Thomas, on his return from Clarendon: "I see the Anglican church, in punishment of my sins, enslaved forever! It was so to be; I came out of the king's palace, not out of the church; I was a hunter of beasts, before I became a pastor of men. The lover of histrions and of dogs has become the guardian of souls . . . therefore, am I utterly abandoned of God!"

Another time, Henry tried carcasses instead of violence. Becket had only to say the word; he submitted every thing to him. It was a renewal of the temptation in the wilderness, when Satan took Jesus into an exceeding high mountain, and showing him all the kingdoms of the world, and the glory of them, said, "All these things will I give thee, if thou wilt fall down and worship me."† All his contemporaries see in Thomas's resistance to Henry, an image of the temptation of Christ, and in his death, a reflection of the passion. Analogies of the kind delighted the men of the middle age. The last work in this style, and the boldest, is that of the *Book of Conformities between the life of Jesus Christ and that of St. Francis*.

Even the extension of the royal power, which was the groundwork of the whole dispute, soon became a very secondary object with Henry, the chief being the ruin and death of Thomas. He thirsted for his blood. That the power which stretched over so many people should fall against the will of one man—that after so many easy triumphs, an obstacle should rise in his path—all this was too much for this spoiled child of fortune to bear. He was distracted at the thought, and even reduced to tears‡.

\* Ibid. p. 41.

† Ibid. p. 41. In probo avium factus cum pastor ovium. Becket frange hircorum et canum sector, tot animum pascis. "Under of plane video me jam a Deo derelictum." Then was he overthrown by grief," adds the writer, "that torrents of tears gushed from his eyes, and he continued weeping and bitterly wailing."

‡ Ibid. p. 100. Henry's words were like those of Satan, *Facite omnia tributa hominibus, tuum tolle.* The bishop, rejecting the king's words to Herbert of Bosham, added, "When the king spoke thus, I remembered the words of the evangelist, *Non amicus, sed hostis.*"

§ Jeanes Barber. ap. Egan. & Thomas, p. 623. . . . Do

\* On seeing in his subsequent flight in France, seeing a hawk, he had on his wrist he could not help gazing at it, as he felt it an act which had nearly betrayed him. "Becket," says the writer of the anecdote, "the first which he perceived he will have washed out the sin of his vanity."—Vita Glanville, p. 63.



However, the king did not lack officious counsellors to endeavor to comfort him, and satisfy his desires; and the attempt was made in the month of October, 1164. Indisposed and weak, the archbishop was compelled to attend a great council in the town of Northampton. In the morning, having previously celebrated the mass of St. Stephen, the first martyr, which begins with the words, "The princes are met in council to hold judgment on me," he proceeded to court, arrayed as he was in the pontifical robes, and bearing in his hand the archiepiscopal cross.\* This embarrassed his enemies. After a fruitless attempt to take the cross from him, they resorted to the formalities of law, accused him of having made away with the public money, and of having celebrated mass in the name of the devil. They then demanded his deposition, which, once pronounced, they might have slain him with safe consciences. The king waited the result with impatience; symptoms of violence displayed themselves; and, as he walked along the hall, some of the courtiers threw at him knots of straw, which they took from the floor. The archbishop appealed to the pope, withdrew slowly, and left them speechless. This was the first temptation—the summons before Herod and Caiaphas. The crowd had been expecting him, in tears. As for him, he ordered tables to be laid, summoned all the poor of the city, and celebrated as it were the last supper with them.† That very night he set out, and with difficulty reached the continent.

The escape of his prey was a sore matter to Henry. But he seized Becket's estates, and divided the spoil. He banished all connected with him, whether in the ascending or descending line; and neither men, bowing under the weight of years, nor infants still hanging at the breast, nor pregnant women, were excepted. "The list of proscription was swelled with four hundred names; and the misfortune of the sufferers was aggravated by the obligation of an oath to visit the archbishop, and importune him with the history of their wrongs. Day after day crowds of exiles besieged the door of his cell at Pontigny."‡ Poor and famishing, they came to wring his heart with the sight of their wretchedness and rags; and, over and above, the English bishops addressed him letters full of bitterness and irony, congratulating him on the apostolic poverty to which he was reduced, and hoping that his fasts would profit his soul. § Such were Job's comforters.

Cantuariensi archiepiscopo gravissime conquerens, non sine gemitibus et suspiriis multis. Et lachrymatus est, dicens quod idem Cantuariensis et corpus et animam pariter auferret, (he protested that Becket would destroy him, soul and body.)

\* Roger de Hoveden, p. 494. Vita Quadrip. p. 52.

† Vita Quadrip. p. 50. Dixit, "Sinite pauperes Christi . . . omnes intrare nobiscum, ut epulemur in Domino ad invicem." Et impleti sunt domus et atria circumquaque discumbentium.

‡ Langard' vol. ii. p. 726.

§ Epist. S. Thomæ, p. 189. "We were somewhat com-

The archbishop welcomed his fate, and embraced it as a penance. Taking shelter first at St. Omer, and then at Pontigny, an abbey of the Cistercian rule, he led the solitary and mortified life of a recluse.\* From this time he wrote to the pope, acknowledging that he had been unduly thrust into the archiepiscopal see, and surrendering his dignity. Alexander III., who was at the time a refugee at Senlène, feared taking a decided part, and bringing a new enemy upon himself. He condemned several of the constitutions of Clarendon, and declined seeing Thomas, and contented himself with writing him word that he reinstated him with the archiepiscopal dignity. "Go," was his cold comfort to the exile, "go, learn poverty to be the comforter of the poor."

The only stay Thomas had, was the king of France. Louis VII. was but too well pleased at the trouble the whole business gave him, and, besides, he was, as we have seen, a singularly mild and pious prince. The archbishop, persecuted for defending the Church, was in his eyes a martyr; and he, therefore, received him with every mark of favor, observing, as to protect the exile was one of the ancient ornaments of the French crown.† He settled Thomas and his companions in misfortune: daily allowance of bread and other necessaries, and when the king of England sent to him to denounce the former archbishop—"By what name has he been deposed?" was Louis's reply, "I am a king, too; yet cannot I depose a meanest clerk in my realm."‡

Abandoned by the pope, and living on the charity of the king of France, Thomas did not quail. Henry having crossed over into Normandy, the archbishop repaired to Vézelay, the very spot where twenty years before St. Bernard had preached the second crusade. On Ascension day, with the most solemn ceremony, with the ringing of bells, and by the light of tapers, he excommunicated the defilers of the constitutions of Clarendon, the detainers of the possessions of the see of Canterbury, and all who had communicated with the antipope, whom the emperor supported; designating by name six of the royal favorites: and though he did not name the sovereign himself, he held the sword suspended over him.

This bold proceeding threw Henry into the

fortified when we heard that you had crossed the sea, and were wisely aiming at no ambitious project, nor plotting against our lord the king." &c.

\* "He wore sackcloth, and used the scourge. He got the attendant lay-brother to bring him privily, besides the delicate dishes that were served up to him, the ordinary allowance of the monks, with which he contented himself. In the soon fell seriously ill, from a diet so contrary to his habits." Vita Quadrip. p. 63.

† Gervas. Cantuar. ap. Ser. R. Fr. xiii. 122. Rex Francie dixit: Ite, dicite domino vestro (Henrico) quod si ipsæ consuetudines quas vocat avitas non vult dimittere, nec ut veteranam regum Francie libertatem volo propellam, quæ cunctis exultantibus, et præcipue personis ecclesiasticis.

‡ Id. ibid. p. 124. Dicente lectore, "Quendam episcopum, quæsit qui eum deposuisset, et ait, 'Ego quidem rex sum, sicut et ipse; nec tamen possum tantum tantum tantum quendam clericum deponere.'"



"from that day he was no longer king"—fatal words, which did not fall in vain on the ears of the young king and the bystanders.

Thomas, struck by this new blow, and sold and abandoned by the court of Rome, addressed to the pope and cardinals terrible and damning letters—"Why lay in my path a stumbling-block of offence! why strew my path with thorns! . . . How can you blind yourselves to the wrong which Christ suffers in me, and in yourself, who ought to hold Christ's place here below! The king of England has seized the possessions, has overthrown the liberties of the Church, has laid hands on the Lord's anointed, imprisoning and mutilating them, and depriving them of sight; while others he has forced to clear themselves by wager of battle, or by the ordeal of fire and water. And yet, with such outrages before us, we are wished to hold our peace! . . . Hirelings are and will be silent; but whosoever is a true shepherd of the Church, will with us. . . .

"I might flourish in power, abound in riches and pleasures, be feared and honored by all. But since the Lord has called me—poor and unworthy sinner that I am, to the charge of souls, I have preferred, inspired thereto by grace, to be humbled in his household, and to endure unto the death proscription, exile, and the extreme of misery, rather than traffic with the liberty of the Church. Let them act thus who hope for length of days, and who find in their merits the assurance of a better time. As for me, I know that my life will be short, and that if I warn not the impious of his iniquity, I shall be answerable for his blood. Then, gold and silver will avail naught, nor presents, which blind even the wise. . . . You and I, most holy father, will soon be summoned to the judgment-seat of Christ. And, it is in the name of his majesty and fearful judgment, that I ask from you justice on those who would crucify him a second time."

Again, he writes, "We can hardly subsist on the alms of the stranger. They who aided us are exhausted, and they who took pity on our exile are in despair, seeing the conduct of our lord, the pope. . . . Crushed by the Roman Church, we, who alone of the western world fight for her—were it not for the support of grace—should be constrained to desert the cause of Christ. . . . The Lord will see this from the summit of the heavenly mountain; and that fearful Majesty which stifles the breath of kings, will judge the extremities of the earth. For us, dead or alive, we are and shall be his, ready to suffer all for the Church. Would to God he may find us worthy to endure persecution for his justice's sake!†

"I know not how it happens that in this court it is God's party which is ever sac-

rificed; so that Barabbas escapes, and Christ is put to death. Six years will soon have passed since my banishment and the calamities of the Church have been suffered by the political court. With you, unhappy exiles and innocents are condemned solely because they are Christ's weak and poor, and that they have chosen to wander from God's justice. On the contrary, you have absolved sacrilegists, homicides, impenitent ravishers, and men of whose I dare frankly say, that were they to appear before St. Peter even, the world would vainly try to defend them, God would not acquit them. . . . The king's envoys promise our spots, cardinals and courtiers. Well! let God be and judge. I am ready to die. Let them be the king of England for my destruction, and they choose, all the kings of the world: God to aid, I will not stray from my allegiance to the Church, either in life or death. In firm trust to God the defence of his own cause, be for him that I am in exile; let him provide the remedy. Henceforward, my mind is made up: no more to solicit the court of Rome. Let those who prevail by their iniquity apply to him and who, in their triumph over justice and innocence, return boasting, to the grief of the Church. Would to God that the way of Rome had not already lost so many hapless and innocent persons!‡

These terrible words found so loud an echo that the court of Rome saw it was more dangerous to desert Thomas than to support him. The king of France wrote to the pope, "It is now incumbent on you to give up all your obligatory and procrastinating measures;"§ as in so saying, he was the organ of all Christendom. The pope took the decisive resolution of suspending the archbishop of York for his usurpation of the rights of his brother of Canterbury, and threatened the king, except he restored the confiscated property of the see. Henry felt alarmed; and an interview was arranged at Chinon between the archbishop and the two monarchs. Henry promised satisfaction, and displayed the utmost courtesy to Thomas, going so far as to offer to hold his stirrup at leave-taking.¶ However, before they parted, bitter words passed between them, each upbraiding the other with benefits conferred, and, on parting, Thomas fixed his eyes with much meaning on the king, and said to him in a solemn manner, "I well believe I shall never see you more."—"Do you take me for a traitor, then?" was the king's quick reply. The

\* *Via Romana*. M. Thierry does not understand these words in the mystic sense, but translates, "the journey to Rome."

† *Epist. S. Thom.* p. 772, 773. *Ser. R. Fr.* xvi. 417. *R. Nescio quo pacto pars Domini semper inactatur in Cordi u. Barabbas evadit et Christus occiditur. . . . Jam in sexu anni proscriptio nostra. . . . Utinam via Romana non gratis permisset tot miseris innocentibus!*

‡ *Ser. R. Fr.* xvi. 563. *Ne ulterius dilaciones cum fortioribus prorogaret.* See, also, *Epist. S. Thom.* p. 377.

§ *Gervas. Cant.* ap. *Ser. R. Fr.* xiv. 134. *Vita Quodp.* p. 107. *Epist. S. Thom.* p. 804.

\* *Vita Quodp.* p. 102, 103. *Pater filio dignatus est ministrare, et se regem non esse protestari.* *Epist. S. Thom.* p. 676, 730.

† *Epist. S. Thom.* p. 774, &c., *Ser. R. Fr.* xvi. 418, 420.

archbishop bowed his head; and they separated.\*

These last words of Henry's reassured no one. He refused Thomas the kiss of peace; and, instead of a mass of reconciliation, caused the mass for the dead to be said.† It was said, as it chanced, in a chapel dedicated to the martyrs; and one of the archbishop's chaplains remarking this, and observing, "Truly, I think the Church will only recover peace through martyrdom," Thomas said, "God grant that she be delivered, even at the cost of my blood."‡—The king of France, too, had given him the following warning, "For my own part, I would not for my weight in gold advise you to return to England, if he refuse you the kiss of peace;" to which count Thibaud of Champagne added—"And the kiss is not enough."§

Thomas had long foreseen his fate, and resigned himself to it. Being about to leave the abbey of Pontigny, says the contemporary historian, the abbot was astonished to see him shed tears at supper, and inquiring if there was any thing he was in want of, and offering whatever was in his power, "I want nothing," said the archbishop, "all is at an end with me. Last night the Lord deigned to reveal to his servant the fate that awaits him."—"What is there in common," said the abbot pleasantly, "between a sound living man and a martyr; between the cup of martyrdom and that you have just quaffed?" To which the archbishop replied, "It is true that I indulge in some degree the flesh,‡ but the Lord is good, and justifies the unholy, and has deigned to reveal his mystery to the unworthy."¶

After writing his thanks to the king of France, Thomas set out with his friends to Rouen, where they found neither the money nor escort which Henry had promised, but heard, on the contrary, that those in whose hands his property had been sequestered, had threatened to slay the archbishop if he set foot in England. Ranulf de Broc, who held the estates of the see for the king, had said, "Let him land, he shall not have time to eat a single loaf here."\*\* The undaunted archbishop wrote to Henry that he knew his danger, but that he could no longer see the church of Canterbury, the mother of

Christian Britain, perish on account of the hatred borne its archbishop. "Necessity brings me back, an unhappy pastor, to my unhappy church. I return thither by your permission; and there shall I perish, in order to save it, except your piety hasten to my relief. But, live or die, I shall ever be yours in the Lord. Whatever befall me or mine, may God bless you and your children!"\*

Meanwhile, he had proceeded to the opposite coast of Boulogne. It was now the month of November, and the season unfavorable for crossing. He and his companions were detained for a few days at the port of Wissant, near Calais. Walking one day on the sea-shore, they saw a man running towards them, whom they supposed to be the master of the ship coming to give them notice to get ready to sail; but the man told them that he was a priest and dean of Boulogne cathedral, and that the count, his lord, had sent him to warn them not to embark, since he knew there to be troops of armed men on the look-out on the English coast to seize or slay the archbishop. "My son," said Thomas to him, "though I were certain that I should be dismembered and cut in pieces on the opposite shore, I would not stay my foot. Seven years' absence are enough both for shepherd and flock."†—"I see, England," he said another time, "and with God's help, I will go. Yet do I know of a verity that I shall meet my passion there."‡ Christmas was drawing nigh, and he desired, at all hazards, to celebrate in his own church the nativity of our Saviour.

When he neared the shore, and the people discerned the archiepiscopal cross, which was always borne before the primate, they hastened in crowds to receive him and contend for the privilege of his blessing. Some prostrated themselves before him, with passionate cries, while others strewed their garments under his feet, and exclaimed, "Blessed is he who cometh in the name of the Lord!" The priests went out to meet him, at the head of their parishioners; and all said that Christ was come to be crucified a second time, and that he was about to suffer for Kent, as at Jerusalem he had suffered for the world.§ Their numbers intimidated the Normans, who had hastened with loud menaces,

\* Vita Stephani p. 71 ap. Thierry. t. iii. p. 308.

† This mass was chosen because the kiss of peace is not given on reading the Gospel, as on other occasions. Vita Quodv. p. 108.

‡ Vita Quodv. p. 102. Account ad eum unus de clericis suis dicens. "Cum archiepiscopus se respondit, tunc namque meo sanguine liberetur."

§ Epist. H. Thom. ap. Her. R. Fr. vol. 600.

\*\* See however in Herodot. ap. Her. Angl. post Bedam. 1601. Franc. t. ii. p. 320. the custom and justified the lord by the event. His table was splendidly served, yet he had only bread and water. He prayed during the night, yet in the morning awakened his attendants. In the night as well as day, he caused three or five strokes of the scourge to be given him. &c.

† Vita Quodv. p. 96. "Maledixit abbas inquit. Quod dicitur: 'Memento et mater.' Archiepiscopusque ait: 'Filius tuus est iniquitatis, et tu quod iniquitatem habes in te, quod postulat impium indignum agnoscere et revocare misterium.'"

\*\* Her. R. Fr. vol. 600.

\* Epist. H. Thom. p. 122. *Red vivo vivimus, vivo morimur, vestri sumus et erimus semper in domino, et quidquid nobis contingit et moritur, beneficiis vestris deus et liberis vestris.*

† Her. R. Fr. vol. 613. ap. Thierry. t. iii. p. 301.

‡ Vita Quodv. p. 111. *Terram Anglorum vidimus, et fluvium Itam, terram nostram, scimus hancem certissimum, quod nihil immutabitur.*

§ Vita Quodv. p. 112. *In nocte vestitis crucis, quod archiepiscopus Cantuariensis coram eo semper lapidare consueverat, crucis, videtur turrimus, imperium, aliam se hunc, postmodum, episcopatus, hunc primum, illam, pro quod, et omnes conclusiones. Benedictus qui venit, &c.*

¶ P. 113. *Postea dominum secutus ad quendam ap. propinquum, et vocavit illum mortuum in Christo. Item, ap. Angliana ecclesia Cantuariensis qui Hieronymus, qui dicitur, multum saluta in eo ipso semel motus est. — J. Barthelemy ap. Her. R. Fr. vol. 616. "The people reported over the recovered pastor, as if Christ himself had come down from heaven among men."*

and drawn swords.\* The archbishop reached Canterbury amidst the singing of hymns and ringing of bells, and, ascending the pulpit, preached upon the text, "I am come to die in the midst of you."† He had already written to the pope, asking him to offer up on his behalf the prayers for the dying.‡

At this time the king was in Normandy, and he was both surprised and alarmed when the news reached him that the primate had dared to enter England. He was told how Thomas marched surrounded by crowds of the poor, of serfs, and of armed men; how this king of the poor had resumed possession of the throne of Canterbury; how he had pushed on as far as London, and how he brought bulls from the pope to lay the kingdom once more under interdict. Such, in fact, was the double dealing of Alexander III., that he had sent absolution to Henry, and to the archbishop his permission to excommunicate him. The king, beside himself with passion, exclaimed, "What, shall one who has eaten my bread, a wretch who came to my court on a lame horse, trample the monarchy under his foot! See him triumphing, and sitting on my throne! And not one of the cowards whom I feed has the heart to rid me of this priest!"§ It was the second time that these homicidal words had passed his lips; but now they did not fall from him in vain. Four of his knights felt that they would be dishonored did they not revenge the insult offered their lord: such was the strength of the feudal tie, and the virtue of the reciprocal oath by which lord and vassal bound themselves one to the other. They would not wait for the decision of the judges, whom the king had ordered to commence proceedings against him. They considered that their honor would be compromised, did he die by any other than their hands.

Setting out at different hours, and from different parts, they all reached Saltwood|| at the same time. Ranulf de Broc brought a large body of soldiers with him. "And lo! the fifth day after Christmas, as the archbishop was in his room, about the hour of eleven, and was settling business with some clerks and monks, the four knights entered. On being saluted by those who sat near the door, they return their salute, but in a low voice, and walk on up to the archbishop, when they seat themselves on the ground at his feet, without saluting him either in their own name or that of the king. They held their peace; and the Lord's Christ held his peace as well."¶

\* Ser. R. Fr. xvi. 613.

† Roger de Hoveden, p. 521.

‡ Vita Quadrip. p. 119. Unus homo, qui manducavit

panem meum, levavit contra me calcaneum suum? Unus homo, qui in manu meo jumento et claudo, primo prorupit in curiam, depulso regum stemmate, videntibus vobis fortune comitibus, triumphans exultat in solio!—Omnes quos nutriverat . . . maledixit, quod de sacerdote uno non vindicaret. . . . Ibid. et J. Mansbur. Epist. ap. Ser. R. Fr. xvi. 519.

|| Vita Quadrip. p. 130.

¶ Ibid. p. 131. . . . Salutati, ut moris erat, a nonnullis

† Vita Quadrip. p. 117.

At last Renaud-fils-d'Ours (Reginald Fitzurse, *Bear's son*) took up the word:—"I bear thee, from beyond sea, orders from the king. Wilt thou hear them in public or private?" The saint dismissed his attendants but the door-keeper left the door open, so that all which passed could be seen from without. When Reginald had delivered his message, the archbishop saw that he had nothing more to expect, he called in his attendants, and said, "Lords, you may speak before these."\*

The Normans then pretended that by Henry had sent him orders to swear allegiance to the young king; and they accused him as having been guilty of high treason. They would have wished to catch him tripping, as to take advantage of his words; but they stumbled every moment, and exposed themselves. They charged him, moreover, with seeking to make himself king of England; and then catching hastily at a word of the archbishop, they cried out, "How, do you accuse the king of perfidy? Do you threaten us—do you wish again to excommunicate us all?" And one of them added, "So God help me, he shall avenge do it; too many have been anathematized by him already." They then got up like madmen, tossing their arms, and twisting their gauntlets.† Then, addressing the bystanders, they said to them, "In the king's name we bid you be answerable for that man, to protect him whenever and wheresoever demanded."—"What!" exclaimed the archbishop, "tell me you that I seek to escape? I will fly near for the king, nor any living man."—"Thou sayest sooth," said one of the Normans; "Go to aid, thou wilt not escape."‡ The archbishop called Hugh de Morville, the noblest of them, and who appeared the most reasonable, to come back; but ineffectually.§ They would not listen to him, and went out tumultuously, and with loud threats.

The gate was immediately closed behind them; when Fitzurse armed himself before the outer court, and taking an axe from a carpenter who was working there, began to beat at the gate. Those within, hearing the blow of the axe, besought the primate to take refuge in the church, with which his apartment communicated by means of a cloister or a gallery.

In introitu considerantibus, resistentibus eis, ead voce submissam . . . et considerantes ante pedes ejus in terra . . . per terram aliquantulum compresserunt silentio, inaccessibiles Christo Domini nihilominus tacente.

\* Ibid. p. 122.

† Ibid. p. 125. . . . "Miser, Miser. Etiam totum terram interdicto subieci, et nos omnes excommunicamus." . . . Illis igitur existensibus, et ira et convulsio facies habentibus, chiroteas contrahentibus, brachia furiose iactantibus, et cum gestibus corporum quam vehementer clamorem manifesta insanis indicia dentibus, archiepiscopos omnes surrexit.

‡ Ibid. . . . "Quid est hoc? Numquid me fugi hinc velle putatis?" . . . Satellites inquirunt, "Vere, vere, volente Deo, non fugies."

§ Ibid. . . . Secutus est eos reges ad notum thalamum Hugonem de More Villa, qui ceteris, sicut nobilitate generis, ita et virtute rationis debebat preeminere, ut secretum suorum loqueretur, inclamans.

He refused, and they were about to force him thither, when one of them made the remark, that the hour of vespers had struck. "Since it is the hour of my duty, I will to the church," said the archbishop; and, ordering his cross to be borne before him, he traversed the cloister with slow steps, and then proceeded towards the high altar, which was separated from the nave by a half-open grating.

When he entered the church, he found the priests all in commotion, locking and bolting the doors. "By your vow of obedience," he exclaimed, "we charge you not to close the doors. A church must not be turned into a donjon-keep." He then bade enter those of his train who had remained without.

Scarcely had he put foot on the steps of the altar, than Reginald Fitzurse presented himself at the other end of the church, clad in his coat of mail, with his large two-edged sword in his hand, and crying out, "Here, here, loyal servants of the king!" The other conspirators followed at his back, armed like him from head to foot, and brandishing their swords. The primate's attendants were about to shut the grating of the choir, when he forbade them, and even left the altar to enforce his orders. They then earnestly implored him to conceal himself among the crypts, or to escape up the staircase which led, by many windings, to the roof of the building; but he positively refused to do either. Meanwhile, the armed men advanced. A voice exclaimed, "Where is the traitor?" No answer was returned. "Where is the archbishop?" Becket replied, "Here I am, but there is no traitor here. What are you come for into the house of God, so attired? What is your purpose?"—"Your death."—"I am prepared—you will not see me shun your swords, but I command you in the name of Almighty God not to touch one of my people, priest or layman, great or little." As he said this, he received a blow with the flat of a sword between his shoulders, and he who struck it said, "Fly, or thou art a dead man." He did not stir. They then endeavored to force him out of the church, from scruples to kill him there, but he resisted them, energetically declaring that he would not move, and would force them to execute their intentions or their orders on the spot. Turning to another whom he saw coming up with bared sword, he said to him, "What is this, Reginald? I have loaded you with favors, and you come to me armed, and in the church!" The murderer answered, "Thou art a dead man." He then raised his sword, and with the same backstroke cut off the hand of a Saxon monk called Edward Grim, and wounded Becket on the crown. A second blow, struck by another Norman, dashed him on his face on the ground, and was

given with such force as to shiver the sword on the flags. A man at arms, named William Maltravers, kicked the senseless body, and exclaimed, "Thus die the traitor who has disturbed the kingdom, and made the English to rebel."

They went away, saying, "He sought to be king, and more than king; well, let him be king now!" But, despite their bravadoes, they did not feel assured; and one of them returning to the church, to see if he were really dead, again plunged his sword into his head, so as to make his brains spirt out.† He could not kill him dead enough for his liking.

In fact, man is tenacious of life, and is not easily destroyed. To free him from the body, and deliver him from the burden of this earthly existence, is to purify, adorn, and perfect him. No ornament becomes him better than death. Before his murderers had struck the blow, Thomas's partisans had cooled, and relaxed in their zeal; the people doubted, Rome hesitated. No sooner had he been touched by the sword, inaugurated with his own blood, and crowned by his martyrdom, than he was suddenly raised from Canterbury to the skies. As his murderers had said, unknowingly repeating the very mockery of the Passion, "He was king." The whole world—people, kings, and pope—were of one mind with respect to him. Rome, by whom he had been deserted, proclaimed him saint and martyr; and the Normans who had slain him, received at Westminster with hypocritical compunction and scalding tears the bulls which canonized him.

In the very hour of the murder, when the assassins plundered the archbishop's house, and found among his garments the rude sackcloth with which he mortified his flesh, they were struck with terror, and whispered to themselves, like the centurion of the Gospel, "Verily, this was a just man."‡ In telling his death, all agreed that never had the Passion of our Saviour been more completely renewed in any martyrdom. If there was any difference, it was in favor of Becket. "Christ," says a contemporary, "was put to death out of the city, in a profane spot, and on a day which the Jews did not hold sacred. Thomas perished in the church, in Christmas week, and on Innocent's Day."§ (Dec. 29.)

King Henry felt the danger of his position; for the whole world considered him the murderer. The king of France and the count of Champagne solemnly accused him of the act to the pope, and the archbishop of Sens, primate of Gaul, fulminated sentence of excommunication against him. Even those who owed him most kept aloof from him in horror.

\* Therry, t. ii. p. 212.

† A. in *Quadr.* p. 126.—Nearly the whole of this account is borrowed word for word from M. Therry, t. ii. p. 211—216.

\* Ibid. p. 123. "Morte est rex, morte est rex." Et in hoc similes illis qui dantur in cruce proventi immolant.

† Ibid. Ille quoque ethnicus latius thumali aperuit, ideo vero Christianus Christi thumali capite gladium infudit.

‡ Ibid. p. 127.

§ Ibid. p. 125.

By dint of hypocrisy, he appeased the public clamor. His Norman bishops wrote to Rome, that he had neither eaten nor drunk for three days:—"While mourning the loss of the primæ," they said, "we thought that we should have the king's death to mourn likewise."<sup>6</sup> The court of Rome, which had at first affected indomitable indignation, suffered itself to be softened. The king swore that he had no share in Becket's death, offered the papal legates to submit himself to flagellation, laid at the pope's feet his recent conquest of Ireland, imposed the tax of Peter's penny upon each house in that country, renounced the constitutions of Clarendon, covenanted to pay towards the crusade, to serve himself if the pope required it,† and declared England a fief of the Holy See.‡

It was not enough to have appeased Rome: this would have been to have escaped too easily. No long time elapses before his eldest son, the young king Henry, claims his share of the kingdom, and proclaims his intention of avenging the death of his instructor, the holy martyr, Thomas of Canterbury. The grounds put forward by the young prince for claiming the throne, appeared of weight at the time, however trivial they may seem now. In the first place the king himself, when waiting upon him at table on the day of his coronation, had imprudently said that he abdicated. In the middle age, every word was taken seriously; and Henry's slip of the tongue was enough to make most of his subjects doubt between the two kings. The letter is all-powerful in barbarous times, in which the principle of all jurisprudence is, *Qui virgula cadit, causa cadit*, (a comma's loss, is the cause's loss.)

Again, Henry had rendered only imperfect satisfaction for the death of the saint. To some, he still appeared sullied with the blood of a martyr. Others, remembering that he had offered to submit himself to the scourge, and seeing him pay yearly an expiatory tribute towards the crusade, believed him still to be doing penance. Such a state seemed irreconcilable with royalty. Louis the Débonnaire had been lessened and degraded by it in his subjects' eyes for ever.

Henry's sons had another specious excuse. They were encouraged and supported by the king of France, their father's lord suzerain; and the feudal tie was then held to be stronger

than that of nature. thought it right to r his vassal; and in Henry II.

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All his family, in the course of a journey that he took into the south, first his sons, and then Eleanor, his queen, withdrew from him, one by one. The young Henry had accepted his father-in-law, the king of France, and when Henry's ambassadors claimed him in the name of the king of England, they found him on their reception, sitting, attired as king, by the side of Louis: "In the name of what king of England do you speak to me?" asked the latter—"here is the king of England; but it is to his father, the ci-devant king of England, that you give the title, know that he did on the day his son bore the crown, and, if it still pretend to be king, after having before the world resigned the kingdom into his son's hands, that is a matter which shall speedily be remedied."<sup>7</sup>

Henry's two other sons, Richard of Poitiers and Geoffrey, count of Brittany, had joined their elder brother, and done homage to the French king. The danger was imminent. Henry, it is true, had provided, with simple activity, for the defence of his continental possessions. But, understanding that the young Henry was about crossing into England with an army furnished by the count of Flanders, to whom he had promised the earldom of Kent, and that the king of Scotland threatened an invasion, he began raising mercenary troops—Brabant and Welsh roustiers. He pushed the favor of Rome to a reckless rate, and declared himself its vassal, as well for England as for Ireland, adding this remarkable clause: "We and our successors will hold cannon for true kings of England, only as long as our lords, the popes, shall hold us for Catholic kings."<sup>8</sup> In another letter he implores Alexander III. to defend his kingdom, as a fief of the Roman Church.‡

He did not yet think that he had done enough. He repaired to Canterbury. The moment that he descried at a distance the towers of Christchurch, he dismounted from his horse, put on the woollen garb of a peasant, and walked barefoot towards the city through the muddy and stinky road.¶ When he reached

\* Ep. S. Thom. p. 857. Tribus fore diebus conclusus in cubiculo, nec cibum capere, nec consolatorum admittere ausus fuit. . . . Qui sacerdotem clamentem primum, de regis salute corporis desperare. Vita Quadrip. p. 148.

† Vita Quadrip. p. 148. Ep. S. Thom. p. 872. . . . Quod lavaret ducentos milites per annum integrum sumptibus suis. . . . In terra Hierosolymitana. . . . Quod prava statuta de Clarendonia, &c. . . . dissolveret. . . . Quod si necesse fuerit, ibi in Hispaniam, ad liberandam terram illam a paganis.

‡ Præterea ego et major filius meus rex, juramus quod a domino Alexandro papa et catholicis ejus successoribus recipiemus et tenebimus regnum Angliæ. Baron. Annal. xii. 637. . . . At the close of the same year, moreover, he wrote to the pope. . . . "The kingdom of England is yours; and I am bound to you, and you only, as my feudal superior." Petr. Elec. Epist. ap. Sur. R. Fr. xvi. 636.

\* Guill. Neubrig. ap. Sur. R. Fr. xii. 125. Scilicet quia ille rex mortuus est. . . . panno quod aditus pro regi et regit. . . . mature commutabitur.

† Baron. xii. 637. Munster, iii. 622. Nos et successoribus nostri in perpetuum non reputabimus nos Angliæ vero reges, donec ipsi non catholicis regibus succedant.

‡ Patrimonium R. Petri episcopi. . . . anno. Sur. R. Fr. xvi. 636.

¶ Vita Quadrip. p. 148. . . . Robert d. galades et cetera. . . .

we seen that Henry his own children inner, the son of they ought to sacrifice their father himself to their lord

In reality, Henry himself seemed to the feudal the most powerful of bank since he did not think himself sure of his an until he had forced them to do him homage.

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¶ Vita Quadrip. p. 148. . . . Robert d. galades et cetera. . . .

the tomb, he threw himself on his knees, weeping and sobbing. "Twas a sight to draw tears from all who looked on."\* He then divested himself of his dress, and all—bishops, abbots, and simple monks—were summoned to inflict, each in turn, some stripes on the monarch's shoulders. "It resembled," says the chronicler, "the scourging of Christ: the difference is, that the one was scourged for our sins, the other for his own."†—"All day and all night he remained in prayer by the holy martyr's tomb, without taking food or going out for any natural want. He remained as he came, and would not even allow a carpet to be put under his knees. After matins, he made the round of the altars and of the holy relics; then descended again into the crypt, to the tomb of St. Thomas. When day came, he asked to hear mass; then drank of water blessed by the martyr, filled a flask with it, and quitted Canterbury with a light heart."‡ (July 11, 12, A. D. 1174.)

He had cause, it appears, to be light-hearted, since he had won the day. The self-same day he learned that the Scottish king was his prisoner. The count of Flanders durst not attempt his threatened invasion. All the favorers of the young king, in England, were forced in their castles. The results of the war in Aquitaine were more checkered. There, the young princes had the support of the king of France, and had in their favor the hatred of a foreign yoke. In the twelfth century, as in the ninth, the wars of sons against fathers only served to cloak the hostilities of different races which sought to free themselves from a union contrary to their interests and uncongenial to their habits. Guyenne and Poitou struggled to free themselves from their connection with England, as France in the days of the Debonnaire, and of Charles the Bald, had broken up the unity of the Carolingian empire.

The mobility of the Southern, their capricious revolutions, their easy discouragements, offered an easy game to king Henry. Besides, they were unsupported by Toulouse, which is the only rallying point for a great war in Aquitaine. Prudence forbade them to renew attempts at enfranchisement, which turned to their ruin. But it was not so much patriotism as restlessness of mind and the vain pleasure of shaming in war, which impelled the nobles of the South to arms—and this is inferrible from what we know of the most celebrated of them, the troubadour, Bertrand de Born. His enjoyment was to play some good trick on his lord, Henry II., to arm against him one of his sons, Henry, Geoffrey, or Richard—then, when the town had taken and all was on fire, to compose a fair sentence in his castle of Hautefort, like

the Roman who, from the top of his tower, sang the fire of Troy while Rome was in flames. Was there but a chance of peace, this restless devil would throw off some biting satire, which would make the monarchs blush at thoughts of inactivity, and plunge them again into war.

In this family, it was a succession of bloody wars, and treacherous treaties. Once, when king Henry had met his sons in a conference, their soldiers drew upon him.\* This conduct was traditionary in the two houses of Anjou and Normandy. More than once had the children of William the Conqueror, and of Henri VI., pointed their sword against their father's breast. Fulk had placed his foot on the neck of his vanquished son. The jealous Eleanor, with the passion and vindictiveness of her southern blood, encouraged her son's disobedience, and trained them to parricide. These youths, in whose veins mingled the blood of so many different races, Norman, Aquitanian, and Saxon, seemed to entertain over and above the violence of the Fulk of Anjou and the Williams of England, all the opposing hatreds and discords of these races. They never knew whether they were from the South or the North: they only knew that they hated one another, and their father worse than all. They could not trace back their ancestry, without finding at each descent, or rape, or incest, or parricide. Their grandfather, the count of Poitou, had had Eleanor by a woman whom he had taken from her husband, and a holy man had said to them, "Nothing good will be born to you."† Henry the Second's own father had been Eleanor's lover.‡ and the sons she presented to Henry might have been his brothers. A saying of St. Bernard's was quoted of him: § "He comes from the devil, to the devil he will return," and his son Richard had held just the same language. || They felt this diabolical origin to be a family title, and justified it by their deeds. When a priest, crucifix in hand, sought Geoffrey to reconcile him with his father, and prayed him not to be a second Absalom, "What," replied the youth, "would you have me renounce my right of birth?"—"God forgive," replied the priest, "I wish you to do nothing to your own injury."—"You understand not my words," said the count of Brittany; "It is our family fate not to love one another. 'Tis our inheritance; and not one of us will ever forego it."¶

The following was the popular tradition with regard to a former countess of Anjou, the ancestress of the Plantagenets. Her husband

\* Roger de Hoveden p. 328, ap. Thierry, t. III. p. 312.

† *Nunquam posset de vobis vestire fructum sacri altaris.* J. Brompton, ap. *Rev. E. F. M.* III. 315.

‡ *Id. ibid.*

§ *Id. ibid.* B. Bernardus abbas, regi Francie precorato, sic prophetauit. *De Ithabdo venit et ad Ithabdom ibit.*

|| *Id. ibid.* Richardus, conversus cum maritimo, et de tali genere procedentes matris non infestant, tanquam de Ithabdo reverterentur et ad Ithabdom transierant.

¶ *Id. ibid.*

\* Robert de Monte. *lib. I. Ut volentes ad lacrymas exire.*

† *Id. lib. I. In talis Redemptorem, and ille fecit proper precorato, et ille proper proprium.*

‡ *Id. ibid.* *Richardus a Cantuaria recessit.* Gervais. *Chart. ap. Rev. E. F. M.* III. 328.



had noticed that she seldom went to mass, and ever left the church secretly. He bethought himself of having her seized at the moment of leaving by four squires; but leaving her cloak in their hands, as well as two of her children, who were on her right hand, she bore off the two others who were on her left, concealed by a fold of the cloak, flew through the window, and never reappeared.\* 'Tis almost the history of the Melusina of Poitou and of Dauphiny. Obligated to become every Saturday half woman and half serpent, Melusina took care to keep herself concealed on that day. Her husband having one day surprised her, she disappeared. He was Geoffrey of the Large Tooth, (à la Grande Dent, of the tusk!) whose likeness was still to be seen at Lusignan, over the gate of the famous castle. Whenever any one of the family was about to die, Melusina appeared in the night on the towers, uttering foreboding lamentations.

The true Melusina, a mixture of contradictory natures, mother and daughter of a diabolical generation, is Eleanor of Guyenne. Her husband punished her for the rebellions of his sons, by keeping her prisoner in a strong castle—her who had brought him so large an addition to his dominions. It was this severity of character which brought on Henry II. the hatred of the men of the South. One of them, in a barbarous and poetic chronicle, expresses his hope that Eleanor will soon be delivered by her sons; and, according to the practice of the age, he applies to the whole family the prophecy of Merlin†—"All these mischiefs have happened since the king of the North struck down the venerable Thomas of Canterbury. 'Tis queen Eleanor, who is styled by Merlin, 'The eagle of the broken alliance.' . . . Rejoice, then, Aquitaine; rejoice, land of Poitou! The sceptre of the king of the North is about to retire. Wo to him! He has dared to lift the lance against his lord, the king of the South. . . .

"Tell me, double eagle,‡ tell me, where wast thou, when thy eaglets, flying from the paternal nest, dared to plume their singles against the king of the North . . . 'Twas for this that thou wast taken from thy native country, and brought into a strange land. Songs are changed into tears; the harp gives place to mourning. Reared in royal freedom

in the days of thy tender youth, thy companions sang, and thou didst dance to the sex of their guitar . . . At length, I cease thee, double queen, restrain thy tears at least a little. Return, if thou canst, return to thy towns, poor prisoner.

"Where is thy court? Where are thy young companions! Where are thy counsellors? Some, dragged far from their country, have met with an ignominious fate; others have been deprived of sight; others, banished, wander in divers places. As for thee, thou criest, and no one listeneth to thee, for the king of the North holds thee shut up, like a beauty in town. Cry out, then, cry out unceasingly raise thy voice as a trumpet, that thy sons may hear thee, for the day is at hand when they will deliver thee, and thou shalt revisit thy native land."§

It was king Henry's fate, in his latter years to be the persecutor of his wife, and the rav of his sons. He plunged into sensual pleasures without restraint. Old as he was, gray-headed and enormously pot-bellied, he varied his am with adultery and rape. His beautiful Rosamond, whose bastards were ever about him, did not content his brutal passions. He violated his cousin, Alice,† heiress of Brittany, who had been placed in his hands as a hostage, and, having obtained as his son's future wife one of the king of France's daughters, who was not yet marriageable, he polluted the child as she was.‡

However, fortune did not tire of punishing him. He had fixed his heart on pleasure, sensuality, and the natural affections; and was punished as lover and as father. The traitor runs, that Eleanor found her way into the labyrinth in which the aged king had trapped Rosamond safe,§ and killed her with her own hand. His unworthy conduct towards the princesses of Brittany and France, earned unextinguishable hates. His fatherly love was fixed, most of all, on his sons Henry and Geoffrey—both died. Henry, his eldest, had wished to see his father before his death, and implored his pardon; but treachery was so common an occurrence among these princes, that the aged monarch delayed to go—and he soon learned that it was too late.¶

\* Richardus Pictaviensis, ap. Ser. R. Fr. xli. 622, 623. In the few last lines, I follow M. Thierry's translation.

† J. Maribor, ap. Ser. R. Fr. xvi. 361. Impugnatus et proditor, ut adulter, ut incestus.

‡ Bromton, ap. Ser. R. Fr. xlii. 214. Quam post mortem Rosamunde defloravit.

§ Id. ibid. Hinc puella fecerat rex apud Woodstock mirabilis architecture cameram, operi Dedalino summa, et fœvan a regina facile deprehenderat.

¶ Shortly after his son's death, he took Bertrand de Baux prisoner. "Before he pronounced the conqueror's doom on the conquered, Henry sought to taste for a moment the pleasure of revenge, in mocking a man who had a hundred fear in his breast, and had boasted that he did not fear him. 'Bertrand,' he said, 'you pretend that you never stand in need of half your wit, but I take it the time has come you will want all of it.'—'My lord,' replied the man of the South, with the habitual confidence inspired by his consciousness of the superiority of his mind, 'it is true that I

\* J. Bromton, ap. Ser. R. Fr. xlii. 215. . . . Rejeto pallio per quod benebatur . . . cum reliquis duobus filiis per fenestram ecclesie . . . evolavit.

† This prophecy was—"Aquila rupti fœderis tertio nidi fœderis gubabit," the eagle of the broken alliance, shall rejoice in the third nest-building, or generation.) Ruy de Dierck and Matthew Paris (a. n. 1149) apply it to Eleanor. John of Salisbury says, (ap. Ser. R. Fr. xvi. 334.) "Incipit tempus, ut aiunt, quo Aquila rupti fœderis, juxta Merlini vaticinium, trecentum desaturatur est quod apud epus datur aut modo fabricatur in sinu Armorice," the time draws nigh, as they say, when the eagle of the broken alliance, according to Merlin's prophecy, is about to gild the bit which is given to her wild hour, or which is making for him in Brittany.) The wild hour he takes to mean Henry II.

‡ Aquila bisperita—the name he applies to Eleanor.

two sons were left him—the ferocious Richard the cowardly and perfidious John. Richard thought that his father lived too long: he shed the crown. As his aged parent refused to lay it down, Richard renounced his age to his face, and declared himself the al of the new king of France, Philip-Augustus. Out of hatred to the English monarch, the latter affected to live on the most harsh terms with his revolted son: they off the same dish, and shared the same

Hostilities between the father and son for a time suspended by the preaching of crusade; when Henry found himself attacked on every side—on the north of France by the king of France, on the west by Bretons, and on the south by the Poitevins, withstanding the interference of the Church in his behalf, he was obliged to accept peace Philip and Richard's own terms, to acknowledge himself unreservedly the vassal of king of France, and submit to his mercy.

Henry would at once have declared John, the youngest of his sons, and, as he thought, the most attached to him—heir to all his continental dominions; but when the French ambassadors were ushered into his presence, sick-bedridden as he was, and he inquired the wishes of Richard's supporters, (amnesty for him was a condition of the treaty,) the first name on the list was that of his beloved John. On hearing his name, he was seized with a convulsive movement, sat up in bed, gazing around with searching and haggard eyes, he exclaimed, "Can it be true that John, my heart, the son of my choice, him whom I have loved more than all the rest, and my heir for whom has brought on me all my woes, fallen away from me?" They replied that as even so, that nothing could be more true.

"Well, then," he said, falling back on his pillow, and turning his face to the wall, "henceforward let all go on as it may; I no longer care for myself nor for the world."\*

The fall of Henry II. was a great blow to the power of England. She recovered, though wholly, under Richard; but only to sink lower under John. The papal see took advantage of the reverse of her monarchs, to give two distinct recognitions of its sovereignty;

for John, as well as Henry, avowed himself unreservedly the vassal and the tributary of the pope.

Though the temporal power of the holy see increased, can the same be predicated of its spiritual? Did it not experience some falling off in the popular respect? A high idea of the ability of the popes must assuredly have been inspired by that wily and patient diplomacy of theirs, which could at will amuse, adjourn, clutch its opportunity, and with a "hey, presto," conjure away a kingdom; but all this told ill for their sanctity. Alexander III. had defended Italy against Germany, and had with great skill defended himself against the emperor and the antipope; but, during this time, who had fought for the liberties of the Church? Who had suffered and spoken for the cause of Christianity? A priest! at times deserted, at times betrayed by the pope. In exchange for the blood of a martyr, the pope had accepted the homage of a king; and, now, this martyr has become the great saint of the West: nay, Rome had been obliged to do him homage, and to proclaim him saint, herself. In Gregory the Seventh's time, sanctity had resided in the pope; and the religious sentiment of the people had found its echo in the hierarchy. Subsequently, mankind, emancipated as regards the external world by the crusade—of which the popes were not the leaders—and by the first movement of the communes—at which the popes had struck in the person of Arnold of Brescia—had been aroused in its innermost soul, by the voice of Abelard; and, to carry on its religious emancipation, Thomas of Canterbury had just taught it to seek elsewhere than at Rome for sacerdotal heroism and zeal for the liberties of the Church.

In reality the death of St. Thomas and the abasement of Henry did not advantage the pope, but the king of France. It was he who had given an asylum to the persecuted saint, and his desertion of him had only been momentary. Thomas, when he quitted France to meet martyrdom, had sent him a farewell message in which he had declared him to be his sole protector. The French king had been the first to denounce at Rome the archbishop's murder, and in consequence of it, had immediately attacked the king of England, and though this line of conduct was to his interest, yet the people looked up to him for it. The pope himself, when expelled by the emperor from Italy, had chosen France for his place of refuge; and thus, though he had more than once interposed to protect England when threatened by France, yet it was with the latter country that he maintained the most intimate and most uninterrupted relations. In fact, the only prince on whom the Church could rely was the king of France, the enemy alike of the Englishman and of the German. "Thy kingdom," wrote Innocent III. to Philip-Augustus, "is so blended with the Church, that the one cannot

\* See also in the saying I have only spoken the truth 'and I' said the king, 'think that you have lost your son.' 'You may lose,' replied Bertrand, seriously, 'I lost the day that the valiant young king, your son, on that day I lost with, intellect, and consequence.' 'The name of his son the mention of which came quite fresh upon him the king of England burst into tears and fainting. When he came to himself, he was his man, his plans of vengeance were forgotten, and he came to his senses the old friend of the man whose he had slain. Instead of bitter reproaches, and of the re of death or of condemnation which Bertrand expected, 'were Bertrand to Bertrand' said the king, 'well you have lost your son, but about my son for he loved you I then ought not to have said, for his sake, I give you the sword to defend your cause. I offer you my friendship my love, and grant you five hundred marks of silver as compensation for the harm you have sustained.' 'Thank you, my lord,' said Bertrand.

suffer without the other's suffering also." Even when the Church chastised the king, she preserved a maternal affection for him. When Philippe I. and the whole kingdom were lying under interdict on account of that monarch's abduction of Bertrade, all the bishops of the North sided with him, and pope Pascal II. himself did not scruple to visit him.\*

On all occasions, great or small, the bishops armed their feudatories for his service. Even within the states of the duke of Burgundy, Louis VII. was supported by the militia of nine dioceses on the alarm of invasion by Frederick Barbarossa.† In like manner they had risen in aid of Louis VI. on the approach of the emperor Henry V.,‡ and in like manner they ranged themselves under Philip-Augustus at Bouvines. How could the clergy have done otherwise than defend kings brought up by themselves, and receiving from them a strictly clerical education! Philippe I., who was crowned when but seven years old, was able to read the oath to which he was to subscribe.§ Louis VI. was brought up in the abbey of St. Denys, and Louis VII. in the cloisters of Notre-Dame.|| Three of the latter's brothers were monks. No one regarded with more respect and terror the Church's privileges than himself.¶ He revered the priests, and gave the precedence to the lowliest son of the Church. The protector of Thomas of Canterbury, he risked a dangerous voyage to England to visit the saint's tomb\*\*—yet was not the king of France himself a saint! Philippe I., Louis le Gros, and Louis VII., touched for the king's evil, and could not answer the demands on their time made by the confiding people on this account. The king of England would not have dreamed of claiming the gift of working miracles.††

Thus did this good king of France wax great, both God-ward and world-ward. The vassal of St. Denys, as soon as he has acquired the Vexin, he hoisted the banner of the abbey, the

oriflamme, in his van.\* He charged his arms with the mystic *fleur-de-lis*—the emblem of the ideas of the middle age, of the purity of his faith. As protector of churches, he chased their revenues when a see was vacant, and under pretext of making a crusade, attempted to raise some contributions from the clergy.\*

Philip-Augustus did not degenerate from his sire. Saving his two divorces and the mission of England, no monarch was more to the priests' own hearts. Notwithstanding acquisitions made by the crown of France, he was a cautious prince, rather pacific than warlike. The *Philippide* of Guillaume-le-Breton, a classical imitation of the *Æneid* by one of this king's chaplains, has given rise to misconceptions of his real character; and writers of romance have done their best to exalt him to a hero of chivalry. But, in fact, the great successes of his reign, and even the victory of Bouvines itself, were the fruits of his policy and of his protection of the Church.

He was surnamed Augustus from his being born in the month of August. Our earliest glimpse of him shows him at fourteen years of age fallen sick through fright at having lost his way and passed a whole night in a forest. The first act of his reign was eminently popular, and agreeable to the Church—being the expulsion and spoliation of the Jews, in compliance with the advice of a hermit of great repute at the time, who resided near Paris. According to the notions of the age, this was a profession of piety, and full of encouragement to Christians. The Jews' debts, confined in prison, did not fail to applaud!

Blasphemers and heretics were delivered without pity to the Church, and religiously burnt.¶ Philip hunted down the mercenary soldiers who had been scattered over the South by the English kings, and had taken to plunder on their own account, encouraging the popular association formed against them of the *Capuchons*.\*\* He directed his efforts against

\* See above, p. 220.

† Radevic, Frising, ad ann. 1157.

‡ Suger, *Vita Lud. Grossi*, ap. Ser. R. Fr. xii. 51.

§ Coronatio Phil. I. ap. Ser. R. Fr. xi. 32. *Ipse legit, dum aditur septennis ætate. The oath began, "I will defend, as a king in his kingdom ought, every bishop, and the church intrusted to him."* &c.

|| Suger, *Vita Lud. Grossi*, ap. Ser. R. Fr. xii. 14.—*Frag. de Lud. vii. lib. 90.*

\*\* On his return from a journey, (A. D. 1154,) he is surprised by night-fall at Creteil. Stopping there, he quarters himself on the inhabitants, who were serfs of the church of Paris. As soon as the canons hear of it, they discontinue divine service until the monarch indemnifies their born serfs, for the charges to which he has put them. Louis, says Stephen of Paris, gave the indemnification sought, and the deed to this effect was engraved on a staff, *cræge*, which the church of Paris long preserved in token of its liberties. *Art de Vérifier les Dates*, v. 522.

\*\* Chronic. Normannic, ap. Ser. R. Fr. xii. 790. *Transfretavit in Angliam, pergens ad S. Thomam Cantuariensem.*—Roger de Hoveden observes, that it was the first time a king of France had been seen in England.

†† Gilbert, *Novar.* l. i. c. i. The kings of England did not arrogate this gift, until they had assumed the title and arms of kings of France. *Art de Vérifier les Dates*, v. 510.

\* See the diploma of Louis the Fat, in the twelfth volume of the Ser. R. Fr., and the note of the editor there.

† *Fragm. Histor.* ap. Ser. R. Fr. xii. 95.

‡ *Chronica Reg. Franc.* lib. 214. . . . . *Romanus salva sine societate Philippus; unde stupens factus commotorem, et tandem per carbonarium fuit reductus captivum; et ex hoc timore sibi contigit infirmitas, que dicitur coronationem.*

§ *Ibid.* . . . "He had them all spoiled in one day those who refused baptism secreted themselves." They paid 15,000 marks, by way of ransom. *Read. de Diversis* ap. Ser. R. Fr. xiii. 204.—*Rigordus, Vita Phil. Aug.* ap. Ser. R. Fr. xvii. Philip annulled all debts due to the Jews, with the exception of a fifteenth which he claimed for himself. See also, the Chronicle of Mailros, ap. Ser. R. Fr. xii. 33.

¶ Shakspeare's Shylock is no vain personification of the character of the Jews, and of the hatred borne them.

\*\* Guillelmus Britonis *Philippiden*, l. i. "He would not permit any one to live, throughout his kingdom, who contravened the laws of the Church, who disagreed with one single point of the Catholic faith, or who denied its sacraments."

\*\* The members of this association were bound by a vow: they only passed their word to labor in connection to the preservation of the public peace. All wore a cord of cloth, and suspended a small image of the Virgin from their neck. In 1163, they surrounded seven thousand houses of coterreux, among whom were fifteen hundred women of

such of the barons as oppressed the Church, and attacked his cousin, the duke of Burgundy, in order to compel him to treat the prelates of that province with more respect; and he defended the church of Reims against similar oppression. He wrote to the count of Toulouse, requiring him to respect God's holy churches, and, in short, his victory at Bouvines was thought to be the salvation of the clergy of France—since a report had been spread that Otto the Fourth's barons sought to spoil the Church and divide its possessions among them, as did his allies, king John and the heretics of Languedoc.

## CHAPTER VI.

1200. INNOCENT III.—TRIUMPHS OF THE POPE, THROUGH THE ARMS OF THE NORTHERN FRENCH, OVER THE KING OF ENGLAND AND THE EMPEROR OF GERMANY, OVER THE GREEK EMPIRE, AND OVER THE ALBIGEOIS.—GREATNESS OF THE KING OF FRANCE.

THE world wore a sombre aspect at the close of the twelfth century. The ancient order of things was in peril: the new had not begun. It was no longer the material struggle between the pope and emperor, each alternately expelling the other from Rome, as in the time of Henry IV. and Gregory VII. in the eleventh century, the evil was on the surface, in the year 1200, it lay at the heart. Christianity labored under a deep and dreadful ill. How would it have rejoiced to return to the quarrel of the right of investiture, and to have to fight only for the straight staff, or the crook! In the time of Gregory VII., the Church was identified with the progress of freedom, and, up to the days of Alexander III., the head of the Lombard league, she had pursued the same career. But Alexander had shrunk from supporting Thomas Becket. He had defended the liberties of Italy, and betrayed those of England. Thus was the Church about to isolate herself from the great movement of the world. Instead of guiding it, and leading it the way, as she had hitherto done, she strove to stay this movement, to arrest the flight of time, to stop the earth which turned under her and bore her along with it—to strike movement motionless. Success seemed to crown Innocent III., but Boniface VIII. perished in the endeavor.

1200. The *chronique* says the *Chronicle of St. Denis* (see R. Fr. vol. 354) burnt the monasteries and churches and dragged after them the priests and religious carrying them marking *centades* chapters, and when they least and lamented them they would say *centades centades* Chapters, chant. See also *Regulus* (1111-12). The women made coats out of the communion cloth and dashed the communion cups to pieces with stones. *Guil. de Nog.* ad ann. 1193. See also *D. Vaissette Hist. Génér. de Languedoc*, t. iii. ann. 1193.

Solemn moment, and infinitely sad. The hopes raised by the crusade had failed the world. Authority no longer seemed above attack: she had promised, and had deceived. Liberty began to dawn, but under twenty fantastic and repulsive aspects—confused, convulsive, multiform, and deformed. Human will brought forth daily, and started back shocked at her progeny. It was as in the days of the great week of the creation—those days of ages: nature in her throes produced strange, gigantic, ephemeral, monstrous abortions, whose remains breathe horror.

One ray of light pierced through this mysterious chaos of the twelfth century, (the work of the uneasy and trembling Church,) a belief, of soaring audacity, in the moral power and grandeur of man. The bold doctrine of the Pelagians—*Christ received no more than I, I can make myself God through virtue*—was revived in the twelfth century, in barbaric and mystic guise. Man asserts that the end is come, that himself is that end. He believes in himself, and feels himself divine. Messiahs arise on every side. And it is not in Christendom alone, but even within the range of Mahometanism, the enemy of the incarnation, that man esteems himself divine and worships himself. The Fatimates of Egypt had already set the example. The chief of the Assassins also declares that he is the maum who has been so long expected—the incarnate spirit of Ali, and the melchid of the Almohades of Africa and of Spain is recognised as divine by his followers. In Europe, a messiah appears in Antwerp, and is followed by the entire populace.\* Another, starting up in Brittany, seems to have revived the ancient Irish gnosticism† Amaury de Chartres, and his disciple, David of Dinan, teach that every Christian is essentially a member of Christ,‡ or, in other

\* He preached the inefficacy of the sacraments, of the mass, and of a priestly order, together with community of women &c. He went from place to place attired in garments richly embroidered with gold, his long hair confined by fillets and followed by three thousand disciples whom he teased contemptuously. *Bulletin Historique Université Parisienne* n. 96. He spread his errors by the mouth of matrons and poor women. . . he declaimed, attended like a king, by guards bearing sword and banner. *Épique Trépigne Lesley ap. Gieseler* n. Second Part, p. 679.

† He was called *Eon de l'Étoile*. The name *Eon* (son) suggests the idea of gnosticism. He was a gentleman of Laulère, and when a hermit in the forest of Brevelande, was attracted by Merlin to pay attention to the first words from the gospel which he should hear at mass. He conceived that he was marked out by the words *Ecce Eum qui venturus est pulcrum* &c. by Him who is about to come to judge &c. and thenceforward proclaimed himself the Son of God. He put together a number of disciples whom he called *Herem Judgement Science* &c. — *Ende*, by birth a Breton, surrounded of the Mar, Illiers, and an abbot of the French called *Eon* powerful by the nature of the day, to cure the minds of the simple.

‡ A great number of churches and monasteries. *Guil. Noyon* l. i. See also *Urbis of Freysingen* c. 54, 55, *R. Fr. de M. et. Gauchet de Nogent*, *Boudou* n. 241, *D. Michel* p. 100. *Requiescat* Hist. des Ducs de Bretagne, t. i.

§ Rigned up. See R. Fr. vol. 375. *Quid quilibet Christianus tenetur credere se esse membrum Christi* — *et ad Patrem* *Quam unum quod quilibet est est Deus, Deus stabilibus indutus instrumentis. Filius immo-*

words, that God is perpetually incarnate in the human race. The Son has reigned long enough, they say; the reign of the Holy Ghost is come. In some degree, this is Lessing's notion with regard to the education of man.

The audacity of these teachers, who are mostly professors in the university of Paris, (chartered by Philip-Augustus in the year 1200,) exceeds all bounds. Abelard was thought to be for ever crushed; but he lives again, and speaks in the person of his disciple, Peter the Lombard, who, from his chair at Paris, exercises despotic sway over the whole philosophy of Europe: his works had nearly five hundred commentators. This spirit of innovation accepts of two auxiliaries. Jurisprudence grows up by the side of theology, which it disturbs; and the popes, by forbidding priests to profess it, open and confine the chairs of law to laymen. From Constantinople come the metaphysics of Aristotle, while his commentators, brought from Spain, are about to be translated from the Arabic by order of the kings of Castile, and of the Italian princes of the house of Suabia, (Frederick II. and Manfred.) This is neither more nor less than the invasion of Christian philosophy by Greece and the East. Aristotle ranks almost equally with Jesus Christ.\* At first prohibited, and then tolerated by the popes, he reigns openly and aloud in every professorial chair; his power, however, being secretly divided with Arab and with Jew, with the pantheism of Averroës and the subtleties of the Cabala. Logic claims possession of all subjects, and opens up every bold speculation. Simon of Tournai teaches how to prove black or white, at will. One day that he had delighted and transported the school of Paris by his felicitous arguments in proof of the truth of Christianity, he suddenly exclaimed, "Oh, little Jesus, little Jesus, how I have exalted thy law! If I chose, I could still more easily humble it to the dust."†

Such were the pride and intoxication of the *I* on its first awaking. It attacks the *Not-I* under three forms, by philosophy, republicanism, and the spirit of industry. It breaks authority to pieces, and subdues nature. The school of Paris springs up between the young commons of Flanders and the old municipalities of the South—'tis logic between industry and commerce.

However, an immense religious movement fired the popular mind, bursting forth in two

points at one and the same moment—the rationalism of the Vaudois in the Alps, and German mysticism on the Rhine and in the Low Countries.

And, in truth, the Rhine is a sacred stream, the seat of legend and of marvel. I do not allude only to its heroic course between Metz and Cologne, where it bursts its way through basalt and granite. Southward and northward of this, its feudal career, as it approaches the holy cities, Cologne, Mentz, and Strasbourg: it puts on milder features, becomes less swift and more popular, its banks trend off gently into lovely plains, and it steals in silent current beneath the veering bark, and the sweepings of the fisher. But all that belongs to the poetry; though a poetry not easy to define. 'Tis now the vague impression of vastness, calm, and sweetness: now, a mother's voice recalling one's elemental nature, and, like a spirit of the ballad, making one thirst to play to the bottom of the cooling lymph; now, by chance, the poetic attraction of the Virgin, whose churches deck the whole course of the Rhine as far as her own city of Cologne—the city of the eleven thousand virgins. Her exquisite cathedral, with its sparkling rose-windows, and aerial balustrades, whose steps rise to the sky—the Virgin's own church did not exist in the twelfth century: but the Virgin did. Not a spot on the Rhine but she was there present, a simple German woman—whether beautiful or ugly, I know not—pure, touching, and resigned. For we point to the picture of the Annunciation at Cologne—where the angel presents the Virgin not with a lovely lily as in the Italian paintings, but a book, opened at a passage hard to bear—Christ's passion before his birth; before the reception, all the pangs of a mother's heart. To the Virgin has had her passion, too. It was she, it was woman, who resuscitated the Germans of Germany. Mysticism awoke through the remains of Germany and of the Low Countries. The knights and the noble *minnesingers* sought a real woman—the charming spouse of the last grave of Thuringia, so celebrated in the poetic contests of Wartbourg. The people adored an ideal one: mild Germany required a God-woman. With the Germans, the symbol of mystery is the rose. Simplicity and profundity mingle in this dreamy childhood of a people to whom it is given never to grow old, because living in the infinite and the eternal.

This mystic genius, apparently, was to die away as it descended the Scheldt and Rhine, and encountered Flemish sensuality and the industry of the Low Countries. But, here, industry had herself created a world of wretched

natus, i. e. visibilis forme subjectus. Filius usque nunc operatus est, sed Spiritus Sanctus ex hoc nunc usque ad mundi consummationem inchoat operari.

\* Averroës, ap. Gieseler, Second Part, p. 378. "Aristotle is the type, formed by nature to show the perfection to which man may come."—Cornelius Agrippa said in the fourteenth century, "Aristotle was the forerunner of Christ in natural things, as John the Baptist was . . . in things of grace." Ibid.

† Matth. Paris, ap. Ser. R. Fr. xvii. 681. God punished him, he became so idiotical that his son could scarcely bring him to remember his Fathermost.

\* Matth. Paris, ann. 1250, ap. Gieseler, II. Second Part, p. 339. "An immense number of chaste women, who called themselves Beguines, arose in Germany, so that there were a thousand or more in Cologne alone."—Beguine, from the Saxon *Beggen*, in Ulphilas, *Beggen*, (in German, *Beggin*) "to pray." Mosheim, de Beghards et Beguinarum, p. 58, seq.

men, weaned from nature, imprisoned by their daily wants in the shades of a dark factory, laborious, poor, meritorious, and disinherited. Deprived of that cheering light of day and share in the sun's glad beams which God, of his goodness, seems to promise to all his children, they learned by hearsay the charms of the verdure of the country, of the song of birds, and of the perfume of the flowers: a race of captives, the monks of industry, unmarried through poverty, or else married to their misery, and suffering in the sufferings of their children. Greatly did these poor weavers stand in need of God; and, in the twelfth century, God visited them, illumined their sombre dwellings, and, at least, cradled them to rest with apparitions and dreams. Solitary and almost savage in the midst of the most populous cities in the world, they embraced God, as their only good, with all their soul. By degrees, the God of cathedrals, the rich God of the rich and of the priests, became a stranger to them. Let who would try to rob them of their faith, they died at the stake for it, full of hope, and enjoying the future in anticipation. At times, also, pushed to extremity, they would emerge from their cellars to unaccustomed light, fierce to look upon with their large and hard blue eye, so common in Belgium, and badly armed with their tools, but formidable from their blind recklessness and numbers. At Ghent, the weavers occupied twenty-seven *correfours*, and constituted one of the three civic bodies.\* In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the weavers in and around Ypres amounted to above two hundred thousand souls.†

Rarely did the spark of fanaticism fall in vain on these large multitudes. The other trades would take part with them; less numerous, indeed, but burly men, better fed, ruddy, robust, and bold, rough and rude, who had faith in the bigness of their arms and weight of their hands, smiths, who, in a revolt, hammered on the cuirass of the knights as on their own anvils, fullers, bakers, who kneaded revolt as they did their loaves,—butchers, who had no scruple in practising their calling on men. In the mud and smoke, in the dense crowd, and in the sad-denning and confused hum of these huge cities, there is, and we have felt it, a something that mounts to the head—the gloomy poetry of rebellious desires. The men of Ghent, Bruges, and Ypres armed, and trained to fall at once into regimental order, mustered at the first sound of the bell under the banner of the Burgomaster, wherefore they did not always know, but they only fought the better for their ignorance—the disturbance was occasioned either by the count or the bishop, or by their own people. These Flemings were not too partial to the priests, and had stipulated, in 1193, in the privileges of Ghent, for the power

of unbenevolent their *cures* and chaplains at pleasure.‡

Far other were the feelings at the foot of the Alps, where a different principle brought about a similar revolution. From an earlier period, the mountaineers of Piedmont and of Dauphiny, a reasoning race, of temperament cooled down by the wind of their glaciers, had rejected symbols, images, crosses, mysteries—all the poetry of Christianity. They neither indulged in the pantheism of Germany, nor the illuminism of the Low Countries; theirs was pure good sense, dry, prosaic reasoning, and a critical turn of mind, under a rude and popular form. As early as Charlemagne, Claude of Turin had begun this reform on the Italian *versant* of the Alps; and it was resumed, in the twelfth century, on the French *versant*, by Pierre de Bruys, who came from Gap or Embrun—the district which supplies our South-eastern provinces with schoolmasters. He came down from his mountain home to the South, crossed the Rhône, preaching everywhere to the people with immense success, (Henri, his disciple, had still more,) penetrated as far north as Maine, followed in all places by the multitude, unheeding the clergy, breaking the crosses in pieces, and teaching that worship consisted in the outpouring of the heart. These sectaries, repressed for a time, reappear at Lyons, headed by the merchant *Vaud* or *Waldus*; and, in Italy, under the teaching of Arnold of Brescia. No heresy, says a Luminican, is more dangerous than theirs, because *none strikes deeper root*.§ He is in the right; for their doctrine is the protest of reason against authority, of prose against poetry. The Waldenses announced their design to be the restoration of the Church to apostolic purity and poverty—they were called the poor of Lyons. As we have already stated, the church of Lyons had always piqued herself on her fidelity to the traditions of primitive Christianity. The Waldenses were simple enough to seek license to preach from the pope;¶ which was equivalent to asking his leave for them to separate themselves from the Church. Repulsed, persecuted, and proscribed, they, nevertheless, held out in the mountains and cold valleys of the Alps—the cradle of their belief—until the massacres of Merindol and of Cabrières, in the reign of Francis the First, and the birth of Zuinglianism and Calvinism, whose followers styled them their precursors, and endeavored to make out by them a claim for their recent

\* And, as well, that no burgher of Ghent was to be cited out of the town, on occasional matters. Underghent, 64, 169.

† Petri Venerabilis Episcopi ad Arles, Elzeviri, 1800, Wap., episcopus, ap. Guizot, H. P. D., p. 671. See, too, above, p. 169.

‡ Reimarus contra Waldenses, c. 4, ap. Guizot, H. P. D., p. 507. Inter omnes sectas que sunt vel fuerunt . . . est durissima.

§ Joseph de Bérthol, ibid. p. 518. Hi multa prestant innotata prebentibus autoritatem sibi confirmant. See, also, Chénier, L'opusc. ibid. p. 511.

\* 18, Septuor: Chronique de Flandre, 6d. 286.

† See p. 172, and the fourth note, p. 170.

church to the apostolical succession, in opposition to the claim of the church of Rome, but how, is more than I can say.

The characteristics, then, of reform in the twelfth century, were rationalism in the Alps and along the Rhône, and mysticism along the Rhine. In Flanders, they were mixed; and still more so in Languedoc.

This country of Languedoc was a receptacle for all races, and was a positive Babel. Lying at the angle of the high road between France, Spain, and Italy, it exhibited a fusion of Iberian, Gallic, Roman, Saracen, and Gothic blood. These different elements clashed rudely with each other, and Languedoc was fated to be the grand arena of the contest between creeds and races. What creeds? I may say, all. Their opponents themselves could not distinguish the differences between them, and could find no other way of designating them than by the name of a town—Albi (hence Albigeois, Albigenesens.)\*

The Semitic element—the Jewish and Arab—was prominent in Languedoc. Narbonne had long been the capital of the Saracens in France, and Jews abounded there. Ill-treated, but still allowed on sufferance, they flourished at Carcassonne, Montpellier, and Nîmes; in which towns their rabbins opened public schools. They formed the connecting link between Christians and Mahometans, between France and Spain; and the sciences applicable to our material wants, as medicine and geometry, were studies common to the professors of the three modes of faith. Montpellier

entertained stricter relations with Salerno or Cordova than with Rome; but an active commerce brought all into constant intercourse by sea rather approximating than dividing them. Since the crusades, especially, Upper Languedoc had inclined, as it were, to the Mediterranean, and turned towards the east—the coast of Toulouse, were counts of Tripoli. In manners, and the doubtful faith of the Christians of the Holy Land, had flowed back or inundated our southern provinces. The beautiful coins and the beautiful stuffs\* of Asia had done much to reconcile our crusaders with the Mahometan world. The merchants of Languedoc were ever passing over into Asia, on shoulder; but it was to visit the market of Acre rather than the holy sepulchre at Jerusalem; and so far had religious antipathies given way to mercantile considerations, that the bishops of Maguelone and of Montpellier could take Saracen money, had their profit on the money and discounted, without scruple, the money of the crescent.†

Nobility, one would think, ought to have been out better against novelties: but, far differs from the ignorant and pious chivalry of the North, who, even in the year 1200, would have been ready to take the cross, these nobles of the South were men of understanding, who could form a shrewd estimate, at least the majority of them, of what their nobility was. There were few of them who, in looking at their genealogical tree, could not find, at no long date, some Saracen or Jewish ancestress—perhaps a grandmother. We have already seen how Eudes, (Odo,) the ancestor of Aquitaine, Charles Martel's opponent, gave his daughter in marriage to a Saracen emperor. In the Carolingian romances, Christian warriors marry without scruple their beautiful liberators—ever the sultan's daughter. So to say, in this land of Roman jurisprudence, ended with the old municipalities of the empire, there were no nobles, strictly speaking, or rather, all were noble; that is, the inhabitants of the cities, who were held noble as compared with those of the country. The burghers, like

\* According to the *Histoire Générale de Languedoc*, by the Benedictine monks, the term is more accurately derived from Albigenum, the general denomination of Narbonne Gaul in this century. "Peter Waldis, or Waldensis, a native of Lyons," says Dean Waddington, (*History of the Church*, p. 333, 4.) "was a layman and a merchant; but, notwithstanding the avocations of a secular life, he had studied the real character of his church with attention, followed by shame. Stung by the spectacle of so much impurity, he abandoned his profession, distributed his wealth among the poor, and formed an association for the diffusion of scriptural truth. He commenced his ministry about the year 1150. Having previously caused several parts of the Scriptures to be translated into the vulgar tongue, he expounded them with great effect to an attentive body of disciples, both in France and Lombardy. In the course of his exertions he probably visited the valleys of Piedmont; and there he found a people of congenial spirits. They were called Valdous or Waldenses, (Men of the Valleys;) and as the preaching of Peter may probably have confirmed their opinions, and cemented their discipline, he acquired and deserved his surname by his residence among them. At the same time, their connection with Peter and his real Lyonnese descent, established a notion of their identity; and the Valdous, in return for the title which they had bestowed, received the religious appellation of Leonists; such a sect appears the most probable among many varying accounts."—*Ibid.* p. 335. "The persecution of Peter Waldenses, and the dispersion of his followers, occasioned, as in so many similar instances, the dissemination of the opinions; and, notwithstanding some partial sufferings which were inflicted in Piedmont by Philippe-Auguste, they were numerous and flourishing yet at the conclusion of the twelfth century. They were often confounded in name with the Vaudois, in crime and exaltation with the Cathari, and Patarissians, and other adversaries of papacy. But of these various descriptions such as were found in France during the pontificate of Innocent III. were known by the general name of Albigeois or Albigenesens."—*TRANSLATOR.*

\* Richard wore at Cyprus a silk mantle, embroidered with crescents of silver.

† *Epistola Pape Clementis IV., Episcop. Maguelone*, an. 1266, in *Thesaur. Novo Anecd.* t. II. p. 463.—"Tunc touching the coin (de moneta Millarense) which you are having minted in your diocese, we marvel by whose advice thou dost this thing. . . . For what Catholic ought to strike coin in Mahomet's name? . . . If you regard reason in your defence, you accuse both yourself and professors of counterfeiting."—In 1268, St. Louis writes to his brother, Alphonse, count of Toulouse, reproaching him with allowing money to be struck in his country of the Vismaison, with a Mahometan inscription:—"On the inscription of which coin mention is made of the name of the perfidious Mahomet, and he is there called the Prophet of God, which is to his praise and exaltation, and to the contempt of the Christian faith and name: we request you to put a stop to the practice."—According to Bessart, (*Ac. des Inscript.* xxx. 725.) this letter should be found in a register long since lost, and restored to the *Trésor de Chartes* in 1744; however, I have ascertained that the register is no longer to be found there.

‡ See above, p. 119.





Church was the cry. They cared little for interdicts. The count of Comminges lived, in peace, with three wives at once; and Raymond VI., count of Toulouse, kept a harem. Even as a youth, the latter addicted himself, by preference, to his father's concubines. This French Judæa, as Languedoc has been called, did not remind one of its prototype by its bituminous springs\* and olive-trees alone: it had its Sodom and Gomorrah, and it was to be feared that the vengeance of the Church would give it its Dead Sea as well.

It is not surprising to find that eastern doctrines had made their way in this country. Every belief had been entertained there; but their traces have been lost in Manicheism, the most hateful of all in Christian eyes. Manicheism had appeared in Spain, early in the middle age; and introduced into Languedoc from Bulgaria and Constantinople;† it easily gained footing there. This Persian dualism seemed to our southerners to explain the contradiction alike presented by the material world and man. A heterogeneous race, they willingly accepted a heterogeneous universe. Together with the God of goodness, they required a god of evil, to whom they could ascribe whatever is discordant between the Old Testament and the New;‡ and to which God they imputed the degradation of Christianity and the abasement of the Church. In themselves, and in their own corruption, they recognised the hand of a maleficent creator, who made a sport of the world. To the good God they referred the spirit, to the bad, the flesh; which it behoved to immolate; and in this immolation is the great mystery of Manicheism, since two roads might be followed to that end. Was this flesh to be subdued by abstinence, fasting, the renunciation of marriage, the diminution of human life by renouncing the power of propagation, and the depriving the demon who created it of all which human will can tear from him—according to which system, the highest principle of life is death, and suicide, its perfection? or else, was the flesh to be subdued by surfeiting it, by soothing the monster to silence, by filling

its gaping jaws, and throwing it a sopor on the rest—at the risk of throwing it all, and one's whole self being swallowed up!

We are very imperfectly acquainted with precise doctrines of the Manicheans of Languedoc. From the accounts of their customs we see that many contradictory things were imputed to them, which, undoubtedly, applied to different sects. According to some, God created the world: according to others, he did not. Some proclaim salvation by works; others, by faith.‡ These preach a material God; some think that Jesus Christ did not really die, and that it was a shadow which suffered on the cross.‡ Elsewhere, these innovators are presented as saying that they preach to all, while many of them exclude women from eternal happiness.§ They pretend to simplify the law; yet prescribe a hundred grandfatherly duties.¶ The one point in which they are agreed, is hatred of the God of the Old Testament. "This God who promises, and who does not perform, is," they say, "a liar: Moses and Joshua were roustabouts in his pay."

"In the first place, we must premise that heretics recognised two creators; the one, the Creator of things invisible, whom they called the good God; the other, the maker of the visible world, whom they called the wicked God. In the first they attributed the New Testament to the second, the Old; which they wholly rejected, with the exception of some passages quoted from it into the New, and which they receive through their respect for the law.

"They said that the author of the Old Testament was a liar, because it is said in the book of Genesis, 'But of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, thou shalt not eat of it: for in the day that thou eatest thereof thou shalt surely die;' and yet, they argued, after eating they did not die. They also treated him as a homicide for having reduced to ashes the inhabitants of Sodom and Gomorrah, and destroyed the world by the waters of the deluge, and for having buried under the sea Pharaoh and the Egyptians. They believed all the patriarchs of the Old Testament to be damned, and ranked St. John the Baptist as one of the great devils. They even said among themselves, that the Christ who was born in the earthly and visible Bethlehem, and was crucified at Jerusalem, was only a false Christ; that Mary Magdalen had been his concubine, and

\* See above, p. 163.

† These heretics were called *Bulgares*, or *Cathari*, (Catharists,) from the Greek *καθάρω*, signifying pure. Mon. Antiquod. ap. Gieseler, II. P. 2, p. 468: *Hæresis quæ Bulgæcorum vocant*.—Godefr. Mon. ibid. p. 491. "Our Germany calls them *Cathari*, Flanders *Pipiles*, and France *Tricartans*, from their trade of weaving."—The mystic Beghards also took the name of Pious Workmen, Brother Weavers. On the contrary, the clothiers exhibited a mundane and prosaic spirit. A religious brotherhood, consisting chiefly of weavers, was formed in the thirteenth century, in Lombardy and Tuscany: its origin may undoubtedly be sought in Germany. Hüllman, *Friedtweien*, I. 234.

‡ Petrus Vall. *Serm.* c. l. ap. Ser. R. Fr. xix. 5. *Duos creatores, invisibilem scilicet . . . benignum Deum, et visibilem, malignum Deum. Novum Testamentum benigno Deo, vetus vero maligno attribuebant. Alii dicebant quod . . . est creator, sed habuit filios Christum et Diabolum. . . s, with the Magians, Ormuz and Ahriman are subordinated to a supreme God, the Eternal, Zervane Akersene. . . .*

¶ *dicabant quod gallus potest pascere ab umbilico*

\* Mansi, I. 251, ap. Gieseler, II. p. 504. *Ornata quæ sunt, facta erant a Diabolo.*

† Eberhard Liber Antiquæritatis, p. 291. *Et in quibusdam modis confidentes, filium universalium.*—Petrus Vall. *Serm.* c. 2, ap. Ser. R. Fr. xix. 5. *Et in quibusdam modis quantumcumque flagitiosum moris impudenter, . . .*

‡ Id. ibid. The latter, undoubtedly, are rather hostile to the Manicheans.

§ Eberhard, *ibid.*

¶ Eberhard, *ibid.*

¶ Eberhard, *ibid.*

that she was the woman taken in adultery, mentioned in the Gospel. For Christ, they said, never ate, nor drank, nor put on a fleshly body, and was never in this world, save spiritually in St. Paul. We say, in the *earthly and visible Bethlehem*, because the heretics imagined that there was another, invisible earth, where the good Christ was brought into the world and crucified.

"They said, moreover, that the good God had two wives, Colla and Coliba, and that he begat sons and daughters.

"Other heretics said that there was only one creator, but that he had two sons, Christ and the devil. They said, too, that all creatures were originally good, but that they had been corrupted by the ——— mentioned in the Revelation.

"All these unbelievers, members of Anti-christ, first-born of Satan, seeds of sin, children of crime, with their hypocritical tongue, and seducing by lies the heart of the simple, had infected by the poison of their perfidy the whole province of Narbonne. They said that the Roman church was little else than a den of thieves, and was that harlot spoken of in the Revelation. They did away with the Sacraments of the Church so far as to teach publicly that the water consecrated for baptism is just the same as any other water, and that the host of the most blessed body of Christ is nothing more than common bread, imputating in the ears of the simple the horrid blasphemy, that Christ's body, were it the size of the Alps, would have since have been consumed and reduced to nothing by the numbers that have eaten of it. Confirmation and confess on they deemed useless, and holy matrimony, prostitution, and believe that none could be saved who wedded and begat sons and daughters. Denying the resurrection of the flesh, they forged I know not what unbridled fables, saying that our souls are those angelic spirits, which, purged from heaven for their presumptuous apostasy, left their glorious bodies in the air, and that after these souls have succeeded, they passed through several different bodies upon earth, they return, this expiation ended, to resume their former bodies.

"We must also explain that some of these heretics called themselves *perfects* or *good men*, others styled themselves *believers*. The former were strict, earnest, affected chastity, refrained with horror the use of meat, eggs, and cheese, and professed never to lie, while they were uttering chiefly with regard to God, a perpetual lie; they also contended that nothing could justify the taking of an oath. The believers lived in the world, and, without endeavoring to imitate the life of the perfects, hoped, however, for salvation, through the same profession of faith: the two were divided in their way of life, but were one as regarded their creed and their infidelity. The believers gave themselves up to usury, robbery, bonu-

cide, and the pleasures of the flesh, to perjury, and every vice. In fact, they sinned with a sense of perfect safety and license, because they believed that without restoring property wrongfully acquired, without confession or repentance, they could be saved, provided they could repeat a *pater* when at the point of death, and receive imposition of hands from their teachers. These heretics chose from among the perfects, rulers whom they called deacons and bishops, and believed their salvation impossible unless their rulers imposed hands upon them when they were dying. Once a dying man, however great a criminal he might have been, received imposition of hands, and was able to repeat a *pater*, they believed him saved, and, to use their expression, comforted: he was to fly straight to heaven, without having made any reparation or employed any other mediatory means.

"Some heretics said that no one could sin from the navel downwards. They treated images in the churches as idolatrous, and called bells, the devil's trumpets. They said, too, that it was not a greater sin to sleep with one's mother or one's sister than with any other. One of their greatest follies was to believe that if any of the perfects committed mortal sin, by eating, for instance, ever so little meat, or cheese, or eggs, or any other forbidden food, all whom he had comforted lost the Holy Ghost, and that it was necessary to comfort them over again; and that even those who had been comforted by a host from heaven through the sin of him who had comforted them.

"There were, too, other heretics, named Vaudous, after one Vallus, of Lyons. They were bad, but much less so than the rest; for they agreed with us in many things, and only differed in a few. To pass over the greater number of their heresies, their chief errors lay in four particulars—in their wearing sandals after the manner of the apostles, in asserting that taking an oath, or shedding man's blood, was on no account permissible; and, especially, in maintaining that the earliest arrival, in case of need, might consecrate the body of Jesus Christ, provided he wore sandals, even had he not been ordained by the bishop.

"This brief account of the sects of the heretics may suffice. When any one applies to be admitted to their brotherhood, he who instructs him says, 'Friend, if thou wishest to belong to us, thou must renounce all the articles of the church of Rome.' The reply is, 'I do.' 'Renounce, then, the Holy Ghost from good men.' He then breathes seven times in the candidate's mouth, and says, 'Dost thou renounce the cross which, at thy baptism, the priest has signed over thy breast, shoulders, and head, with oil and the chrism?' 'I do.' 'Dost thou believe that water works thy salvation?' 'I do not.'—'Dost thou renounce the veil which at thy baptism the priest has placed

upon thy head?" "I do." After this fashion, the convertite receives heretical baptism, and denies that of the Church. Then he receives imposition of hands, and a kiss from all present, and is clothed with a black garment, and thenceforward is as one of themselves.\*

Thus, side by side with the Church, rose another Church, whose Rome was Toulouse. One Nicetas, of Constantinople, had presided as pope at a council of Manichean bishops held near Toulouse, in 1167;† at which Lombardy, Northern France, Albi, Carcassonne, and Aran, had been represented by their pastors. Here Nicetas explained the practice of the Asiatic Manicheans; and the people were found eager to learn. The western church was regularly invaded by the east, and by Byzantine Greece. The Vaudois themselves, whose rationalism seems to be the spontaneous birth of the human mind, had employed one, Ydros, who, to judge by his name, must have been a Greek,‡ to write their first publications; and, at the very same time, the field of science was opened

by the introduction of Aristotle and the Arabian Antipathies of language, race, and nation were disappearing. Conrad, emperor of Germany, was related to Manuel Comnenus, and the king of France had bestowed his daughter on the Byzantine Cæsar. The king of Navarre, Sancho the Shut-up,\* had asked in marriage one of the daughters of the chief of the Almohades. Richard Cœur-de-Lion declared himself brother in arms of the sultan Malek-Acy, and offered him his sister's hand. Henry had already threatened the pope with a Mahometan. It is asserted that John had promised the Almohades that he would renounce his religion if they would take up the cause. These English monarchs maintained close relations with Languedoc and Gascony. Richard gave one of his sisters to the king of Castile, and the other to Raymond VI. of Languedoc; and even ceded the Agenois to the latter, as well as renounced all the pretensions of the house of Poitiers to Toulouse. In this manner, heretics and infidels coalesced, drawing together from all sides: a state of things forwarded by fortuitous circumstances, such as the marriage of the emperor, Henry VI., with the heiress of Sicily, which kept up a constant communication between Germany, Italy, and this essentially Arab island. It seemed as if the two human families, the European and Asiatic, were advancing to meet each other, and that each divested herself of some of her peculiarities, in order to differ the less from her sister; so that while the Languedocians adopted the civilization of the Moors and the creeds of Asia, Mahometanism became christianized in Egypt and over great part of Persia and Syria, by adopting, under different forms, the doctrine of the Incarnation.

In the danger that thus threatened the Church, what must not have been the trouble and disquiet of its visible head? Since Gregory the Seventh's time, the pope had claimed the empire of the world, and taken upon himself the responsibility of its future state. Raised to a towering height, he but saw the more clearly the perils by which he was environed. He occupied the spire of the prodigious edifice of Christianity in the middle age—that cathead of human kind—and sat soaring in the clouds on the apex of the cross, as when from the spire of Strasbourg your view takes in far towns and villages on the banks of the Rhine—lippy, and fearfully dizzy position! There he despatched innumerable armies coming, hammer in hand, to the destruction of the grand edifice, tribe by tribe, generation by generation. The massy fabric, it is true, was from the living fabric, framed of apostles, saints, and

\* Petrus Vall. Sarnali, c. l. ap. Ser. R. Fr. xix. 5-7. The following is an extract from an ancient register of the Inquisition at Carcassonne: (*Preuves de l'Hist. du Languedoc*, iii. 371.) "These are the articles in which modern heretics err. 1st, they say, that the body of Christ, in the sacrament of the altar, is simply bread; 2d, they say, that a priest, living in mortal sin, cannot make Christ's body; 3d, that the soul of man is only pure blood; 4th, that simple fornication is no sin; 5th, that all men in the world shall be saved; 6th, that no soul shall enter Paradise until the day of judgment; 7th, that to lend out on usury, on limited terms, is no sin; 8th, that excommunication is not to be feared and can do no hurt; 9th, that to be confessed by a lay brother is as profitable as by a priest or a presbyter; 10th, that the law of the Jews is better than that of the Christians; 11th, that God did not create the products of the earth, but nature; 12th, that the Son of God did not put on true flesh in the ever blessed Virgin's womb, but appeared; 13th, that Easter, penances, and confession, are the Church's devices to extort money from laymen; 14th, that a priest, living in mortal sin, cannot bind or loose; 15th, that no priest can grant indulgences; that whoever is born in lawful matrimony can be saved without baptism." (The Manicheism of the West, although it may have been derived from the Paulicianism of the Greek empire, originally springs, and is more intimately connected with the ancient Manicheism, by rejecting marriage, and by the distinction of the elect, the believers, the auditors, *electi, audientes, et auditores*, and their hierarchy. Manes was held, according to the Paulicians, and was highly honored by the West. This western Manicheism broke out in the East at the beginning of the twelfth century, in the *Liber* of the Bogomiles. Ann. Comnen., (ed. Paris) i. xv. p. 456, 457.)

† See Gieseler, *l. c.* p. 29, p. 495. "In the one thousand one hundred and sixty-seventh year of our Lord, in the month of May, the church of Toulouse brought pope Nicetas to the bishop of St. Feliens, and a great multitude of men and women of the church of Toulouse, and of the other neighboring churches, collected together there, to listen to the doctrine, whereby our lord pope Nicetas was about to be instructed. And after a while Robertus de Sperting, a member of the church of the Franks, came with letters from the archbishop Gellarius, bishop of the church of Albi, and with the chapter, and Bernardus Catalani, bishop of Carcassonne, and the chapter of the church of Arles, and there likewise. . . . Then pope Nicetas said to the church of Toulouse, 'You ask me to tell you the doctrine of the primitive churches, whether in truth or in fiction, and I say to you, that the seven churches of Asia were distinct and independent, and that none did of itself follow the teaching of the other, and so with the churches of Rome, Bulgaria, and Dalmatia, &c., which, on this were not at peace with each other. Do ye likewise.'" Simon, *Nichetus Hist. Eccles.* iv. 404. *Veniens Papi Nicetas in pace a Constantinopoli.* . . .

§ Steph. de Borb. ap. Gieseler, *l. c.* p. 29, 308.

\* See above, p. 102.

† Mahometanism is at this moment combating in Italy with the creed of the country, as it did with Christianity in the time of Frederick II. An important work on the subject was published by a Mussulman lady, the wife of an Englishman, who came to Paris some years since.

‡ See above, p. 170.



against the Albigensis and the foundation of the inquisition. He is said to have seen in a dream the order of the Dominicans shadowed forth by a great tree, on which leaned and was supported the Church of Lateran, on the point of falling.

The more the Church leaned, the higher towered the pride of its head. The more others denied, the more he affirmed. As his enemies grew in numbers, so did he in daring, and the more inflexible did he become. His pretensions rose with his danger, soaring above those of Gregory VII. and Alexander III. No pope dashed kings to pieces as he did. He took their wives from those of France and Leon. The kings of Portugal, Arragon, and England he treated as vassals, and made them pay tribute.\* Gregory VII. had gone so far as to say, or had caused his canonists to say, that the empire had been founded by the devil, and the priesthood by God.† Alexander III. and Innocent III. made themselves the priesthood. To hear them, the bishops were to be nominated, deposed, or assembled at the pope's pleasure, and their judgments, no matter how trivial the cause, reviewed at Rome.‡ There resided the Church herself, the treasury of mercies and of vengeance—and the pope, sole judge of what was just and true, disposed sovereignly of crime and innocence, unmade kings, and made saints.§

The civil world was at the time struggling between the emperor, the king of England, and the king of France—the two first, hostile to the pope. The emperor was the nearest. Germany was in the habit of periodically inundating Italy, and then flowing back, without leaving any particular mark of the deluge. The emperor advanced, lance in rest, through the defiles of the Tyrol, at the head of his large and heavy cavalry, as far as the plain of Roncaglia in Lombardy. There came the jurists of Ravenna and Bologna, to give their opinion on the imperial rights;¶ and when they had proved to the Germans, in Latin, that their

king of Germany, their *Cæsar*, possessed the rights of the old Roman empire, he repaired to Monza, near Milan, to the great assembly of the cities, to assume the Iron crown. But it was a bootless campaign if he did not pass as far as Rome, and force the pope to crown him—points which the emperors rarely cared for. The German barons were soon exhausted by the heat of the Italian sun, they had worn out their bounden time, and they fell off in degrees—so that the emperor recrossed the mountains almost alone, as he best could.\* In all events, he bore away with him a magnificent idea of his rights. The difficulty was to enforce them. The German barons, who had listened patiently to the doctors of Bologna, seldom suffered their leader to put the law so given, in practice: and the greatest of the emperors, even Frederick Barbarossa, failed in a hard attempt. Henry VI. was born with these notions of the greatness of his empire coupled with the consciousness of his own powerlessness, and all the rancors of the ancient contest. He was perhaps the only emperor who had none of the German mildness in his composition. He showed himself a sanguinary conqueror and furious tyrant to Normandy and Sicily,† which he claimed in right of his wife; and he died young, either poisoned by her, or worn out by his own passions. His son—the ward of pope Innocent III.—was a thorough Italian and Sicilian emperor, a friend of the Arabs and a scourge of the Church.

The king of England was scarcely less hostile to the pope, being alternately his enemy and his vassal; a lion alternately breaking and wearing his chain: and as it happened to a lion-hearted Richard was king at the time. Richard the Aquitanian, the true son of his mother Eleanor, and whose rebellions were her on the infidelities of Henry II. Richard and his brother John loved their mother's country, the South, and kept up an everlasting understanding with Toulouse, with the enemies of the Church. Even while pledging themselves to undertake the crusade, or while engaged in it, they entertained relations with the Mussulmans.

The young Philippe, who was king at first under the guardianship of the count of Flanders (A. D. 1180,) and directed by one Clement of Metz, his governor and marshal of the palace, married the daughter of the count, notwithstanding the opposition of his mother and of his uncles, the princes of Champagne. This marriage united the race of Capet with that of Charlemagne, the counts of Flanders being descended from the latter;§ and his father-

\* Guizot, l. i. p. 2, p. 106.

† Id. l. i. p. 95.

‡ Decret. l. Greg. l. ii. tit. 28, c. 11. (Alex. III.) De apostolica potestate, pro quocunque levatus a fratre, non minus est, quam si pro fratre fierent, de ceterum.—Gregory VII. had also required from the metropolitans an oath of homage and fealty. Acta Roman. Synod. ann. 1079, lib. 217. Abbat. hereticum et infidelium B. Petro et pope Gregorio.

§ Decret. l. Greg. l. iii. tit. 45, c. 1. (Alex. III.)

¶ Although the emperor's titles may be wrought by him, ye must not pay him the worship as a saint, without authority from Rome.—Greg. Later. iv. c. 62. "Let none presume to worship the emperor, or pay him oaths, without the approval of the Roman church." Innocent III. went so far as to say, that the emperor's title was committed not only the Church, but the pope, and the pope would to Peter's rule."

§ Gregory VII. the emperor's title, raised a shower of anathemas.—Corrad. Zuchet. sp. M. ren. Collect. (Bibl. de la Cour de V. 201.) Rome was protected by her walls.

§ Rome, l. i. c. 1. non necesse est uberrime frugum.

Romanorum, l. i. c. 1. non necesse est uberrime frugum.

¶ P. D. M. l. i. c. 1. non necesse est uberrime frugum.

§ Rome, l. i. c. 1. non necesse est uberrime frugum. In the towers of Rome, no man is so faithful, as Diamanti, République Italienne, l. i.

\* Ibid. p. 72, 168. Otto Frising. l. ii. c. 25. Baron. Ann. c. 75-78.

† See Ranner, Geschichte der Hohenstaufen, III. l. 8.

‡ At this period, an humble office.

§ R. levan Bras de Fer had carried off and then married Judith, Charles the Bold's daughter. Epist. Mich. l. 1. p. 307. R. Fr. vi. 301, 307. Hincmar. Epist. lib. 204.



led to so much abuse; and attaching themselves to the caliph of Bagdad, this old idol, so long the slave of a succession of military leaders, saw himself the object of their voluntary homage, and the recipient of their conquests. They pursued with fury, and put to death without mercy, the Alides, the Assassins, the free-thinkers, the *philassafe* or philosophers,\* just as innovators in religious matters were hunted down in Europe: a strange spectacle—two hostile religions, strangers to one another, unconsciously agreeing, and at the same period, in proscribing freedom of thought! Nouredin, like Innocent III., was a legist,† and his general, Salaheddin, (Saladin,) was overthrowing the Mussulman schismatics of Egypt, while Simon de Montfort was exterminating the Christian schismatics of Languedoc.

However, the inclination to innovation was so rapid and so fatal, that Nouredin's own children allied themselves with the Alides and the Assassins, and Saladin was compelled to crush them. This Kurd,‡ this barbarian, the Godfrey or the St. Louis of Mahometanism, a great soul enthralled to infinitely small devotional practices,§ a humane and generous nature that forced itself to be intolerant, taught the Christians the dangerous truth that "a circumcised dog" might be a saint, and that a Mahometan might be a born knight in purity of heart and magnanimity.||

Saladin had twice dealt heavy blows on the enemies of Islamism. On the one hand, he invaded Egypt, dethroned the Fatimites, and destroyed the focus of the bold beliefs which had found their way through every part of Asia; and, on the other, he had overthrown the petty Christian kingdom of Jerusalem, defeated and taken king Lusignan at the battle of Tiberias,¶ and gained possession of the holy

city. His humanity to his prisoners formed a striking contrast to the hardness of heart displayed towards their brethren by the Christians of Asia. While those of Tripoli were their gates on the fugitives from Jerusalem, Saladin employed the money which came from the expenses of the siege, to raise the poor and the orphans who had fallen into soldiers' hands. His brother, Malik-Az, set two thousand at liberty for his own share.

France had carried through the first crusade almost single handed. Germany had largely contributed to the second. The third was popular; and most of all so in Egypt. But king Richard brought with him a knights and soldiers; no useless hands as the former crusades. The king of France was the same; and both employed Genoese and Marseillaise transports. Meanwhile the emperor Frederick Barbarossa had set out with a large and formidable army. He sought to cover his reputation both as a soldier and good Catholic, which had been compromised by his Italian wars. He surmounted the difficulties to which Conrad and Louis VII. had succumbed in their march through Asia Minor, and, old and exhausted as he was with numerous mishaps, triumphed over nature, over Greek perfidiousness, and over the bushes laid by the sultan of Iconium, who obtained a memorable defeat at his hands.‡ It was only to end his life ingloriously in the waters of a small wretched stream. His son Frederick of Suabia survived scarcely a year: languishing and sick, he refused to listen to the physicians who pressed him incontinence, and bore off in death a palm of virginity,§ like Godfrey of Bouillon.

However, the kings of France and Germany bore on their way by sea, but with very different views. From the time of their meeting in Sicily, the two friends had quarrelled, like a renewal of the temptation of the Normans and Aquitanians, such as we saw in the case of Bohemond and of Raymond de St. Gilles to stop short of the object for which the crusade was undertaken. At first, they wanted to stop at Constantinople, then at Antioch. To Gascon-Norman, Richard, had even desired to call a halt in the tempting vales of San Tancred, who had got himself made its king, was supported solely by the voice of the people, and their hatred of the Germans, who claimed the island in the name of Constantine

\* *Revue des Croisades*, t. iii. "Extraits des Historiens Arabes," par M. Reinaud, p. 370.—Kilgi-Arslan being accused of having joined this sect, Nouredin made him make a public profession of his belief in Islamism. "With all my heart," said Kilgi-Arslan, "I see that Nouredin is better than the unbelievers."

† *Revue des Croisades*, *ibid.* He had studied the law under Abou Hanifa, one of the most celebrated of the Mussulman lawyers. He always said,—"We are the ministers of the law, and duty is to see it executed;" and he conducted his own jurisdiction on this rule. He was the first to institute a public prosecutor, to prohibit torture, and substitute for it public execution. In a letter to Nouredin, Saladin complained of the laxness of his laws. However, he acknowledged that,—"Whatever we know as regards justice, we have borrowed from him." Saladin himself employed his knowledge of the rights of justice; whence his surname of *Reza'ed-Din*, or the just.

‡ *Revue des Croisades*, t. iii. p. 362.

§ *Revue des Croisades*, in 362, sqq. describes him as being devoted to the most trifling practices. He fasted when he was not permitted him, and made all his assistants fast with him. On seeing a little child, one day, running to the sea, he was moved to tears.

|| See his severity towards the Christians dwelt upon, *Revue des Croisades*, t. iii. The Latin historians, and chiefly by the count of Flanders, in 1190, then by the Archbishop of Rheims, in 1191, in the latter which notwithstanding the right was given to the prince the Mussulmans to have fed the prisoners on the remnants of the sultan. Michael H. *Revue des Croisades*, t. iii. p. 346.

¶ When the prisoners were made prisoners the prince of Antioch, the marquis of Montserrat, the count of Eleusa, the

constable of the kingdom, the grand masters of the orders of Jerusalem, and almost the whole nobility of the Holy Land. S. Jac. de Vitruve, c. 94. *Hist. Hieros.* p. 113. *Bern. Thes.* c. 153, 150.

\* *Michael, Hist. des Croisades*, t. ii. p. 348, 338.

† *Hist. Hierosolym.* ap. Bongars, p. 1161. The writer asserts that there were above three hundred thousand Turks engaged.

‡ Godofr. Monach. ap. Raumer, *Gesch. der Hebr.* "When his physicians suggested that his life might be saved by indulging in love, he answered, that he preferred death to defiling his body while bound on a distressing grimage."





This valor and all these efforts produced little result. We have said that all the nations of Europe were represented at this siege; but their national hatreds were represented as well. Each fought on his own account as it were, and instead of seconding, strove to injure the rest. The Genoese, the Pisans, and the Venetians, rivals in war and commerce, regarded each other with hostile eye. The Templars and the Hospitallers could scarcely refrain from coming to blows. There were two kings of Jerusalem in the camp, Guy of Lusignan, who was favored by Philippe-Auguste, and Conrad of Tyre and Montserrat, whose claims were supported by Richard. Philip's jealousy kept pace with the increasing glory of his rival; and falling sick, he accused Richard of having poisoned him. He claimed half of the island of Cyprus, and of the money paid by Tancred; and at last he gave up the crusade and embarked almost alone, leaving the French ashamed of his departure.\* Richard succeeded no better for being left to himself. He offended all by his insolence and pride. The Germans having displayed their colors on one quarter of the walls, he ordered them to be thrown into the fosse.† He turned his victory of Assur to no use, and missed the opportunity for regaining Jerusalem by refusing to promise the garrison their lives. As he drew near to the holy city, the duke of Burgundy deserted him with the French who remained under his command. From this moment all was lost. A knight pointing out Jerusalem to him from a distance, he burst into tears, and veiling his face with his surcoat, he exclaimed, "My God, let me not behold thy city, since I am unable to deliver it!"‡

In fact, this crusade was the last. Asia and Europe had come into contact, and had found each other invincible. Henceforward it is to other lands, to Egypt, to Constantinople, anywhere save the Holy Land, that, under pretexts more or less specious, the great expeditions of the Christians will be directed. Besides, religious enthusiasm was on the wane. The miracles and revelations which signalized the first, disappear by the third crusade, which is a great military expedition, a struggle of races quite as much as of religion. The long siege of Acre is to the middle age a siege of Troy, and

its plain was long the common dwelling of two parties. There they saw each other and measured each other's strength, learned to know each other, and their hates diminished. The Christian camp becomes a large city, frequented by merchants of both religions.‡ They willingly mingle and dance together; and Christian minstrels lend their voices to a sound of Arab instruments.† The nations on both sides agree to do each other no injury when they meet in their subterranean task. Moreover; each side gets to hate itself more than the enemy. Richard is less the enemy of Saladin than of Philip-Augustus, and Saladin hates the Assassins and the Alides more than the Christians.‡

During this great movement of the world, the king of France prosecuted his private interests in the quietest manner. Leaving the honor to Richard, he took the profit, and seemed reconciled to the division. Richard remains the guardian of the grand cause of Christendom, amuses himself with adventures and deeds of "derring-do," mortifies, and impoverishes himself. Philip, who swore when he left that he would not fight his rival, loses not a moment, but hastens to France to obtain the pope's dispensation from his oath. He returns to France in time to divide France on the death of Philip of Alsace; compel his daughter and his son-in-law to give up part of it by way of jointure to his widow, but retain Artois and St. Omer for himself, in memory of his wife, Isabella of Flanders.‡ Meanwhile he excites the Aquitanians to revolt, and encourages Richard's brother to seize the throne. The foxes make their game in the lion's absence. Who knows that he will return! The claim is, that he will either be slain or taken. As he was taken; traitorously taken by Christians. The very duke of Austria, whom he had rescued, and whose banner he had thrown into the fosse of St. Jean d'Acre, surprised him as he was passing in disguise through his territory, and gave him up to the emperor Henry VI.¶

\* For instance, the camp before Ptolemais, in 1101. Richard, ii. 451.

† *Ibid.* p. 450, 522. The crusaders were often admitted to the table of Saladin, and the eunuchs to that of Richard.

‡ Saladin sent presents to the Christian kings on their rival, of Damascus plums and other fruits; they sent him jewels. Richard, ii. 436, (citing Brantôme). Philip and Richard respectively accused each other of having corresponded with the Mussulmans. Richard was accused of a cloak powdered with crescents of silver. *Brantôme on Crusades*, ii. 665. Richard offered his sister (the wife of William of Sicily, in marriage to Malek Adhel) and the two were to reign conjointly, under the auspices of Saladin and of Richard over the Mussulmans and Christians, and to govern the kingdom of Jerusalem. Saladin showed no repugnance to the proposition; but the transients and broken of the law were exceedingly surprised at it, and the Christian bishops threatened him and Richard with excommunication. Richard, ii. 477. Saladin wished to be made acquainted with the laws of chivalry; and Malek Adhel sent his son to be knighted by Richard. *Ibid.* p. 522.

§ *Bened. Petrusburg.* p. 511. The pope refused.

¶ *Ibid.* p. 512. *Brantôme* i. c. 161.

‡ When Richard reached Vienna after three days' journey, exhausted with fatigue and hunger, his page, who spoke Syrian, went to the market to buy provisions, and paid with gold bezants. He made a surprising display of

leur maître leur disoient: Cuides tu, feroient ils a leur cheyval, et se set le roy Richard d'Angleterre? Et quand les seigneurs s'arresmes breuement, eiles leur disoient: Tu voyes tu n'en parles que le roy Richard qui te tuera.

\* Before Philip's death, several of the French barons posted themselves under the English banner. From this time, the chronicler of the Deuys says, rightly speaks of the king of England by the name of *Truhard*, (the tracker,) instead of Richard.

† The French king says into a prisv—In cloacum dejecere. *Ser R. F. l. xv. c. 27.*

‡ *Joinville*, *ch. 176*, p. 116. Tandis qu'ils estoient en ces parours, un seigneur cheyvalier lui escriut: "Sire, sire, venez jeques en ce que vous monstrerai Jerusalem." Et quant il oyce, il jeta sa robe a terre et devint si seye tout en plorant, et dit a Nostre Seigneur: "Bon Sire Dieu, je te pri que tu

—muffles que je voie ta sainte cite, puisque je ne la puis me des mains de tes ennemis."

17. *U. p. p.* K. D. 21. 2. 1964. Costa Rica. III. ap.

Dampierres, the Montinorencies, and the famous Simon de Montfort, who had returned from the Holy Land, where he had concluded a truce with the Saracens on the part of the Christians of Palestine. The impulse communicated itself to Hainault and to Flanders; and the count of Flanders, who was the brother-in-law of the count of Champagne, found himself, by the premature death of the latter, the chief leader of the crusade. The kings of France and England had their own affairs to look after; and the empire was distracted between two emperors.

The land journey was no longer thought of. The Greeks were too well known. They had but recently massacred the Latins who happened to be in Constantinople;\* and had attempted to destroy the emperor Frederick Barbarossa on his march. Vessels were required for the voyage by sea. The Venetians were applied to†. These traders took advantage of the necessity of the crusaders, and would not supply them with transports under eighty-five thousand marks of silver. But they chose to take a share in the crusade, towards which they equipped fifty galleys, and in return for this small venture, they stipulated for a moiety of the conquests. The old doge, Dandolo, an octogenarian, and almost blind,‡ would trust no one with the command of an expedition which might turn out so profitable to the republic, and declared his intention to sail with it.§ The

marquis of Montserrat, Boniface, a brave poor prince, who had been to the holy land, and whose brother Conrad had distinguished himself by his defence of Tyre, was appointed commander-in-chief, and he promised to go with him the Piedmontese and Savoyards.

When the crusaders had assembled at Venice, the Venetians protested to them, in the midst of their farewell fêtes, that they would not get under weigh until they received a freightage.\* All drained themselves, and whatever they had brought with them, to the thirty-four thousand marks were wanted to make the tale complete.† The worthy doge then interceded, and pointed out to them that it would not be to their honor to act so covetously with regard to so holy an enterprise, and he proposed that the crusaders should, in the first instance, lay siege, on behalf of the Venetians, to the city of Zara in Dalmatia, which had withdrawn itself from the yoke of the Venetians to recognise the king of Hungary. The latter had just taken the cross, and to attack one of his towns was a bad beginning. Vainly did the pope's legate protest against this step. The doge told him that the army could dispense with his directions, mounted the stairs on his ducal cap, and dragged the crusaders first to the siege of Zara,‡ then to the

\* Willelm. Tyr. l. xvii. c. 11-13. A legate was massacred, and his head, fastened to a dog's tail, dragged through the streets. Even the sick in the hospital of St. John were put to the sword, and Xenodochium . . . quotquot in eo reperiuntur (legatos, gladio peremerunt). Only four thousand were spared, who were sold to the Turks. See, also, Baldwin's encyclical letter, ann. 1204, ap. Scr. R. Fr. xviii. 524.

† Villehardouin was the bearer of the message. When he had concluded it, he says, "Then the six deputies knelt at their feet with many tears; and the doge and all the rest cried out with one voice, and lifted their hands on high, and said, 'We grant it, we grant it.' Thereupon rose so loud a shout that it sounded like an earthquake." The doge then addressed the people, and the agreement was inscribed on parchment. "And when the doge handed them the agreement, they knelt with many tears, and swore without reservation to abide by the terms there written, and to observe all its clauses, forty-six in number. And the deputies again swore to keep the terms, and their oath to their lord, and that they would observe the whole with good faith. Know that many precious tears were shed thereat." Villehardouin, *l. c.* 17.

‡ Gibbon remarks, in a note—vol. vi. p. 197—"A reader of Villehardouin must observe the frequent tears of the marchers, and his brother knights—*Sed et quæ laqueis de manu pueri de prece, No. xviii.; multiplicant, ibid.;* mainte

to grant me to take the sign of the cross, that I may go to you and instruct you, and that my son may remain in place to guard the land, I will go live or die with you, the pilgrims." And when they heard him, they arose with one voice, 'We beg you in God's name to permit us to do it, and to come with us.'" Villehardouin, *c.* 2.

"Then great pity took possession of the men of the land and of the pilgrims, and they shed many tears, with this valiant man had such great cause to remove. For an old man and had beautiful eyes in his head, but with them, having lost his sight through a wound in his crown: exceeding great of heart was he. Ah! he said, did they seem, who had gone to other parts in such danger. So he descended from the pulpit, and came straight to the altar, and threw himself on his knees, fully weeping, and they sewed the cross on a banner of cotton, because he wished the people to see it. All the Venetians began to take the cross in large number, great plenty on that day, until which very few had taken the cross. Our pilgrims were moved with excess, even to overflowing, as regarded this new crusade, for count of the sense and the prowess that were in them, the doge took the cross as you have heard. Then began to prepare the ships and palanders, that the barons depart, and so long had these arrangements taken, that a summer drew nigh." *Ibid.* c. 34.

\* *Ibid.* c. 30, 31.

† Many of the crusaders, from fear of difficulties arising by way of Venice, had gone to other parts, as we have seen, and those who remained being thus fewer in number than had estimated found themselves hard pressed.



Priest; and they conquered for their good friends of Venice almost all the towns of Is-  
ria.

# CONQUEST OF CONSTANTINOPLE BY THE LATINS.

While these brave and honest knights earn their passage by these exploits, "Behold, there happens," says Villhardouin, "a great wonder, an unhoped-for, and the strangest adventure in the world." A young Greek prince, son of the emperor Isaac, at the time dispossessed of his dominions by his brother—comes to embrace the crusaders' knees, and to promise them immense advantages, if they will only re-establish his father on his throne. They were all to be enriched for ever, the Greek church was to submit to the pope, and the emperor, once restored, would aid them with his whole power to reconquer Jerusalem. Dandolo is the first to communicate the prince's misfortunes.\* He detaches the crusaders to begin the *crusade in Constantinople*. Vainly does the pope launch his interdict against the intent, vainly do Simon Montfort and many others† separate from the main body, and set sail to Jerusalem. The majority follow Baldwin and Boniface, who fell in with the opinion of the Venetians.

Why, then, the pope's opposition to the enterprise, the crusaders conceived that they were doing good work in subverting the Greek church, and so, in his own despite. It would personify in the mutual hatred and opposition of the Greeks and Latins. The old religious wars of the thirteenth century, the ninth century, had been resumed in the eleventh (about 1010). It seemed, however, that the common opinion, ascribed to the Mahomedans, who threatened Constantinople, must bring about a reconcilia-

tion. The emperor, Constantine Monomachus, made great efforts. He invited legates from the pope; the clergy of the two creeds met, and inquired into each other's opinions; but, as their adversaries said, they thought all they heard blasphemous, and the disgust felt by either with the other was increased. They parted; and, in parting, consecrated the rupture of the two churches by reciprocal excommunication, (A. D. 1054.)

Before the close of the century, the crusade to Jerusalem, solicited by the Commens themselves, brought the Latins to Constantinople. National hatred then became added to religious; the Greeks detested the brutal insolence of the Westerns, and the latter accused the Greeks of treachery. At every crusade, the Franks, in passing through Constantinople, had deliberated on the policy of seizing it; and but for the good faith of Godfrey of Bouillon and Louis the Younger, they would have put their deliberations into act. When the nationality of the Greeks was so fearfully aroused by the tyrant Andronicus, the Latins, settled in Constantinople, were involved in one common massacre, (April, A. D. 1182).\* Notwithstanding the constant danger that hung over their heads, commercial interests tempted great numbers to return under his successors, and they formed in the heart of Constantinople a hostile colony, inviting the Westerns, and apparently holding out hopes of seconding them should they ever attempt to take the capital of the Greek empire by surprise. Of all the Latins, the Venetians alone dared and could effect this great enterprise, and rivals of the Genoese in the trade of the Levant, they feared being anticipated by them. Not to dwell upon the great name of Constantinople, and of the immense riches enclosed within its walls, in which the Roman empire had taken refuge, its commanding position between Europe and Asia offered, to whoever should seize it, a monopoly of commerce, and the sovereignty of the seas. The old doge Dandolo, whom the Greeks had formerly deprived of sight, pursued this project with the untiring ardor of patriotism and of vengeance. It is even stated that the Sultan Muck Aulak, in his fear of the crusade, had hired mercenary troops, to guard Syria for the purchase of the Turkish part of the Venetians, and to direct to Constantinople the danger

\* When the crusaders arrived in the city, they found the emperor Isaac, who had been deposed by his brother, and who was seeking refuge in the city. He was surrounded by a large number of soldiers, and he was forced to flee. The crusaders then entered the city, and they found that the emperor Isaac had been deposed by his brother, and he was seeking refuge in the city. He was surrounded by a large number of soldiers, and he was forced to flee.

† The crusaders were divided into two main groups: the Franks and the Italians. The Franks were led by Simon Montfort, and the Italians were led by Boniface. They were both opposed to the idea of attacking Constantinople, but they were overruled by the majority of the crusaders, who were led by Baldwin and Boniface. The crusaders then entered the city, and they found that the emperor Isaac had been deposed by his brother, and he was seeking refuge in the city. He was surrounded by a large number of soldiers, and he was forced to flee.

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\* See also Alex. Comn. l. 10. W. Com. l. 1. and l. 10. l. 1. The crusaders were divided into two main groups: the Franks and the Italians. The Franks were led by Simon Montfort, and the Italians were led by Boniface. They were both opposed to the idea of attacking Constantinople, but they were overruled by the majority of the crusaders, who were led by Baldwin and Boniface. The crusaders then entered the city, and they found that the emperor Isaac had been deposed by his brother, and he was seeking refuge in the city. He was surrounded by a large number of soldiers, and he was forced to flee.

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which threatened Judæa and Egypt. Nicetas, much better acquainted than Villehardouin with the negotiations preceding the crusade, asserts that the whole had been arranged, and that the arrival of the young Alexius only accelerated the impulse already given: "It was," he says, "a wave upon a wave."<sup>\*</sup>

The crusaders constituted in the hands of Venice a blind and brutal force, which it launched against the Greek empire. They were ignorant alike of the motives and secret intelligence of the Venetians, and of the state of the empire they were about to attack. Thus, when they found themselves before its astonishing capital, and beheld the innumerable palaces and churches of Constantinople, with their gilded domes flashing in the sun, and gazed on the myriads of men who crowded the ramparts, they could not help a feeling of momentary doubt. "Know," says Villehardouin, "there was none so bold, whose heart did not tremble . . . each looked to his arms . . . as the time was at hand he would have need of them."

It is true that the population was great; but the city was unprepared for defence. The Greeks had entertained the conviction, since their repulse of the Arabs, that Constantinople was impregnable; and from this conviction neglected the means of rendering it so. Constantinople had sixteen hundred fishing-boats, and only twenty ships, not one of which, however, it sent against the Latin fleet, and none attempted to fall down the stream to cast the Greek fire into it. Sixty thousand men, indeed, appeared on the bank magnificently armed; but no sooner did the crusaders show themselves, than they vanished.† In fact, this light cavalry of theirs could not have sustained the shock of the heavy men-at-arms of the Latins; and the city had no other defence than was afforded by its strong walls and a few corps of excellent soldiers, forming the Varangian guard, which consisted of Danish and Saxon refugees from England,§ together with some Pisan auxiliaries: in all parts, the commercial and political rivalry between the two peoples, armed the Pisans against the Venetians.¶

<sup>\*</sup> Nicetas in Alex. Comm. c. 9. p. 348. *Kakde tri kate apodictika kai krita, o phasis, tri krita Popouli ixi-tyli.*

<sup>†</sup> Now you must know, that many looked up on Constantinople which had never seen it, nor could have believed there to be so rich a city in the world. When they saw those lofty walls, and those rich towers with which it was enclosed, and those rich palaces, and those lofty churches, which were so many in number that no one would count them without seeing, and the length and width of the city, which was peerless beyond all others. And know there was none so bold whose heart did not tremble; and it was no wonder, since such an empire was never undertaken by man, nor yet a number since the world was created." Villehardouin, p. 181, 201. See also, Foulcher de Chartres, c. 41, ap. Bongars, p. 386, and Wall. Tyr. l. ii. c. 3; l. iii. c. 24.

<sup>‡</sup> In the engagement, "the Greeks turned their backs, so were they hunted at the first shock." Villehardouin, p. 191.

<sup>§</sup> Ib. p. 212.

<sup>¶</sup> Nicetas, l. iii. p. 388.

The latter, probably, had friends in Constantinople; for as soon as they had forced the harbor and presented themselves at the foot of the walls, the standard of St. Mark appeared on them, planted by an invisible hand. Alexius was quickly master of twenty-five ships. But he had to forego this advantage in order to carry assistance to the Franks, who were surrounded by the Greek cavalry they had despised. That very night the emperor died in despair. His predecessor, the aged Isaac Comnenus, was released from prison; and it remained for the crusaders to enter the city in triumph.

It was impossible that the crusade should end thus. The new emperor could only save the requisitions of his liberators by running subjects. The Greeks murmured, the Latins pressed and threatened. In the meantime he insulted the people in a thousand ways, as the emperor of their own making. One day when playing at dice with prince Alexius, he clapped a coarse woollen or hair cap on his head.\* They took pleasure in offending against all the customs of the Greeks, and were scandalized at whatever was new to themselves. Discovering a mosque or a synagogue, they fell upon the infidels, who defended themselves. They then set fire to some houses, and flames spreading, the conflagration raged in the thickest and most populous quarters of the city for above a league in front, and lasted six days and nights.†

This event put the finishing stroke to the asperation of the people, who rose up against the emperor whose restoration had brought many evils in its train. For three days purple was offered to every senator in token of great courage was required to accept it. The Venetians who, apparently, could have interfered, remained outside of the walls, excluded. Perhaps they feared trusting themselves in this immense city, in which they might have been crushed; perhaps it suited them to leave the emperor whom they had made to be empowered, that they might enter Constantinople as enemies. In fact, the aged Isaac was put to death, and was replaced by a prince of the imperial family, Alexius Mourzoufle, who showed himself equal to the emergency in which he accepted the empire. He began by rejecting the captious propositions of the Venetians, who still offered to be satisfied with a sum of money; they would by this means have ruined him, and have rendered him hateful to the people like his predecessor. Mourzoufle levied money indeed; but it was to employ it in his own defence. He armed vessels, and twice endeavored to burn the enemy's fleet. The situation of the Latins became precarious. However, Mourzoufle could not create soldiers at once. The crusaders were warriors of a far different stamp; the Greeks could not withstand their

\* *Ib. ibid.* p. 358.

† *Ib. ibid.* p. 355.

‡ *Ib. ibid.* p. 355.



## CHAPTER VII.

RUIN OF JOHN.—DEFEAT OF THE EMPEROR.—  
WAR OF THE ALBIGEOIS.—GREATNESS OF THE  
KING OF FRANCE. (A. D. 1201—1222.)

BEHOLD the pope, conqueror of the Greeks in spite of himself. The two churches are united. Innocent is the sole spiritual head of the world. Germany, the old antagonist of the pope, is disabled; torn between two emperors, who choose the pope arbiter between them. Philippe-Auguste has just submitted to his orders, and taken back a wife whom he hates. The west and the south of France are not so docile. The Vaudois resist him on the Rhône; the Manichæans in Languedoc and the Pyrenees. The whole coast of France, on both seas, seems on the point of separating from the Church. The Mediterranean shore, and that of the Atlantic, obey two princes of dubious faith, the kings of Aragon and of England; and between the two are the seats of heresy, Beziers, Carcassonne, and Toulouse, where the great council of the Manichæans is assembled.

The first on whom the blow fell was the English king, duke of Guyenne, the neighbor and the relative as well of the count of Toulouse, whose son he brought up.\* The pope and the king of France profited by his ruin; an event which had been long preparing. The power of the Anglo-Norman kings depended, as we have seen, solely on the mercenary troops whom they kept in pay: they could confide neither in the Saxons nor in the Normans. The maintenance of the troops supposed resources, and a system of finance foreign from the habits of the age—and they could only support the expense by grievous and violent exactions, which gave an edge to previous hatreds, rendered their position the more dangerous, and compelled them to increase the numbers of those very mercenaries who ruined and drove their people into revolt. To renounce the employment of mercenaries, was to throw themselves into the hands of the Norman aristocracy: to continue to make use of them, was to march straight on destruction—a fearful dilemma, in the solving of which they were fated to fall. It was fated that the monarch should be ruined by the reconciliation of the two races who jointly occupied the island. Normans and Saxons were at last to come to an understanding for the abasement of the monarchy: the loss of the French provinces was to be the final result of this revolution.

Henry II. had, at the least, amassed a treasure. But Richard ruined England by his preparations for the crusade. "I would sell

London," he said, "if I could find a buyer." "From one sea to the other," says a contemporary, "England was reduced to beggary." Money, however, had perforce to be found: pay the enormous ransom required by the emperor; and more again when Richard, on return, wished to make war on the king of France. Whatever he had sold at his departure, he resumed possession of without reimbursing the purchasers;† and so by running present, he ruined the future; for henceward no one could be found to lend to the king of England, or to buy of him. His success, good or bad, capable or incapable, were condemned, in advance, to irremediable poverty and cureless powerlessness.

But the progress of things rather required new resources. The want of unity in the English empire had never made itself more felt. Consisting of people who had all warred on each other before being reduced under the same yoke,—of Normandy, hostile to France before William's time, of Brittany, the enemy of Normandy, of Anjou, the rival of Poitou, of Poitou, which claimed over the whole South the rights of the duchy of Aquitaine; they found themselves united whether they would or not. In preceding reigns, the English had ever one or other of these continental countries firmly attached to him. The Normans, William, and his two first successors, relied on Normandy, Henry II. on his countrymen the Angevins, and Richard Cœur-de-Lion was generally acceptable to the Poitevin and Aquitanians, the countrymen of his mother Eleanor of Guyenne. He illustrated the glory of the Southerners, who regarded him as one of themselves, wrote verses in their language, and numbers of them about him, and his chief lieutenant was the Basque Marcader. But the different people became gradually estranged from the English kings. They perceived that Norman, Angevin, or Poitevin, this king separated from them by such distinct interests, was in reality a foreign prince; and the close of Richard's reign completely opened the eyes of the continental subjects of England.

These circumstances would explain the violence, bursts of passion, and reverses of John even had he been a better and a wiser monarch. He was driven to unheard-of expedients to raise money in a country so often ransacked to the utmost. What could there be left after the greedy and prodigal Richard? John endeavored to force money from the barons, and they compelled him to sign the great charter. He threw himself upon the Church; she deposed him. The pope, and the pope's favorite, the king of France, profited by his ruin. The

\* Guill. Newbrig. p. 226. *Londoniam quoque vendit si emptor in aliquem inveniret.*

† Ruy. de Hon. p. 344. *Tota Anglia, à mari usque ad mare, redacta est ad inopiam.*

\* Chron. de l'Église, sp. Ser. R. Fr. xix. 156. *Lequel le Roy d'Angleterre avoit norri un temps et de sa jeunesse.*

† Ser. R. Fr. xviii. 43. *Thierry, Com. de l'Angl. t. ii. p. 103.*





king. He subsidized the emperor, Otho IV., his nephew, while on the one hand he entered into a correspondence with the Flemings, and, on the other, with the barons of the south of France, and brought up at his own court his other nephew, the son of the count of Toulouse.

This said count, the king of Aragon, and the king of England—suzerains of the whole South—seemed to be on terms with each other at the expense of the Church; and, indeed, hardly observed any outward deference to her. The danger that threatened ecclesiastical authority in this quarter was excessive. It was not a few scattered sectaries, but a whole church which had risen up against the Church. Ecclesiastical property was everywhere invaded. The very name of priest was a reproach. Churchmen durst not suffer their tonsure to be seen in public.\* The clerical dress was ventured to be worn by a few retainers of the nobles only, who were forced by their lords to assume it, in order that they might seize upon some benefice in their name. The instant a Catholic missionary dared to preach, shouts of derision drowned his voice. Sanctity and eloquence did not awe them. They had hooted St. Bernard.†

\* Guillelm. de Podio Laur. in prologo, ap. Ser. R. Fr. vii. 194. "The saying, 'I had rather be a monk than do this or that,' became as common as 'I had rather be a Jew,' &c. And when the priests went abroad, they drew over the hair from behind so as to conceal the tonsure."

† "The holy abbot of Clairvaux, fired with zeal for the faith, visited this land afflicted with an incurable heresy, and thought that he ought to repair at first to Vertueil, where there then flourished a crowd of knights and of people, thinking that if he could root out heresy there, he would easily triumph over it everywhere else. When he began to speak in church against the notables of the spot, they went out: the people followed, and the holy man following them in his turn, began to preach the word of God in the public place. They concealed themselves in the adjoining houses; but he, nevertheless, preached to the people about him. The others, however, began to raise a loud noise and to beat on the doors, thus hindering the people from hearing his voice, and arresting the Divine word on its passage. Shaking off, then, the dust from his feet as a testimony against them, to make them comprehend that they were but dust, he departed, and casting back his looks on the town, he cursed it, saying, 'Vertueil, may God wither thee up!' He denounced it on manifest proofs, for at that time, according to an old chronicle, there dwelt in the castle here a hundred knights having arms, banners, and horses, and maintaining themselves at their own expense, not at that of others. From this period, they were yearly weakened by misfortunes as well as by war, so that they were not left a moment's peace, either through destructive plagues, sterility, attacks, or sedition. I myself, when a child, saw the noble learn Nebulat, formerly the prominent lord of Vertueil, and who was said to have been fully a hundred years of age, living in poverty at Toulouse, and contented with a single hackney. Thus, how strictly God punished many lords of the same castle, who fell off from his cause, was shown by the event itself, since none of them that the holy man had cursed, could rest a moment, until the count of Montfort, having given Vertueil to the venerable father Fulk, bishop of Toulouse, the Divine vengeance gradually did away with the expulsion of the lords." Guillelm. de Podio Laur. c. i. "The same thing happened to the bishop of Carassonne:—" One day, as he was preaching in his city, and according to his wont, was upbraiding the inhabitants with their heresy, they would not listen to him. 'You will not hearken to me,' he said; 'behave so. I will testify against you with so loud a voice, that men shall come from the ends of the world to destroy this city.' And hold it for certain, that were your walls of iron and of towering height, you could not protect your-

Such was the wretched and precarious situation of the Catholic Church in Languedoc. The common but very erroneous belief was in the middle-ages the heretics alone were persecuted. On both sides alike, violence was held to be lawful to bring over one's neighbor to the true faith. Persecution kept pace with power either way, as may be seen in John of Prague, Calvin, the Gomarists of Holland, and numerous others. The martyrs of the middle-age seldom display the meekness of the martyrs of the primitive times, who knew to die only; whereas the Albigeois of Languedoc, the illuminati of Flanders, and the Protestants of Rochelle and the Cevennes,—all attempts at reformation being more or less expressed with the warlike character of the victor—conquered or submitted, persecuted or suffered, but ever recklessly fought on.

The struggle was imminent in the year 1200. The heretical Church was fully organized: it had its hierarchy, its priests, its bishops, and its pope. Their general council was at Toulouse, which city would undoubtedly have been their Rome, and its capitol have been the other in case of ultimate triumph. All missionaries were dispatched in every direction by the new Church. The innovation spread to the most distant and least suspected quarters to Picardy, Flanders, Germany, England, Italy, to Viterbo.\* But, on the other hand, many were shocked by the oriental wildness of the new churchism. To recognise two principles, good and that of evil, seemed to be an admission of two Almighties, to elevate Satan to heaven, and throne him by the side of God. These blasphemies struck the heathen with horror. On the other hand, the people of the North saw the mercenary soldiers and routiers, mostly in the service of England, realizing among themselves all that was the impety of the South. They were recruited from Brabant, partly from Aquitaine. The leader, the Basque, as has been already noted, was one of Richard Cœur-de-Lion's former lieutenants. The mountaineers of the South, who now repair to France or Spain to do some petty traffic, or exercise some small trade did the same in the middle-age; but the trade of that day was war. They maltreated the priests all the same as the peasants, drew up their women in the consecrated vestment, beat the clergymen, and made them sing no

selves from the just vengeance with which the avenging Judge will visit you for your want of belief, and wickedness." So for these words, and for similar threats, the holy man thundered in their ears, they drove him to their city, and forlode, by proclamation of brand, and the pain of severe punishment, any one from buying or selling with him or his." Petrus Vall. Barn. c. 16.—Fulk had a like reception at Toulouse, when he took possession of the bishopric.—"He was never able to raise there more than ninety-six sons of Toulouse; and durst not send his mules, which he had brought with him, to the western place, without an escort. They used to be wounded as well as sunk in his house." Guillelm. de Podio Laur. c. 2.

\* Gesta Innocentii, lib. p. 79.

mass. Another of their delights was to pollute and break in pieces the images of Christ, to break their arms and legs,\* and ill-use them worse than the Jews did in the Passion. These outrages were dear to princes, precisely on account of their impiety, which rendered them insensible to ecclesiastical censures. War, carried on by men without creed, and without country, against whom the Church herself was no longer an asylum, impious as we moderns, and fierce as barbarians—war so carried on was fearful. It was more particularly in the breathing time between wars, when they were without way and without chiefs, that they most oppressed the land, robbing, ransoming, and murdering at random. Their history has hardly been written, but to judge by some facts, it might be supplied by that of the mercenaries of antiquity, the particulars of whose execrable war with Carthage are known to us.† On the southern and northern frontiers, in La Marche, Auvergne, and Limousin, their ravages were horrible. At length the people took up arms against them. A carpenter, inspired by the Virgin Mary, formed the association of the *Capuchins* for the extermination of these bands. Philippe-Auguste encouraged the people, supplied troops, and on one occasion only, ten thousand of them were put to death.‡

Independently of the ravages of the routiers of the South, the seeds of hatred had been sown by the crusades. These great expeditions, which brought the East and West to be hostile to each other, resulted, they would say, in the Northern Europe. The first, with her routes rather numerous than highways, her husbanding of people, her more peaceful and religious manners, her more numerous and sustained, and her Moorish provinces, especially derived her wealth from the other, in every respect. The rivalry soon tended to estrange the two races. The waters of discord, and

figs, reminded the crusaders of the impurity of Moorish and Jewish blood; and Languedoc seemed to them another Judea.

The Church of the thirteenth century laid hold of this antipathy between the races as a means of retaining the South, which was slipping from her hands. She transferred the crusade from the infidels to the heretics. The preachers were the same, the Benedictines of Cîteaux, or the Cistercians.

Already had the rule of St. Benedict been reformed at various times. But the Benedictine order was a whole nation. In the eleventh century an order was formed within the order, a first congregation—the Benedictine congregation of Cluny. The result was vast: for out of its bosom came Gregory VII. However, these reformers themselves soon needed reform,\* and this was effected in the year 1098, at the very epoch of the first crusade. Cîteaux rose by the side of Cluny, still in rich and vain Burgundy, the country of great preachers, of Bossuet and St. Bernard. The Cistercians took upon themselves the obligation of labor, according to the primitive rule of St. Benedict, only changing the black for a white dress,† and declared that they would busy themselves solely with the concerns of their salvation, and be submissive to the bishops, whose authority the monks generally sought to elude.‡ Thus the Church, in danger, narrowed her hierarchy. The more the Cistercians humbled themselves, the greater did they become. They had eight hundred and forty monasteries, and four hundred convents. The abbey of Cîteaux was called the school of saints. They were already so when, twenty years after their formation, that St. Bernard's assembly was almost fatal to it, and to the first Champagne to the last. The monks of Cîteaux were then the only monks for the people; they were forced to mount the pulpit, to preach the crusade. St. Bernard was the mouth of the second crusade, and the legitimate voice of the people. The military orders of St. John of Portugal, of St. James, Alcantara, Calatrava, and Aviz, all of Cîteaux, and affiliated to it. Thus the monks of Burgundy extended their spiritual influence over Spain, where the princes of the two Burgundies were at feud.

A third congregation arose at Cîteaux. With res-

\* *Épist. V. de St. Bernard.* "Illi monachi, qui per seculum in ecclesiis sanctis habitaverunt."

† *St. Bernard.* "Hic est illi monachi, qui per seculum in ecclesiis sanctis habitaverunt."

‡ *St. Bernard.* "Hic est illi monachi, qui per seculum in ecclesiis sanctis habitaverunt."

§ *St. Bernard.* "Hic est illi monachi, qui per seculum in ecclesiis sanctis habitaverunt."

¶ *St. Bernard.* "Hic est illi monachi, qui per seculum in ecclesiis sanctis habitaverunt."

\* *St. Bernard.* "Hic est illi monachi, qui per seculum in ecclesiis sanctis habitaverunt."

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‡ *St. Bernard.* "Hic est illi monachi, qui per seculum in ecclesiis sanctis habitaverunt."

gard to discipline, it fell almost to the level of the voluptuous Cluny. The latter had, at least, from an early period, affected mildness and indulgence; and there Peter the Venerable had received, consoled, and buried Abelard. But corrupted Cîteaux maintained, in riches and in luxury, the severity of her primitive institution. She remained animated with the sanguinary spirit of the crusades, and continued to preach faith to the neglect of works. The more the unworthiness of the preachers rendered their words vain and unprofitable, the more they raged. They revenged themselves for the little effect produced by their eloquence, on those who estimated their teaching by their morals. Maddened by their impotence, they threatened, they damned; and the people only laughed.

One day that the abbot of Cîteaux was setting out with his monks, magnificently equipped, to labor for the conversion of the heretics in Languedoc, two Castilians who were returning from Rome,—the bishop of Osmá and one of his canons, the famous St. Dominic,—did not hesitate to tell them that this luxury and pomp would destroy the effect of their discourses: "You must march barefoot," they said, "against these sons of pride; they need examples, you will not subdue them by words." The Cistercians dismounted and followed the two Spaniards.\*

The honor of this spiritual crusade belongs to the Spaniards, the countrymen of the Cid. One Durando, of Huesca, who had been a Vaudois himself, obtained from Innocent III. permission to form a brotherhood of *poor Catholics*, in which the Vaudois, the *poor of Lyons*, might be enrolled. It is true that the creed was different, but then externals were the same,—the same costume, the same mode of life,—and it was hoped that by the adoption, on the part of the Catholics, of the dress and customs of the Vaudois,† the Vaudois might accept in exchange the belief of the Catholics; in short, that the form would triumph over the substance. Unluckily, the zeal of these missionaries led them to imitate the Vaudois so closely, that they excited the suspicion of the bishops, and their charitable attempt met with but trifling success.

\* Jordanus, *Acta S. Dominici*, (edit. Bollandus,) p. 547. *Cum videret grandem eorum qui missi fuerant, in expensis equis, et vestibus apparatum. "Non sic," ait, "fratres, non sic vobis arbitror procedendum."* . . . Another time, St. Dominic meeting with a bishop richly attired, the bishop took off his shoes to follow him; but having unknowingly taken a heretic as their guide, he led them through a wood, where their limbs were torn by the thorns. Theodor. de Appeldia, *Ibid.* p. 570.

† Innoc. iii. l. vi. Ep. 196. "And we have vowed poverty. . . . And being most of us priests, and well imbued with letters, we are determined to labor against the errors of all sectaries by reading, exhortation, doctrine, and disputation. We are to wear a religious and modest dress." &c.—l. xii. Ep. 69. "They testify that you have in no wise thoroughly put off the leaven of the ancient superstition, generating scandal among Catholics."—Ep. 67. "If any one of you retain any of the ancient superstition purposely, the easier to catch the foxes. . . . It is to be endured prudently for a time."

At this epoch the bishop of Osmá came to the

of the Inquisition was a noble Castilian, of singularly charming and pious character.\* None were richer in he in the gift of tears, and in the eloquence which uses them to flow.† While a state at Languedoc, a severe famine taking place, he sold all, even to his books, to give to the poor.

The bishop of Osmá had just reformed a chapter on the rule of St. Augustine; St. Dominic entered it. Having occasion to go to France on various missions, with Dominic in his suite, they had witnessed with dismay the religious destitution which prevailed there. There was one castle in Languedoc where the habitants had not taken the sacrament for many years.‡ Children died unbaptized. They comprehend the agony with which the religious and reflective of the middle age beheld the souls of these innocents sinking, through the parents' impiety, into the bottomless gulf; and must identify one's self with the feelings of relief of the time.

Aware that the poorer among the nobles trusted the education of their daughters to heretics, the bishop of Osmá founded a monastery near Montreal, in order to withdraw them from this danger. St. Dominic gave all he possessed; and hearing a woman say, that she quitted the Albigeois she would be destitute, he sought to sell himself as a slave, that he might have wherewithal to restore her soul, too, to God.¶

All this zeal was useless. No power of eloquence or of logic could stop the progress of liberty of thought. Besides, his alliance with the hated Cistercians deprived him of all credit. He was even obliged to advise one of them, Pierre de Cavaillon, to absent himself for a time from Languedoc.

\* He used to pray with such fervor and immobility, that he was utterly insensible to all around. As he was praying one night before the altar, the devil, to disturb him, let a enormous stone fall from the roof, which fell with an enormous crash in the church, and grazed in its fall the subject who did not seem sensible of it, and the devil fled hence. *Acta S. Dominici*, p. 592.

† When proofs of his sanctity were being collected, in order to his canonization, a monk deposed that he had often seen his face during mass bathed with tears, which ran down his cheeks so copiously, that one drop did not wet the other. *Acta S. Dominici*, p. 597. "Truly he had not of his eyes a fount of tears, weeping frequently and so dantly . . . praying to his Father in secret, tears would gush from him like a torrent." *Ibid.* p. 630. "He wept with such floods of tears as to move his hearers to give the same signs of their compassion. . . . For was there at one whose speech, like his, melted his hearers to the point of tears." *Ibid.* pp. 594, 595.

‡ Jordanus, *Acta S. Dominici*, p. 548. *Venerunt illi quos sibi oppido necessarios putabant, deinde perperam.*

§ Petr. Vall. *Serm.* c. 42.

¶ Epist. S. Bernardi, ap. Guillelm. Charnivalensis, l. ii. c. 1. Guillelm. de Pod. Laur. c. 7. "The state of ignorance reigned in this country; and the heretics roamed there freely."

¶ *Acta S. Dominici*, p. 548. A woman coming to him, said, "I am a prisoner among the heretics; will you ransom me?"

Venerandus dominus frater meus de hinc qui natus est de hinc



lose his inheritance. The count had, besides, a wonderful liking for the routiers, by whose hands he despoiled churches, destroyed monasteries, and robbed his neighbors of all he could. Such was the way of life of this limb of the devil, this son of perdition, this first-born of Satan, this raging persecutor of the cross and of the Church, this support of heretics, this executioner of Catholics, this apostate covered with crimes, this sink of all sins.

"One day that the count was playing chess with a certain chaplain, he said to him in the course of the game, 'The God of Moses, in whom you believe, cannot help you at this game;' adding, 'may that God never be my aid.' Another time, as the count was about to proceed from Toulouse to Provence, to fight some enemy, rising in the middle of the night he repaired to the house in which the Toulousan heretics were assembled, and said to them, 'My lords and brothers, the fortune of war is uncertain; whatever happen to me, I commit my soul and body to your keeping.' And he took with him in this expedition two heretics, in lay attire, in order that if he fell, he might die in their hands.—One day that this accursed count was sick in Aragon, his malady becoming worse he had a litter made, and was borne in it to Toulouse; and when asked why he had himself carried in such haste, although suffering from serious illness, he replied, wretch that he was, that it was 'because there are no Good Men in this land, in whose hands I can die.' Now, the heretics are called Good Men by their followers. But he showed himself to be a heretic by signs and speech much more plainly still, for he said, 'I know that I shall lose my territory through these Good Men: well, I am ready to lose my land, and my head, too, for them.'

Whatever might be the truth of these charges, advanced by an irritated enemy, he was triumphant on the Rhône at the head of his army, when he received a terrible letter from Innocent III., predicting his ruin. The pope required him to desist from the war, to join with his enemies in a crusade against his heretical subjects, and to throw open his states to the crusaders. Raymond at first refused, was excommunicated, and submitted: but he sought to elude the execution of his promises. The monk, Pierre de Castelnau, dared to upbraid him to his face with what he called his perfidy, and the prince, unused to such language, let fall words of wrath and vengeance, words, perhaps, like those levelled by Henry II. at Thomas Becket.\* The result was the same. Feudal devotion did not suffer the slightest word of the suzerain to be spoken in vain; and those whom he fed at his table believed that they belonged to him body and soul, not excepting their eternal safety. One of Raymond's knights overtook the monk on the

Rhône, and stabbed him.† The assassin found an asylum in the Pyrenees with the count of Foix, then a friend of the count of Toulouse, and whose mother and sister were heretics.

#### CRUSADE AGAINST THE ALBIGEOIS.

Such was the beginning of this fearful gedy, (A. D. 1208.) Innocent III. would be satisfied, like Alexander III., with the success and submission of the prince, but a crusade preached throughout the whole north of France by the Cistercians. The conquest of Constantinople had furnished men's minds to a holy war against Christ. The proximity, too, was tempting. There was no necessity to cross the sea; and paradise offered to him who would pillage here before rich champagnes and wealthy cities of Languedoc. Humanity, also, was appealed to, to steel men's hearts. The legate's blood-shed for, it was said, the blood of the heretics.

Vengeance, however, would have been sufficient had Raymond VI. been able to avail himself of all his forces, and to contend, without taking precautions in other quarters, against the party of the Church. He was one of the most powerful, and, probably, the richest prince of Christendom. Count of Toulouse, master of Upper Provence, master of the Quercy, Rouergue, and the Vivarais, he had parts of Maguelone, and the king of England had him the Agenois, and the king of Aragon, Gévaudan, as the dowries of their sisters. The duke of Narbonne he was suzerain of, Beziers, Uzes, and of the countships of Carcassonne and Comminges in the Pyrenees. But the vast power of his was not exercised everywhere by the same title. The viscount of Beziers, supported by his alliance with the count of Foix, refused to depend on Raymond. Toulouse itself was a sort of republic. In the year 1202, the consuls of this city declared, in Raymond's absence, on the knights of the Albigensis, and both parties choose the count as arbiter and mediator;‡ and in the time of his father, Raymond V., so startling an outbreak of political independence had accompanied the symptoms of heresy, that the count himself solicited the kings of France and England to undertake a crusade against the Toulousans, as the viscount de Beziers.§ This crusade took place: but it was in his successor's time, to his cost.

Nevertheless, the crusade began in Lower Languedoc, Beziers, Carcassonne, &c., when

\* Id. ibid. Inter cunctas inferius vulneravit. Chro. Lugdun. ibid. 116. 'Un gentilhomme, serviteur d'un seigneur de mon, donnet d'un espiet à travers le corps d'un Prieur de Castelnau.'

† Innoc. l. xi. Epist. 29. ad Philipp. August. Ego quoniam miles Christi: eis, christianissime princeps! . . . . . Commitem ad te justis sanguinis vocem audiam.—Ad Com. Rom. &c. Eis, Christi milites! eis, strenuis militibus christiani timentes!

‡ Hist. Gener. du Languedoc, t. III. p. 113.

§ Ibid. p. 47.

\* Innoc. l. xi. Epist. 29. Mortem est publice comminatus.



abbot of Vaux-Sernay, when, at the imminent hazard of his life, that prelate publicly read to the crusaders the papal bull against this undertaking.\* This action rendered Montfort a marked man, and paved the way for his future greatness. After all, the praise of heroic virtues cannot be denied to this dreaded executor of the decrees of the Church. Raymond VI., whose ruin was Montfort's work, himself acknowledged the fact.† Not to mention his courage, his severe morals, and his invariable trust in God, he displayed a care of the meanest of his followers before unknown to crusaders. His nobles and he having swum their horses over a river swollen by a storm, when it appeared that the infantry and the ailing were unable to cross it, Montfort immediately swam back, followed by four or five horsemen, and remained with the poor fellows, who were in danger of being attacked by the enemy.‡ He is also lauded for his humanity to the useless mouths turned out of besieged places in the course of this horrible war, and for the protection which he extended to his female prisoners, whose honor he ever caused to be respected. His wife, Alice de Montmorency, was not unworthy of him; and when the greater number of the crusaders had abandoned Montfort, she put herself at the head of a new army, and marched it to her husband.§

The army assembled before Béziers was guided by the abbot of Cîteaux, and by the bishop of that city, who had drawn up a list of those whom he had devoted to death. The inhabitants refused to deliver them up, and no sooner did they see the crusaders marking out their camp, than they boldly sallied forth to surprise it. They little knew the military superiority of their enemies. The infantry were enough to repulse them; and before the knights could take any share in the action, they entered the town pell-mell with the besieged, and found themselves masters of it. Their only difficulty was how to distinguish the heretics

from the orthodox: "Slay them all," said the abbot of Cîteaux; "the Lord will have his own."<sup>\*</sup>

"Seeing this, the inhabitants withdrew as many as could, men as well as women, to a great church of St. Nazaire, the press which had the bell tolled until the hour was completed. Neither tolling of bell, nor priest in his sacerdotal vestments, nor common man, could prevent the whole of them being put to the sword. Not so much as an escape. These murders and butcheries were the greatest pity that ever has been heard of. The town was given up to plunder, fire was set to it in every quarter, so that all laid waste and in ruins, just as it is seen the present day, and not a living thing remained in it. It was a cruel vengeance, seeing that the count was not a heretic, but belonged to the sect. There were present at this scene of destruction the duke of Burgundy, the count of St. Pol, the count Peter of Arras, the count of Geneva, called the Comte, and the lord of Anduze, called the Vermon, with Provençals, Germans, Lombards, and men of every nation who came, to the number, it is said, of more than three hundred thousand, for the sake of the don."<sup>†</sup>

Some state the number who perished at two thousand; others say thirty-eight thousand. The executioner himself, the abbot of Cîteaux, in his letter to Innocent III., humbly avows that he was unable to slay more than six thousand.‡

So great was the terror inspired, that all towns were abandoned without an attempt at defence: the inhabitants fled to the nearest Carcassonne, into which the viscount Raymond, alone held out. In order to save his uncle, the king of Aragon, invested him with offers of giving up all the rest of the sole favor which he could obtain was that the viscount might leave the city in safety with twelve companions. "I would rather be alive," exclaimed the brave young man, "no legate shall not lay hand on the least of my followers, for 'tis I have brought them in danger."<sup>§</sup> However, so many men, women, and children from the country had taken shelter in the city, that it was impossible to burn out. They fled by means of a passage which went three leagues under ground. The viscount demanded a safe conduct that he might plead his cause before the crusaders, and the legate had him arrested as a traitor. Five prisoners are said to have been hung; six hundred burnt.

All this blood would have been shed in vain had not some one volunteered to prolong it.

\* Petr. Vall. Scrv. c. 20.

† Chron. Langued.—Guth. Pod'f. Lour. c. 20. "I have heard the count of Toulouse speak in the highest terms of the count of Arras, for his valour, and all the princely qualities of St. Louis's army."

‡ Petr. Vall. Scrv. c. 68. "The river was swollen by so sudden and violent a storm, that none could pass it without running the risk of life. In the evening, the noble count, accompanied by all the knights and the flower of the army, had crossed the river and gained the castle, but that the besieged, who did not see him, were compelled to remain on the other bank. He had his march, and said, 'I shall return to the army.' To which he replied, 'How! the entire strength of the army is in the fortress, and only pilgrims are left behind! The river is so high and rapid that none can cross it to help you of the danger there would be of the count's neglecting you and entering you off.' But the count replied, 'Far be it from me to desert you advise. What shall Christ's people be exposed to death and the sword, and I remain in a fort? Happen what will, I remain put myself to God, and will assuredly cross and share their fate.' On the word, quitting the castle, he crossed the river, returned to the fortress, and, together with a few knights, more than four or five, he entered with them several times, until the bridge was repaired for them to pass."

§ Hist. du Langued. l. xii. c. 84, p. 194.

\* Cesar. Heisterbac. l. v. c. 21. . . . Cardine omni, in ecclesia domibusque suis ejus.

† Chron. Langued. ap. Scr. R. Fr. xix. 122.

‡ Innoc. III. l. xii. Epist. 109.

§ Chron. Langued. ap. Scr. R. Fr. xix. 122.





was willing to share the fortunes of the count of Toulouse, whatever they might be, gave him one of his sisters in marriage, and another to the count's young son, who was afterwards Raymond VII.\* He repaired in person to intercede with the count in the council of Arles. But the priests had no entrails. The two princes were obliged to fly from the town without taking leave of the bishops, who sought to arrest them.† The following are the contemptuous terms to which they would have had Raymond submit:—

"That count Raymond shall lay down his arms without retaining one soldier or auxiliary; that he shall not only submit absolutely and forever to the Church, but repair and refund whatever losses she may have sustained by the war; that in all his territories, no one shall ever eat more than two kinds of flesh; that he shall hunt down and expel all heretics, and their allies and abettors; that within a year and a day he shall deliver up to the legates and to the count de Montfort every person whom they or he shall name or require, to be punished or disposed of as may be thought fit; that his subjects, whether noble or low-born, shall never wear any jewels or fine clothes, or any thing but sorry black cloaks, (*capex*;) that all his places of strength shall be demolished, so as not to leave stone upon stone; that no relation or friend of his shall reside in any city, but in the country only, as villeins and peasants; that no new tax shall be levied by him, but that every head of a family in his territories shall pay four deniers of Toulouse to the pope's legate, or to whomsoever he may appoint; that the tithes shall be paid over all his lands; that neither the papal legate, nor the count de Montfort, nor any of his people, great or little, shall pay toll for any thing they may take or want, in traveling through the country under his jurisdiction;—that when Raymond shall have complied with all these demands, he shall associate himself with the knights of St. John, and go into voluntary banishment, as a crusader, to the Holy Land, never to return without the legate's leave; and finally, that when he shall have complied with all the foregoing conditions, his lands and lordships shall not be restored to him until such time as the legate, or the count de Montfort, shall please."‡

Such a peace was war. Montfort still delayed to attack Toulouse; but his minion, Folquet, formerly a troubadour, and now bishop of Toulouse, as wildly fanatic and revengeful as he had once been dissolute, exerted himself to the utmost in this city to promote the crusade. He organized the Catholic party there under the name of the White Company;§ which said company took up arms in the count's despite to assist Montfort, then besieging the castle of

Lavaur.\* It was the refusal of assistance on this occasion, on the part of the church, the latter made his pretext for advancing on Toulouse, when he wished to take advantage of an army of crusaders that had just come from the Low Countries and Germany, the duke of Austria and other powerful princes. The priests abandoned Toulouse in solemn procession, singing litanies, and devoting to the people whom they deserted; and the count expressly petitioned the same fate for himself as had befallen Béziers and Carcassonne.

It was now clear that ambition and vengeance had much more to do with all this than religion. This same year the monks of Lavaur seized on the bishoprics of Langue-d'Oc; their abbot took the archbishopric of Narbonne and the title of duke as well, in Raymond's life-time, without shame or modesty.† After, Montfort, at a loss where to find recruits for a new army to kill that then arrived into the Agénois, to carry on the crusade in orthodox country.‡

On this, all the lords of the Pyrenees declared openly for Raymond. The counts of Foix, of Béarn, and of Comminges, joined him in forcing Simon to raise the siege of Toulouse; and de Montfort was on the point of sustaining a decisive defeat at the hands of the first-mentioned of these counts, at Castel-dary, when the skill and courage of his troops recovered the day. These petty wars were encouraged by the interest which the greater sovereigns took more or less in Raymond. Savary de Mauléon, sent by the king of England, was at Castel-dary with the troops of Aragon and of France. Unhappily his master durst not exert direct interference, and the king of Aragon was constrained to join all his forces to those of other Spanish princes, in order to resist the formidable invasion of the Almohades, who were three or four hundred thousand strong. All the world knows how gloriously the Spaniards forced at las Navas de Tolosa the chains behind which the Mussulmans had entrenched themselves; a victory which cost

\* "At the taking of Lavaur," says the most authentic history, "Aimery, lord of Montfort, and other knights, number of eighty, were dragged out of the castle, and the noble count's order, were immediately hung up; but as soon as Aimery, who was the tallest of them, been hung up, the abbots fell, not having been so fixed in the ground. The count, seeing that this occasion great delay, ordered the throats of all the nobles out; and the order being extremely acceptable to the grims, (crusaders) the latter soon massacred them all spot. The lady of the castle, who was Aimery's sister, an accused heretic, the count ordered to be thrown as well, which was then filled up with stones. After the pilgrims collected the innumerable heretics who had taken the castle, and burnt them alive with extreme joy." Hist. du Langued. l. xviii. c. 16. p. 222.

† However, they found seven Vaudois in the castle of Maurillac, whom they burnt, says Pierre de Vaux-de-Perny, "with unspeakable joy." At Lavaur, as we have just seen, they had burnt innumerable heretics "with extreme joy."

‡ Chron. Langued. ap. Ser. R. Fr. xix. 164.—Perr. R. Fr. c. 57. 79. John formally released their king, Raymond, and threatened to attack the crusaders.

\* Guil. de Pod. Laur. c. 12.

† Hist. du Lang. l. xxi. c. 98.

‡ Chron. Langued. ap. Ser. R. Fr. xix. 136.

§ Praised by Dante.

ted a new era for Spain, and freed it hence-  
forward from the obligation of defending Eu-  
rope against Africa; the strife of races and  
religions was at an end. (July 16, 1212.)

At this moment the reclamations of the king  
of Aragon in favor of his brother-in-law seemed  
to carry some weight. The pope hesitated for  
an instant. The king of France made no secret  
of the interest he took in Raymond. But  
the pope having been confirmed in his first opi-  
nion by those who profited by the crusade, the  
king of Aragon felt that he must have recourse  
to force, and sent a defiance to Simon. The  
latter, ever as humble and prudent as he was  
courageous, inquired of the monarch whether it were  
true that he had defied him, and in what he,  
the faithful vassal of the crown of Aragon, had  
been so unfortunate as to incur his suzerain's  
 displeasure. At the same time he held him-  
self ready. The bulk of the people sided with  
his adversaries, and his followers were few;  
but then they were either knights, eased in  
mail, and almost invulnerable, or mercenaries  
of tried courage, and who had grown old in this  
very war, while Don Pedro had only the militia  
of the towns, numerous, it is true, and a few  
troops of light cavalry accustomed to the de-  
structive warfare of the Moors. The moral dif-  
ference between the two armies was greater  
still. Montfort's men had faith in their cause,  
and confessed to have taken the sacrament and  
heard masses. All historians, and even his son,  
express at Don Pedro as being busied with far  
different thoughts.

"A priest came to warn the count: 'Your  
niece is now to be compared with those of your  
opponents, among whom is the king of Aragon,  
an experienced warrior, followed by his  
counts, and by a large army; you are unable  
to cope with the king, backed by such a host.'  
He returned, and the count, producing a letter,  
from which he produced a child that the Aragonese  
monarch had snatched the wife of a noble of the  
duchy of Flanders, with the assurance that it  
was the last day he had come to drive the  
Flemings out of the land, with other flatteries.  
He then turned to the priest, inquired, 'What do  
you think of this?' 'What do I think? I re-  
ply, that if this is God's will, as I have  
seen it, the king of France seeks to cross God's  
design, for we must have it!'"

It is not to be supposed that the young grasping French  
king, who was so ready to take advantage of the  
weakness of his vassals, was so easily deceived. He  
knew that the count of Flanders was a powerful  
warrior, and that he was not to be trifled with.  
He knew that the king of Aragon was a powerful  
warrior, and that he was not to be trifled with.  
He knew that the king of France was a powerful  
warrior, and that he was not to be trifled with.

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warrior, and that he was not to be trifled with.  
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warrior, and that he was not to be trifled with.

Whether these things be true or not, as soon  
as Montfort came in presence of his enemies at  
Muret, near Toulouse, he feigned to decline  
battle, and drew off; when suddenly wheeling  
upon them with the whole of his heavy caval-  
ry, he rode them down, and slew, it is said,  
more than fifteen thousand; his own loss being  
confined to eight men and one knight. It had  
been agreed by several of Montfort's followers  
that they would seek out and attack the king  
of Aragon alone; one of them at first mistook  
for him one of his friends, who, by his orders,  
wore his arms, but soon exclaimed, "The king  
is a better knight than this!" on which Don  
Pedro pricked towards him, crying out, "I am  
the king," and fell as he spoke, pierced by  
many hands.

The memory of this prince was long and  
dearly cherished; a brilliant troubadour, a  
faithless husband, but who could have had the  
heart to remember that? When Montfort saw  
him stretched on the ground, and easily dis-  
tinguished him from the rest by his lofty stat-  
ure, the fierce general of the Holy Ghost could  
not but let fall a tear.

The Church seemed victorious in the South  
of France, as in the Greek empire. There  
remained its Northern enemies—the heretics  
of Flanders, the excommunicated John, and  
the anti-Cesar, Otto.

For five years (1208–1213) England had  
entertained no relations with the holy see.  
The separation was, apparently, as complete  
as it was in the sixteenth century. Innocent  
had pushed John to extremity, and had raised  
against him a new Thomas Becket. In the  
year 1208, precisely at the period that the pon-  
tiff began the crusade in the South of France,  
he commenced one under a less warlike form  
against the king of England, by elevating an  
enemy of his to the primacy. Independently  
of his position as head of the Anglican Church,  
the archbishop of Canterbury was, as we have  
seen, a powerful personage also. He, much  
more than the royal eunuchs and lieutenants, was  
the real master of the destinies of the southern  
counties of England which constituted the most re-  
fractory portion of the kingdom, and the most im-  
bued with the old British and Saxon spirit.  
The private of England shows to us as the  
depository of the national liberties analogous  
to the Justiciars of Aragon. It was of the first  
importance to the monarch to have the office  
filled by one on whom he could depend, and he  
always resorted to it through his prelates,  
that is, through his Norman church. But the  
monks of St. Augustine's at Canterbury ever

possessed the right of the one of his successors, and was so ef-  
fective that when hearing mass, previous to the engage-  
ment he would not stand while the people was being read,  
but was obliged to sit down."

† *Deir. Val. Mure. c. 72. Guiz. Hist. Louis c. 22. Guiz. Hist.*

‡ *Deir. Val. Mure. c. 72. Valens regem penetratum, de-  
venerit de equis et super corpus defuncti plane tam fecit.*

§ See note p. 267.

he had sent for, he caused the delegates of the monks to elect at Rome, under his immediate superintendence, one of John's personal enemies, a learned ecclesiastic, like Becket of Saxon origin, as is proved by his name of Langton. He was first professor, then chancellor of the university of Paris. We have of his some gallant verses addressed to the Virgin Mary. John no sooner learned that the archbishop was consecrated, than he banished the monks of Canterbury, laid hand on their possessions, and swore that if the pope should lay the kingdom under interdict, he would confiscate the goods of all the clergy, and cut off the nose and ears of every Romish priest he should find in England. The interdict came, and excommunication as well. But no one durst acquaint the king with either—*Effectusunt quasi canes multi, non audentes latrare*, (they were as dumb dogs, afraid to bark.) The terrible news was whispered from one to the other; but none dared promulgate it or conform to it. Archdeacon Geoffrey having resigned the exchequer, John had him crushed to death with a leaden cowl; and fearful of being deserted by his barons, he had required hostages of them. They durst not refuse to take the communion with him. He boldly took upon himself the part of the adversary of the Church, and rewarded a priest who had preached to the people that the king was God's scourge, and was to be endured as the instrument of the divine wrath. This hardness of heart and show of security on John's part awoke terror; he seemed to delight in the struggle. He devoured at his ease the goods of the Church,

making himself pope. This was not in the thirteenth century, and John did not tempt it. In the year 1212, Innocent, curate of the South, preached a crusade against John, and charged the king of France with execution of the apostolic sentence. John assembled an immense fleet and army on the coast, but he could rely on but few. He was to a sense of the dangerous predicament which he stood by the pope's legate, crossed the strait. The court of Rome to humble John, but not to give England the king of France. John, therefore, did homage to the pope, and engaged him a yearly tribute of a thousand sterling.<sup>6</sup> There was nothing done of the ceremony of feudal homage. He often vassals of barons possessed of the holding lands of them in fee. The king had always been the vassal of the sovereign for Normandy or Aquitaine. Henry II. had done homage for England to Alexander III.; and Richard, to the emperor. He had changed. The barons affected to their king degraded by his submissiveness to the pope; and he himself could hardly

<sup>6</sup> Paradise Lost, B. iv. v. 110.—It is to be regretted that the monks did not venture on giving a receipt for John.

<sup>7</sup> The king of England was the personal enemy of Montfort's grandfather, the earl of Leicester, who had to lay hands on Henry II. Simon's true mother's side, one of the most valiant knights of the battle of Muret, was that Guillaume des Roches, who was killed in the battle of Muret, in 1213, in presence of the French army, with Richard Coeur-de-Lion.



increase of the kingly power. Philippe had stripped the count of Boulogne of five of his countships. The count of Flanders vainly solicited the restoration of Aire and St. Omer. The hatred of the Flemings to the French had been exasperated to the highest pitch by the events of the last campaign. The counts of Limbourg, Holland, and Louvain, had entered this wide-spreading league, although the latter was Philippe's son-in-law. There was, besides, Hugh de Boves, the most celebrated of all the leaders of the routiers; and, finally, the poor emperor of Brunswick, who was himself only a routier in the service of his uncle, the king of England. The aim of the confederates is said to have been no less than the division of France. Paris was to have fallen to the share of the count of Flanders, and the count of Boulogne was to have had Peronne and the Vermandois. In imitation of John, they would have bestowed the goods of the Church on their armed retainers.\*

The battle of Bouvines, notwithstanding its celebrity and the national feeling with which it is regarded, does not seem to have been a very considerable action. Each army, probably, did not exceed fifteen or twenty thousand men.† Philippe had sent the better part of his knights against John, and his army, which he commanded in person, consisted partly of the militia of Picardy. The Belgians allowed him to lay their lands waste *royally*‡ for a month's space, and he was on the eve of returning without having seen the enemy, when he encountered him between Lille and Tournai, near the bridge of Bouvines, (Aug. 27th, 1214.) The details of the battle have been handed down to us by an eye-witness, Guillaume-le-Breton, Philippe's chaplain, who kept behind throughout the engagement; but, unhappily, his account, evidently warped by flattery, is much more so by the classic servility with which the historico-poet fancies himself obliged to model his *Philippide* on the *Æneid*. Philippe must, one way or other, be *Æneas*, and the emperor, Turnus. All that we can receive as certain is that, at first, our militia were thrown into disorder, and that the men-at-arms made several charges, in one of which the French king nearly lost his life—being dragged to the ground by footmen, armed with barbed spears. The emperor Otho had his horse wounded by Guillaume des Barres, Simon de Montfort's brother, the lion-hearted Richard's opponent, and was borne off by the press of his own routed and flying soldiery. The glory of courage, though not the victory, remained with the Brabant routiers. These old soldiers, five hundred in number, would not surrender to the French, whom they forced to

put them to the sword. The knights met less obstinate resistance, and numbers were taken prisoners: when once dismounted and overborne as they were with heavy arms, they could not help themselves. Five came into Philip's hands: those of Flanders, Boulogne, Salisbury, Tecklembourg, and Edmund; as their subjects did not raise two first, they remained his prisoners; the other three he gave to the militia of the communes engaged in the battle, to hold to ransom.

John was not more successful in the North than Otho in the North; though he fought with rapid success on the Loire, taking Florent, Ancenis, and Angers. But his armies were scarcely in presence, ere the terror made them both turn their backs at the same time. John lost quicker than he gained. The Aquitanians gave Louis a good reception as they had done him; and, thinking himself fortunate in the prospect of securing a truce for him at the cost of a thousand marks of silver, returned to England conquered, ruined, and without resources. This was a fine opportunity for the barons, and they seized it. In the month of January, 1215, again, on the 15th of June of the same year, they made him sign the famous *Magna Carta*. Langton, archbishop of Canterbury, and professor of the university of Paris, proved that the liberties claimed of the king, other than the old English liberties, were recognised by Henry Beauclore in a charter.\* John promised the barons to attempt the compulsory marriage of his daughters and widows, and to restrain waste committed by guardians in church and burgesses, to respect their franchises of men, to permit them to go and come at their pleasure; to secure them all from arrest, imprisonment and spoliation; to restrain excessive amercements, and, "in every case, to be exempt from seizure the *contement*," that is, expressive of chattels necessary to maintenance, as the arms of a gentleman, the merchandise of a trader, the plough and oxen of a peasant;") to levy no aid or escuage—except in the three feudal cases of aid;—and the consent of the barons in parliament, to abolish the injustice of royal purveyance. The court of common pleas, instead of following the king's person, was fixed at Westminster, at the heart of the city, and under the eyes of the people. Finally, the judges, constables, bailiffs, were henceforward to be men at law; a provision which alone effected complete transfer of the judiciary power from the hands of the clerks, the legists, and of inferior condition. The privileges granted

\* Id. p. 715. Otho had declared that an archbishop was only to have twelve horses, a bishop six, an abbot three. Crisp. 226, ap. Raumer, Hohenstaufen.

† Sismondi, Hist. des Français, p. 356.

‡ Guillelm. Brito, p. 94.

\* Hallam suspects a pious fraud here. See note at vol. ii. of *State of Europe in the Middle Ages*.

† Id. *ibid.* p. 450.

‡ These were a knight's personal captivity, the bond of his eldest son, and the marriage of his eldest daughter.—TRANSLATOR.

monarch to his immediate vassals, they, in return, were bound to concede to those old immediately of them. Thus, for the moment, the aristocracy felt that it could only then its victory over the king, by exacting security for all freemen. On that day the opposition between the conquerors and conquered, between the sons of the North and those of the Saxons, ceased, and for-

on the charter was presented for his signature, John exclaimed, "They might as well offer me my crown!"\* He signed, however, on burst into an ungovernable fit of rage, on straw and wood, like a caged beast, the bars of its den. As soon as the king had dissembled themselves, he made it throughout the continent that adventure from all countries—Brabanters, Flemings, Normans, Poitevins, Gascons—desirous of a new life, would be welcome in England to the lands of his rebellious barons for slaves; he burned to repeat on the ruins William's conquest of the Saxons, and obeyed the call, and the barons, in applied for aid to the Scotch and French.

The latter's son had married Blanche of Castile's niece, but this princess was a French girl's immediate heir, and could not be divorced from a man to which she was her betrothed. Besides, the pope interfered, and declared that the archbishop of Canterbury was excommunicated for a traitor to John, and that the French king to attack his brother-in-law, the English king. Nevertheless, the young Louis, Philippe's son, crossed the Channel, and the head of an army, to give aid to his father-in-law. All parties of Kent, for at this time, had the city of London declared for the king, and John was once more exiled. He fled to seek his safety in the forest of Fontenay, and a few days later, he died. Every one who had been loyal to John, who had opposed the king, he spent some of the last days of his life, lying on his back, and with him a large number of the knights who had been his faithful followers.

\* The We and near its junction with the Wash. See the account in *England*, vol. ii. p. 201.  
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cenaries. He lost it in crossing a river,\* and, then, bereft of every hope, was seized with a fever, and died. For the French, this was the worst event that could have happened. John's son, Henry III., was innocent of his father's crimes, and Louis, quickly finding the whole kingdom rally against him, was too happy to secure his safe return to France, by renouncing all claims to the English crown.†

Innocent III. had died two months before king John, (the dates of their deaths are July 16th and October 19th, 1216,) as great and as triumphant as the enemy of the Church was fallen. And yet this victorious close had its sting. What was there for him to wish? he had crushed Otto, and made an emperor of his young Italian, Frederick II.; the deaths of the kings of Aragon and of England had shown the world the danger of trifling with the Church; the heresy of the Albigens had been drowned in such seas of blood, that no fuel could be found for the funeral pile—what then was left this great and terrible ruler of the world and of human thought to desire?

Only one thing—that one vast, infinite thing, whose want nothing can supply—his own approbation, faith in himself. Perhaps, his confidence in the principle of persecution was not shaken, but through the shouts of victory there stole into his ear a confused cry of the shedding of blood, an accusing wail—low, gentle, modest—but the more terrible the more. When they came to tell him, how his Christian legate had in his name slaughtered twenty thousand human beings in Beziers, and how bishop Folquet had put ten thousand to death in Toulouse, could he make sure that in these wholesale executions the sword had never mistaken its victim? How many towns in ashes, how many children punished for the faults of their fathers, how many sins to punish sin? The executioners had been well paid—some was count of Toulouse and marquis of Provence; another, archbishop of Narbonne—others, bishops. And the Church, what had been her gain, one sweeping curse—the pope's excommunication.

In particular, a year before his death, in 1215, when the count of Toulouse, the count of Foix, and other lords of the South came to throw themselves at his feet, when he heard their prayers and saw their tears, he had been strangely troubled. He desired, it is said, to make amends, but could not. His agents would not suffer him to make a restitution, which would at once be their ruin and their condemnation. Mankind are not immolated to an idea.

\* The We and near its junction with the Wash. See the account in *England*, vol. ii. p. 201.  
† The We and near its junction with the Wash. See the account in *England*, vol. ii. p. 201.

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with impunity. The blood that is shed finds a voice within your own heart that shakes the idol to which you have offered sacrifice, and which fails you in the day of doubt, totters, turns pale, and is gone,—leaving one certainty: that you have sinned for it.

"When the holy father had heard all that they severally sought to say,\* he drew a heavy sigh; then retiring with his council, the said lords likewise withdrew to their lodging to wait what answer it might please the holy father to make.

"When the holy father had retired, there came to him all the prelates of the legate's, and of the count de Montfort's party, who explained to him, that if he restored to the applicants their lands and lordships, and refused to hearken unto them, no layman would hereafter interfere in church matters, or aid the Church. All the prelates having spoken on this wise, the holy father took a book and showed them all, that if they did not restore the said lands and lordships to those from whom they had taken them, it would be to do them grievous wrong, since he had found, and did find, count Raymond full of obedience to the Church, and her commands, as well as those that were with him; 'for which reason,' he said, 'I give them leave and license to recover their lands and lordships from those who retain them unjustly.' On this, you should have seen the said prelates murmuring against the holy father and the princes, in such sort that one would have taken them for men driven to extremity rather than aught else, and the holy father was all amazed at finding himself the object of their violence.

"When the chanter of Lyons of that day, who was one of the great clerks who are known all over the world, saw and heard the said prelates murmuring in this fashion against the holy father and the princes, he rose and took up the word against the prelates, saying and showing to the holy father that all that the prelates said, and had said, was solely out of their great malice and spite towards the said princes and lords, and was against all truth, 'For, my lord,' he said, 'well dost thou know, as touching count Raymond, that he was ever obedient to thee, and that he was in truth one of the first to put his strong places in thy hands and power, or in those of thy legate. He was, likewise, one of the first to take the cross, and assisted at the siege of Carcassonne against his nephew, the viscount de Béziers, which he did in proof of his obedience to thee, although the viscount was his nephew—which, too, has been a subject of complaint. Wherefore, it seemeth

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\* Languedocian Chronicle in the *Œuvres de l'Histoire du Languedoc*, t. ii. p. 59, 62. I follow M. Guizot's translation, with some modifications. With him, I believe in the great antiquity of this monument: though it is opposed, on several important points, to the contemporary historians. Perhaps, it represents the pope as too favorable to the count of Toulouse.—See, also, the fragment of the Chronicle in verse, published by M. Fauriel in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*.





him his letters, whereat count Raymond was exceeding joyful and glad of heart. They then left Viterbo and went straight to Genoa, where they waited for count Raymond's son.

"Now history says that after all this, and when count Raymond's son had remained at Rome the space of forty days, he had a private interview with the holy father, with his barons and the lords who were of his company. When he had arrived, after the child had saluted the holy father, as he well knew how to do, for the child was wise and well-mannered, he sought the holy father's permission to return, since he could have no other answer; and when the holy father had heard and listened to all that the child wished to say and show him, the holy father took him by the hand, and made him sit by his side, and addressed himself to speak to him, saying—'Son, listen, that I may speak to thee, and if thou doest that which I am about to say to thee, thou wilt never fail in any thing.

"In the first place, love and serve God, and take not what belongs to another; as for thine own, if any one seek to deprive thee of it, defend it, and by so doing thou wilt have many lands and lordships; and in order that thou mayest not remain without lands or lordships, I give thee the countryp of Venaissin, with all its appurtenances, Provence, and Beaucaire, to serve for thy maintenance until the Holy Church shall have assembled its council. Then thou mayest return on this side of the mountains to have satisfaction and justice in what thou seekest against the count de Montfort.'

"The child then thanked the holy father for what he had given him, and said to him, 'Lord, if I can recover my lands from the count de Montfort and those who retain them, I pray thee, lord, not to impute it to me as a fault, and not to be angered with me.' The holy father answered him, 'Whatever thou mayest do, God grant thee to begin well, and finish better.'

These wishes of a weak old man were not to be realized. It was neither the Raymonds nor the Montforts who reaped the patrimony of the count of Toulouse. The lawful heirs recovered it; but only quickly to yield it. The usurper, notwithstanding all his courage and prodigious strength of mind, was already conquered in heart, when a stone, launched from the walls of Toulouse, delivered him from this "mortal coil," (A. D. 1218.)\* His son, Amaury de Montfort, resigned his rights over

Languedoc in favor of the French king, and the whole of the South, some free cities, threw itself into the arms of Philip-Auguste.\* In 1222, the legate himself and bishops of the South besought him on his knee to allow Montfort to do him homage. In truth, the conquerors were at a loss what to do with their conquest, and doubted that they could retain it. The four hundred and fifty fiefs which Simon de Montfort had gained, were held according to the custom of the country, which might be torn from their new possessors; they secured themselves a powerful prince, and the conquered, who had seen the king of France on several occasions, opposed to a pope, hoped from him a little more equitable and gentler treatment.

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\* Raymond VII. writes to Philip-Auguste, Jr. 2.—"I apply to you, my lord, as to my chief and as to my lord, humbly praying and beseeching you to take pity on me." *Preuves de l'histoire de Languedoc*, p. 273.

† (December, 1222) "That . . . Amable brought to deign of your condescendence to accept for ever of your heirs forever, the land which he or his father might hold, in or near the territory of Albigens, and the place thereof, desiring that the Church and the people governed under the shadow of your name, and as the bottom of our hearts, forasmuch as royal power to your illustrious majesty, by grace of the holy Church, and for the honor of holy mother Church, as we desire, that you would receive the offering of the land and the said count's resignation; and you will be the other prelates prepared to exert ourselves to the utmost in this matter on your behalf, and to give means which the Church has, or may have, how . . . *Preuves de l'hist. du Langued.* t. III. p. 276.—(1222) "When I had been long left in solitary place in Beziers, every death every moment, and desiring death more than my fortune, the enemies alike of the faith and of peace, raised their swords over our heads, lo! O dreaded king, we received on the 1st of May a messenger . . . who brought a welcome message, a message of comfort, to the end of all our misery, namely, that it pleased the magnanimous your highness, (quod videlicet placuit celestibus et magnificentiis,) in council of the prelates and barons of the kingdom assembled at Melun, to take into consideration and remedy and succor of a land, which would be made a desert and a word of everlasting reproach, had it not been quickly succored by the ministry of your grace, Lord quickly, for which we equalled with excess of our worn out with extreme grief—at length breathing new thanks in the first place to the most High, in whom are the hearts of kings, knowing that it was by his appointment that you, &c. . . . Therefore with bountiful heart, most dreaded king, with parents of tears, and tears of joy, we implore your royal majesty to obey the call of God . . . since your kingdom is threatened with the invasion of the Church Universal, except you desire peace and succor." &c. . . . *Ibid.* p. 276.

‡ See above, p. 163.

\* Guillelm. Bod. Laur. c. 30. "The count was worn out with toils, and sick of his mind, and exhausted by the charges to which he was put, and the incessant upbraidings of the legate to rouse him from what he termed his negligence and inactivity, were too much for him; and so he prayed the Lord to end his troubles in the rest of death. On the evening before St. John the Baptist's day, a stone, launched from a mangonel, struck him on the head, and he expired on the spot."

against the civil and religious liberties of the city of Toulouse. A representative of the ideal, he longed to crush the municipal principle, which curbed his power. The English king was continuing against Canterbury and against his barons the struggle commenced by Henry II. Finally, the emperor Otto of Brunswick, son of Henry the Lion, sprung from a Guelphic family, the bitter enemy of the emperors, but English by his mother's side, and brought up at the English court with his eldest, Richard and John, thinking more of his other than of his father, went over to the Ghibelines, just as the Ghibeline house of the Anjous of Sicily was restored by the popes.

Innocent III., the guardian of the young Frederick II. Thus Otto, equally deserted

Guelphs and Ghibelines, found himself constricted to his dominions of Brunswick, and took view with his uncle John against the Church of Philippe-Auguste, who defeated him at Buvinet. Such was the anomalous condition of Europe. The princes were against unimpeded and for religious liberties. The emperor was Guelph, the pope Ghibeline; the pope, when attacking kings on religious wounds, supported them against the people on dynastic considerations. He crowned the king of Aragon, married a *Maria of Castile*, and annulled the excommunication of Canterbury, just as Frederick III. had annulled Becket. Thus popes, in their desire of a sort of defence against the heretics, were themselves, while the religious wars of the century, was progressing, the cause of religious wars, took part in the wars of the Sicilians, took part in the wars of the Angevins, and also in the wars of the English, and so on, and so on, until the one was the father

outraged, beaten, buffeted by his good friend the king of France, and, at last, compelled to place himself in his hands at Avignon. "Tis to the profit of France that conquered and conquerors, the Church's enemies and the Church herself will have succumbed.

How explain this rapid decay from Innocent the Third's day to that of Boniface the Seventh—such a fall after such a victory? In the first place, the sword is powerless against thought; rather, it is the nature of this vivacious plant to germ, grow, and flourish under its iron blade. How much the more, then, if the glaive is raised by the hand to which it ought to be most a stranger, by a pacific and priestly hand! if the lamb bites and tears, if the father murders! . . . the Church, forfeiting in this manner her character for sanctity, it will presently devolve on a layman, on a king, on the king of France. And thus, unwittingly, the pious Louis IX. inflicts a fearful blow on the Church.

The very remedies applied have turned into so many evils. The pope has only overcome independent mysticism, by himself opening large schools of mysticism. I speak of the mendicant orders. This was combating mischief by mischief, undertaking the most difficult and contradictory of all things, to reduce superstition to order, to fix the flames of flammation, and to give form to the form! Liberty is not to be spoiled with order in this fashion, but is a two-edged blade, which wounds him who handles it, for it grips it, and seeks to use it as its instrument.

The orders of St. Dominic and of St. Francis, on which the pope endeavored to support the Catholic Church, had a common mission—to preach. The best monastic period, the age of the Cistercians, in which the Benedictines had already fallen, and the same time the land and the coast of the heretics, had passed away. The order of the preachers of the crusade, of the monks of Cîteaux, and of Clairvaux, had cut off from the crusade. The Church required another order, one on which she should no longer be common to the Jerusalem of Judea, but to the Jerusalem of Christianity, simplicity, and charity. The safeguard of Christianity was not totally the unity of the Church. In Gregory the Seventh's day, it had been saved by the monks, the severities of the papacy. But at the time heretics were overrunning the world in the diffusion of their doctrines, the monks had put the field to a solitary order of monks, and against their preachers the Church brought forward her own preachers, in the name of the order of St. Dominic. \* The world being less to be won, she went forth to it. These missionaries of hers drew at the spring in which Christianity has ever sucked its thirst, when panting and fa-

## CHAPTER VIII.

### THE RACE OF THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY. MONASTICISM. THE SIXTH SANCTITY OF THE KING OF FRANCE.

THESE are the elements which were to form the new society of the thirteenth century, the society of the monks. Henry the Second, emperor of the empire, was crowned king of the Romans at Aachen, and the solemn inauguration of the emperor and king was celebrated at Aachen and Nijmegen, the two cities of the Holy See, and the tragic death of Richard of Aragon was read at the lesson to which he was read. Yet Henry the Second succeeded in nothing, for after the pope's power, that we have seen, the matter of the throne, the crown, was won by great pretor Edward, who, at the commencement of the following century,

\* They were called the *Preachers*—*Freres Prêcheurs*.—FRANCIS LUTON.

him his letters, whereat count Raymond was exceeding joyful and glad of heart. They then left Viterbo and went straight to Genoa, where they waited for count Raymond's son.

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Languedoc in favor of the French king; and the whole of the South, some free cities apart, threw itself into the arms of Philippe-Auguste.† In 1222, the legate himself and the bishops of the South besought him on bended knee to allow Montfort to do him homage.‡ In truth, the conquerors were at a loss what to do with their conquest, and doubted that they could retain it. The four hundred and thirty fiefs which Simon de Montfort had given, to be held according to the custom of Paris, might be torn from their new possessors except they secured themselves a powerful protector, and the conquered, who had seen the king of France on several occasions opposed to the pope, hoped from him a little more equity and gentler treatment.

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† December, 1222: "That . . . Anselme besought us to deign of your condescendence to accept for yourself and your heirs forever, the land which he or his father had or might hold, in or near the territory of Albigeoisum, we rejoice thereat, desiring that the Church and that land might be governed under the shadow of your name, and praying that the bottom of our hearts, inasmuch as royal power belongs to your illustrious majesty, by grace of the King of France, and for the honor of holy mother Church and your kingdom, that you would receive the offering of the aforesaid land and the said count's resignation; and you will find us and the other prelates prepared to exert ourselves to the utmost in this matter on your behalf, and to expend the means which the Church has or may have here." *Preuves de l'Hist. du Languedoc*, t. iii. p. 276.—1223: "When we had been long left in solitary wise in Beziers, expecting death every moment, and desiring death since we lived in torture, the enemies alike of the faith and of peace bearing their swords over our heads, but O dreaded king then arrived on the 1st of May a messenger . . . who brought us a welcome message, a message of comfort, to the relief of all our misery, namely, that it pleased the magnificence of your nightiness, quod vobiscum placet celestidudine vestra magnificentie, in council of the prelates and barons of your kingdom assembled at Melun, to take into consideration the remedy and succor of a land, which would be turned into a desert and a word of everlasting reproach, had not the Lord quickly succored us by the ministry of your royal right hand, for which we—squalid with excess of we, and worn out with extreme grief—at length breathing, return thanks in the first place to the Most High, in whose hand are the hearts of kings, knowing that it was by his inspiration that you, &c. . . . Therefore with bended knees, O most dreaded king, with torrents of tears, and torn with sobs, we implore your royal majesty to obey the call of God . . . since your kingdom is threatened with the subversion of the Church Universal, except you devise remedies, and succor." &c. . . . *Ibid.* p. 278.

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against the civil and religious liberties of the city of Toulouse. A representative of the feudal, he longed to crush the municipal principle, which curbed his power. The English king was continuing against Canterbury and against his barons the struggle commenced by Henry II. Finally, the emperor Otho of Brunswick, son of Henry the Lion, sprung from a Guelphic family, the bitter enemy of the emperors, but English by his mother's side, and brought up at the English court with his uncles, Richard and John, thinking more of his mother than of his father, went over to the Ghibelines, just as the Ghibeline house of the princes of Suabia was restored by the popes, by Innocent III., the guardian of the young Frederick II. Thus Otho, equally deserted by Guelphs and Ghibelines, found himself confined to his domains of Brunswick, and took pay with his uncle John against the Church and Philippe-Auguste, who defeated him at Bouvines. Such was the anomalous condition of Europe. The princes were against municipal, and for religious liberties. The emperor was Guelph, the pope, Ghibeline. The pope, while attacking kings on religious grounds, supported them against the people on political considerations. He crowned the king of Aragon, annulled *Magna Charta*, and blamed the archbishop of Canterbury, just as Alexander III. had abandoned Becket. Thus the pope renounced his ancient part of defender of political and religious liberties, while the French monarch, on the contrary, was granting numerous communal charters, took a share in the crusade of the South, let only so far as to be a voucher for his faith, and alone in Europe held a strong and simple position: his alone was the future.

## CHAPTER VIII.

### FIRST HALF OF THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY. MYSTICISM. LOUIS IX. SANCTITY OF THE KING OF FRANCE.

THE vast struggle which has been described in the preceding chapters, terminated, apparently, to the people's advantage. He is to be found everywhere—over the empire, over king John, over the heretical Albigenses, and the sects of the Greeks. England and Naples are become two fiefs of the holy see, and the tragic death of the king of Aragon has read a bitter lesson to all kings. Yet have all these successes tended so little to strengthen the papal power, that we shall see him, in the middle of the thirteenth century, abandoned by great part of Europe, seeking at Lyons the protection of the French, and, at the commencement of the following century,

outraged, beaten, buffeted by his good friend the king of France, and, at last, compelled to place himself in his hands at Avignon. 'Tis to the profit of France that conquered and conquerors, the Church's enemies and the Church herself will have succumbed.

How explain this rapid decay from Innocent the Third's day to that of Boniface the Seventh—such a fall after such a victory? In the first place, the sword is powerless against thought; rather, it is the nature of this vivacious plant to germinate, grow, and flourish under its iron blade. How much the more, then, if the glaive is raised by the hand to which it ought to be most a stranger, by a pacific and priestly hand! if the lamb bites and tears, if the father murders! . . . the Church, forfeiting in this manner her character for sanctity, it will presently devolve on a layman, on a king, on the king of France. And thus, unwittingly, the pious Louis IX. inflicts a fearful blow on the Church.

The very remedies applied have turned into so many evils. The pope has only overcome independent mysticism, by himself opening large schools of mysticism. I speak of the mendicant orders. This was combating mischief by mischief—undertaking the most difficult and contradictory of all things; to reduce inspiration to rule, to fix the limits of illumination, and to give form to delirium! Liberty is not to be sported with in this fashion, but is a two-edged blade, which wounds him who fancies that he grasps it, and seeks to use it as an instrument.

The orders of St. Dominic and of St. Francis, on which the pope endeavored to support the tottering Church, had a common mission—to preach. The first monastic period, the age of monkish industry, in which the Benedictines had cleared at one and the same time the land and the mind of the barbarians, had passed away. The age of the promoters of the crusade, of the monks of Cluny and of Chrysostom, had ended with the crusade. The Church required a moral crusade, one on which she should no longer summon men to the Jerusalem of Judea, but to the Jerusalem of charity, unity, simplicity, and obedience. The safeguard of Christianity was not, lately, the unity of the Church. In Gregory the Seventh's day, it had been saved by the monks, the auxiliaries of the papacy. But at the time that was over, when the world in the stillness of their doctrines, the monks had quitted the field for a solitary and desperate fight, and against their promoters the Church brought forward her own *preachers*. 'Tis the name of the order of St. Dominic.\* The world coming less to her, she went forth to it. These missionaries of hers drew at the spring in which Christianity has ever stake its thirst, when panting and fa-

\* They were called the *Divine Preachers*—*Tham Laven*.

tigued—that of grace;\* and there jetted† from this spring two orders, those of St. Dominic‡ and St. Francis. The spring being re-opened, there was abundance for every one; all came, and laymen were made free of it. The third order (*Tiers-Ordre*) of St. Dominic and of St. Francis received a multitude of men who could not quit the world, and who sought to reconcile its duties with monastic perfection. St. Louis and his mother belonged to the third order of St. Francis.

Thus far the influence of the two orders was common to either; yet, with this resemblance, each bore the imprint of a different character. The order of St. Dominic, founded by an austere spirit, by a Spanish gentleman, and born under the sanguinary inspiration of Cîteaux in the midst of the Languedocian crusade, early stopped short in the career of mysticism, and displayed neither the fiery enthusiasm nor the discursive flights of the sister order. It was the chief auxiliary of the popes, until the establishment of the Jesuits. The office of the Dominicans was to regulate and to repress. Theirs was the Inquisition; and to them was confided the teaching of philosophy even within the pontifical palace. While the Franciscans hurried over the world in the wildness of inspiration, alternately sinking and rising from obedience to liberty, and from heresy to orthodoxy, firing the world and agitating it with the transports of mystical love, the sombre genius of St. Dominic buried itself within the sacred palace of the Lateran, and the granitic vaults of the Escurial.§

The order of St. Francis was less trammelled, and hurried headlong into love, the love of God, exclaiming, as did Luther at a later period—Perish the law, flourish grace! The founder of this wandering order was a huckster or pedler of Assise; and he got his name of Francis, (*Franciscus*), Italian as he was, from his mostly speaking French, (*Frangais*). "He was," says his biographer, "in his younger days, a vain person, a buffoon, a joker, and a singer, lavish, fickle, and bold. . . . He had a round head, small forehead, black eyes with no medullosence in them, straight eyebrows, straight and thin nose, small pricked up ears, sharp and ardent tongue, earnest and mild voice, white, equal, and compact teeth, thin lips, little beard, meager neck, short arms, long fingers and nails, a poor leg, a small foot, and little or no flesh."¶ He was five and twenty when converted by a dream. On rising, he

takes horse, sells his stuffs at Foligno, brings back the money to an old priest, and on his refusing it, throws it out of the window. He seeks, at all events, to remain with the priest, but is pursued by his father, escapes, lives a month in a hole, is discovered by his father, laden with blows, and followed by the mob with volleys of stones. His friends compel him to make a formal renunciation of all his worldly goods before the bishop. His joy was at its height; he gives his father all his clothes, not even reserving a pair of drawers: the bishop throws his cloak over him.\*

He is now launched into the world, and runs through the woods, singing his Creator's praises. Stopped by robbers, who ask him who he is, he replies, "I am the herald who proclaim the Great King." They thrust him into a gully full of snow—a new joy for the saint, who drags himself out of it, and goes on his way rejoicing. The birds sing with him; he preaches to them, and they listen: "Birds, my brothers," were his words, "do you not love your Creator, who gives you wings and feathers, and all you want!" Then, satisfied with their docility, he gives them his blessing, and allows them to fly away.† In like manner he exhorted all living things to praise and thank God. He loved them, sympathized with them; he saved, when he could, the hare pursued by the hunters, and sold his cloak to redeem a lamb from the shambles. In his boundless charity he embraced inanimate nature herself. Corn-fields, vines, woods, stones, &c. fraternized with them all, and summoned them all to the divine love.‡

In time, a poor idiot of Assise attached himself to him; then a rich tradesman left all to follow him. These first Franciscans, and those who joined them, fell at first into diabolical extravagances, akin to those of the fakirs of India, suspending themselves by cords, and loading themselves with iron chains and wooden shackles.§ Then, when they had somewhat satisfied this longing for pain, St. Francis long revolved within himself whether prayer or preaching were the preferable of the two, and might have been still engaged in meditating on the point, had he not bethought himself of consulting St. Clara and brother Sylvester. They decided for preaching.¶ From this moment he hesitated no longer, but girded his loins with a cord and set out for Rome. "Such

\* The University had just deserted St. Augustin for Arnobius. Book II. c. 29. The Mendicants went back to St. Augustin.

† *Id. ibid.* c. 30. *de duobus ordinibus.* See the translator's note at p. 181-2.

‡ Dominic was established in the privileges of a "Founder" by the Pope of Honor III., who created for him the office of Master of the Sacred Palace.

§ *Id. ibid.* c. 11.

¶ *Id. ibid.* c. 11. Vita S. Francis! a Thomas Celano p. 68, 706. Thomas was a disciple of St. Francis, and twice wrote his life by order of Gregory IX.

\* *Ibid.* Th. Celano, pp. 667, 668. Nec femoralia retinens, totum amictum deiecit. Episcopus . . . pelus quo indutus erat, contexit eum.

† *Id. ibid.* p. 669. "Frater meus, aves, multum debetis laudare Creatorem," etc. . . . One day that the anxious hindered him from praying by their chirping, he begged them to cease, "Sonores sunt, hirundines," etc. They obeyed at once.

‡ *Id. ibid.* p. 705. "Societas, vineas, lapides, et silvas, et omnia spectacula compositionum . . ." He admonished both land and fire, the air and the wind to Divine love, &c. . . . "He called all created things *brethren*, as my brother, sister, my sister, fly," &c.

§ *Id. ibid.* p. 685. Aliquis suspensus funibus. . . .

¶ Vita S. Franc. & S. Bonaventura, p. 774.



woman assumed on earth a position proportioned to the new importance which she had acquired in the celestial hierarchy. In the thirteenth we find her seated, at least as mother and regent, on many of the western thrones. Blanche of Castile governs in the name of her infant son, as does the countess of Champagne for the young Thibaut, and the countess of Flanders for her captive husband. Isabella of Marche also exercises the greatest influence over her son, Henry III., king of England. Jane of Flanders did not content herself with the power, but desired manly honors and ensigns, and claimed at the consecration of St. Louis the right of her husband to bear the naked sword, the sword of France.\*

Before proceeding to explain how a woman governed France, and broke down feudal powers in the name of a child, we must remind the reader how every circumstance of the period favored the increase of monarchical strength. Royalty had only to float on, borne by the current. It sustained no check from the death of Philippe-Auguste, (A. D. 1223.) His son, the weak and sickly Louis VIII., named ironically, it would seem, Louis the Lion, did not the less play a conqueror's part. He failed in England, it is true, but he took Poitou from the English. In Flanders, he maintained the countess Jane on the throne, doing her the kindness to keep her husband prisoner in the tower of the Louvre. She was the daughter of Baldwin, the first emperor of Constantinople, who was supposed to have been slain by the Bulgarians. One day, he suddenly presents himself in Flanders. His daughter refuses to recognise him, but he is welcomed by the people, and she is compelled to fly to Louis VIII., who brings her back with an army. The old man was unable to answer certain questions; twenty years' hard captivity might well have impaired his memory. He passed for an impostor, and the countess put him to death. She was looked upon by all her people as a parrieide.

In this manner Flanders was subjected to French influence, and Languedoc soon followed. Louis VIII. was summoned thither by the Church to act against the Albigeois, who start-

ed up again under Raymond VII.\* On the other part, a vast number of the Southerners were anxious to have this war of tigers, which had been so long going on among them, put an end to by the intervention of France. Louis had proved his humanity and knightly loyalty at the siege of Marmande, where he vainly endeavored to save the besieged. Five and twenty lords and seventeen archbishops and bishops gave it as their advice to the king that he should take upon himself the extirpation of the Albigeois;† and, indeed, he put himself in motion at the head of all Northern France, the men-at-arms alone amounting to fifty thousand. The alarm in the South was great. Numerous barons and cities sent to meet Louis, and to do him homage. Nevertheless, the republics of Provence, Avignon, Arles, Marseilles, and Nice, hoped that the torrent would pass on one side. Avignon offered a free passage outside its walls; but, at the same time, entered into a secret understanding with the count of Toulouse to destroy all the forage on the approach of the French cavalry, for Avignon entertains the closest relations with Raymond, and had remained twelve years under excommunication for his sake. Indeed, the podestats of Avignon took the title of bailiffs or lieutenants of the count of Toulouse. Louis VIII. insisted on passing through the city itself, and on its refusal, laid siege to it. Frederick II.'s remonstrances on behalf of this imperial city were unheeded, and she was forced to ransom herself, give hostages, and throw down her walls. The besiegers put to death all the French and Flemings whom they found there. Great part of Languedoc was struck with dismay; Nîmes, Albi, and Carcassonne surrendered; and Louis VIII. settled seneschals in the latter town and in Beaucaire. It seemed as if he were to effect in this campaign the complete reduction of the South. But the siege of Avignon had been a fatal delay; a destructive epidemic broke out in the camp, from excessive heats; and Louis had himself fallen sick when the duke of Brittany and the counts of Languedoc, Marche, Angoulême, and Champagne entered into an agreement to withdraw. They all repented of having forwarded the king's success; and the count of Champagne, the queen's lover, (such at least is the tradition), was accused of having poisoned Louis, who died shortly after his departure. (A. D. 1226.)

According to the feudal laws, the regency and guardianship of the young Louis IX. should have belonged to his uncle Philippe-le-Herpin (the Gross,) count of Boulogne. The pope's legate and the count of Champagne, who were said to be equally favored by the queen-mother, Blanche of Castile, secured the regency to her. A woman commanding millions of men

\* She made herself a chaplet of fair, flourishing roses. God has crowned her there, you who love not.

He taught each verse in my mystic sense to the Virgin, and then exclaims with enthusiasm—

"Ceste est la belle Aliz,  
Ceste est la fleur,  
Ceste est la fleur."

This is the fair Virgin, this is the flower, this is the lily.  
Bouquet. Poème du X<sup>e</sup> et du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle.

The French son, St. Bonaventura, is said to have composed the Latin and lesser Psalter of the Blessed Virgin Mary. The latter is a kind of serious parody, in which each verse is applied to the Virgin. Psalm is a word for in fair is the reverse of a woman.

\* Raymond VII. died in 1222, a woman, in the year 1220 succeeded for the first time a sultan. Chagier Ladour succeeded Aroudin. Before this a woman's name had never been seen on the coin, or mentioned in the public prayers. The empire of Russia protested against the scandal of this innovation. Michaud, Hist. des Croisades, t. iv. p. 337.

\* See the letter of the bishops of the South to Louis VIII. Preuves de l'Hist. du Lang. p. 249; and the letters of Innocent III. op. Sc. R. Fr. xv. 629-723.

† Hist. du Lang. t. xiv. p. 330, and Preuves, pp. 229, 300.

was a vast innovation; and was a brilliant abandonment of the military and barbarian system which had prevailed up to that time, to enter upon the pacific path of the spirit of modern times. The Church aided the movement. Besides the legate, the archbishop of Sens and the bishop of Beauvais came forward to attest, that the last king had named his wife regent on his death-bed. His will, which is still extant, contains nothing of the sort. It is, too, doubtful that he would have confided the care of the kingdom to a Spaniard, to king John's niece, to a woman who was said to be selected by the count of Champagne as the object of his poetic gallantries. Though at first the king's enemy, like the other great barons, the count was nevertheless the most powerful support of the throne after the death of Louis VIII. He, indeed, loved his widow, as it was said, on the other hand, Champagne loved France, the large manufacturing cities of Troyes, Bar-sur-Seine, &c. necessarily sympathized with the pacific and regular power of the king, rather than with the military turbulence of the lords.

The king's party was the party of peace, order, and of security of travelling. All who had occasion to travel, merchants or pilgrims, were assured by the king, and this serves to explain the better hatred entertained by the great lords towards the count of Champagne, who had only separated from their league. The only sign of the growing importance of the nobles as part of the community felt by the people, which gave the strength to the wars of France, and of Longueville, was certainly not a strain on the feudal privileges committed in Champagne to the favour of the minority.

[illegible]

rights of pasturage, the use of all dead wood for fuel, and exemptions from toll.\* The lords of the interior of the country, too, were with him, especially the barons of French Brittany, (Avallour, Vitré, Fougères, Chateaubriant, Dol, Chateaugiron,) but he was on all terms with those of the coast, (Leon, Rohan, le Faou, &c.) endeavoring to wrest their privileges from them, and, particularly, the precious right of *avoy*, in virtue of which they claimed all shipwrecked vessels. He also struggled against the Church, censuring it of simony before the barons, and employing against the priests the knowledge of canonical law which he had acquired from the university. In this struggle he showed himself inflexible and barbarous; on the refusal of a *cure* to bury an excommunicated person, he ordered the body and him to be buried together †

Maulevergne was thus too busied within his own territory, to be able to act with much vigor against France, to which end he would have required to have been well supported by England. But the Plantagenets who governed and plundered the young Henry III., did not leave him money enough to undertake an honorable war. He was to have crossed over in 1226, but was detained by a revolt. Maulevergne expected him again in 1229, but Henry the Third's favorite was bribed by the queen-regent of France, and nothing was ready. She had to retire the address to hinder the count of Champagne from marrying Maulevergne's daughter. Conscious of the weakness of their league, the barons, notwithstanding all their ill-will, did not formally disobey the infant king, in whose name the regent issued her orders, and when summoned by her in 1228 to join her with their followers against Brittany, they all appeared, but brought only two knights each.

The weakness of this logic of the North allowed the regiment and her cause for the brigade to act with vigor against the South. A new morale was communicated in Lexington, which has, at least, in its own right, in the heroic deed, been praised by Raymond VII, who maintained the presence of R. T. Jones would have made a point of it, and that had not the army in the North, and that the destruction of the vessel, which was not the top wealth of the country. The Lexington had been a vessel of the coast, and it was, but on this, they could not be so much to yield. He was ordered to the walls of the city, to admit a

\* \* \* \* \*  
 gnu. \* \* \* \* \*  
 gnu. \* \* \* \* \*

1. The first step in the process of the investigation is the identification of the problem. This is done by the investigator who is responsible for the study. The next step is to collect data. This is done by the investigator who is responsible for the study. The next step is to analyze the data. This is done by the investigator who is responsible for the study. The next step is to interpret the data. This is done by the investigator who is responsible for the study. The next step is to report the results. This is done by the investigator who is responsible for the study.

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Journal de Paul-Louis, au sujet de la page 219



French garrison within it, to authorize the establishment of the Inquisition, to confirm France in possession of Lower Languedoc, and to leave Toulouse after his death as the dower of his daughter Jane, who was betrothed to one of the king's brothers.\* Upper Provence he ceded to the Church; and hence the origin of the right of the popes to the countship of Avignon. He himself repaired to Paris, humbled himself, submitted to the scourge in the church of Notre-Dame, and voluntarily gave himself up to six weeks' imprisonment in the tower of the Louvre.† This tower, in which six counts had been imprisoned after the battle of Bouvines, from which the count of Flanders had just been released, and in which the old count of Boulogne had slain himself in despair, had become the château, the country-seat in which the great barons lodged, each in his turn.

By this time the regent had sufficient confidence in her power to defy the count of Brittany, and cited him to appear before the peers. This tribunal of the twelve peers, framed after the mystic number of the twelve apostles, and on the poetic traditions of the Carolingian romances, was not a fixed and regular institution. Nothing could be more convenient for the monarch. On this occasion the peers happened to be the archbishop of Sens, the bishops of Chartres and of Paris, the counts of Flanders, Champagne, Nevers, Blois, Chartres, Montfort, Vendôme, the lords of Coucy and Montmorency, and many other barons and knights.

Their sentence would not have done much, had Maulevergne been better supported by the English and by the barons. The latter treated separately with the regent. Forced to succumb to Blanche, all the hatred of the barons was accumulated against the count of Champagne, who was obliged to take refuge in Paris, and was only suffered to return to his domains on condition that he would take the cross in expiation of the death of Louis VIII.: which was a plain admission of his guilt.

Thus the whole movement which had troubled Northern France passed over towards the South and the East. The two rival chiefs, Thibaut and Maulevergne, were removed to a distance by new events, and left the kingdom at peace. Thibaut became king of Navarre by the death of his wife's father, and sold to the regent Chartres, Blois, Sancerre, and Chateaudun. He was followed by numbers of the barons. The king of Aragon, who, at the same time, began his crusade against Majorca and Valencia, likewise took away with him many knights, especially a large number of Provençal and Languedocian *judits*‡—those

who had been exiled in the war of the Albigeois. Shortly afterwards, Pierre Mauclerc, who was count of Brittany in right of his wife only, abdicated the countship in favor of his son, and was named by pope Gregory IX. general-in-chief of the new crusade to the East.

Such was the favorable situation of the kingdom at the epoch of the majority of St. Louis. (A. D. 1236.) The monarchy had lost nothing since the time of Philippe-Auguste. Here let us pause a moment, and review the progress of kingly authority, and of the central power since the accession of the grandsire of St. Louis.

Sooth to speak, Philippe-Auguste had founded this kingdom by uniting Normandy with Picardy. He may be said, too, to have founded Paris, by giving it its cathedral, its market (*halle*), its pavement, hospitals, aqueducts, new bounds, new arms, and, especially, by chartering and endowing its university. He had established the royal jurisdiction by inaugurating the assembly of peers by a popular and humane act—the condemnation of John, and the punishment of Arthur's murder. The great feudal powers were sinking; and Flanders, Champagne, and Languedoc acknowledged the king's authority. He had got together a powerful party among the nobility, and had created, if I may use the term, a democracy in the aristocracy itself—I allude to the cadets or younger sons, with regard to whom he settled it as a principle, that they should henceforward be independent of their elder brothers.

Louis IX., the prince on whom this great inheritance devolved, attained his majority in 1236. He was, indeed, declared mayor; but, in reality, he long remained dependent on his mother, the haughty Spaniard who had for ten years directed affairs. The qualities of Louis were not of the kind which display themselves early. The leading feature of his character was an exquisite sense and sensitive love of duty; and his duty he long took to be obedience to his mother's will. A Spaniard by her side,\* by his grandmother, Isabella's, a Fleming, the young prince imbibed with his mother's milk an ardent piety which seems to have been foreign from most of his predecessors, and of which his successors seem to have been little more susceptible.

This man, who was born with a necessity for belief, as a vital part of himself, entered the world exactly in the midst of the great crisis when all beliefs were shaken. Where were the beautiful images of order—the reveries of

\* See the articles of the Treaty, inserted in the third volume of the *Procès de l'Église de Languedoc*, p. 229, sqq., and in the twentieth volume of the *Ser. R. Fr.* p. 239, sqq.  
† *Guil. de Pod. Lur.* ap. *Ser. R. Fr.* x. 224.

‡ An old French word, meaning "banished men, exiles."

\* By his mother, he was related to Alfonso X., king of Castile, who had promised him aid in the crusade, but he died in 1232, and St. Louis never saw him. "This was," Math. Paris, p. 565. "On his return," says Villani, "he had come struck with the impress of holy suffrage, in resolution of his private affairs, others say, with the tower of Castile." The latter opinion is supported by the fact that Charles and Alfonso's brothers of St. Louis, introduced the towers of Castile into their arms. Michaud, t. iv. p. 445.



skulls which they reared in the plain of Bagdad.\*

These barbarians were equally to be feared by all the sects and religious beliefs by which Asia was divided, and which had not a chance of arresting their progress. Sunnites and Shites, (the caliph of Bagdad and he of Cairo,) the Assassins and the Christians of the Holy Land—all feared the day of Judgment. All disputes, were on the eve of adjustment, all hatreds, of reconciliation: the Mongols had charged themselves with the task. From the East they would beyond doubt pass over into Europe, in order to effect an agreement between the pope and the emperor, between the king of England and the king of France. Then they would have no more to do than to shake out the oats for their horses on the altar of St. Peter's at Rome,† and the reign of Antichrist would begin.

They advanced with slow and irresistible pace, like the vengeance of God: already were they everywhere present by the terror they inspired. In the year 1238, the men of Frisia and Denmark durst not quit their affrighted wives to pursue the herring fishery, as was their wont, on the English coast.‡ In Syria,

\* After Tamerlane had made Damascus one ruin, he caused coin to be struck bearing an Arab word, signifying —*inglorious*, which, by its numeral value, denoted the year of heira 809—the year in which Damascus was taken. *Romanus, Description des Mon. Musulmans*, &c., t. i. p. 80. *Charbon, t. iv. p. 292*.—Another chronogram of Tamerlane's, corresponding with the year of the heira 773 likewise signifies *inglorious*. See D'Herbelot, *Bibliothèque Orientale*.

† The saying attributed, in the fifteenth century, to the Turkish sultan, Bayezet.

‡ "They had," says Matthew Paris, "ravaged and depopulated Great Hungary, and had sent ambassadors with the accompanying letters to all people. Their general gave out that he was sent by Almighty God to subdue the nations that had rebelled against him. The heads of these barbarians are large, and disproportioned to their bodies; they feed on raw and even on human flesh; they are incomparable warriors; they carry with them leathern boats to cross rivers; they are robust, impious, inexorable; their language is unknown to all people with whom we are acquainted; *quos nostra attingit notitia*. They are rich in flocks of sheep, oxen, and of horses so swift of foot as to make three days' march in one day. They wear good armour in front of their body, but none behind, in order never to be tempted to fly. Inhabiting the northern region, the Cypriotes, and those that confine with them, they are named Tartars from the name of the river Tar. Their number is so great, as to seem to threaten mankind with destruction. Although there had been former invasions of the Tartars, there was greater dread of them this year from their seeming to be fiercer than usual; thus the natives of Gothland and Friesland did not come this year, as they commonly did to the English coast, to load their ships with herrings; consequently herrings were so abundant in England as to be sold almost for nothing; even in districts far distant from the coast fifty excellent ones would be sold for a penny." *Matthew Paris*. A Saracen messenger, of powerful and noble aspect, who had come on a solemn embassy to the king of France, chiefly from the Old Man of the Mountain, to reveal these events, in the name of all the Easterns, and solicited from the Westerns to repress the fury of the Tartars. He sent one of his companions in the embassy to the king of England, to set forth the same things to him, and to inform him that the Mussulmans could not withstand the shock of these enemies; nothing could hinder them from invading the West. The bishop of Winchester, who was present at this audience, he was Henry the Third's favourite, and who had already taken the cross, took up the word in a bantering tone: "Let us leave," he said, "these dogs to devour one another, that they may

every moment was expected to bring the big yellow heads and small shaggy horses. The whole East was reconciled. The Mahometan princes, and among the rest, the Old Man of the Mountain, had sent a suppliant embassy to the king of France, and one of the ambassadors crossed over into England.

On the other hand, the Latin emperor of Constantinople had just laid before St. Louis his danger, destitution, and misery. The poor emperor had been forced to enter into alliance with the Comans, and to swear friendship to them, laying his hand on a dead dog. He was reduced to such extremity as to be compelled to burn the beams of the ceiling of his palace for fire-wood; and when the empress subsequently came once more to appeal to the king's pity, Joinville had to give her a gown to make her presentable. The emperor offered to make over to St. Louis an inestimable treasure, the true crown of thorns with which our Saviour had been crowned, a very great bargain. The sole embarrassment which the monarch felt in the matter was, that dealing in relics seemed to partake of simony; yet it was not forbidden to make a present to him who made such a gift to France. This present amounted to a hundred and sixty thousand livres, and St. Louis added into the bargain the proceeds of a confiscation levied upon the Jews, which he scrupled to touch himself. He went barefooted as far as Vincennes to receive the holy relics, and afterwards founded the Sainte Chapelle at Paris for their shrine.

The crusade of 1235 was not calculated to re-establish the affairs of the East. The Champenois\* king of Navarre, the duke of Burgundy, and the count de Montfort, suffered themselves to be defeated. The brother of the king of England gained no other glory than that of ransoming prisoners. Mauclerc was the only one who reaped any advantage. However, the young king of France could not yet quit his kingdom to repair these mischiefs. An extensive league had been formed against him. The count of Toulouse, whose daughter was the wife of the king's brother, Alphonse de Poitiers, wished to make one more effort to keep his state, though he had not been able to keep his children. He was allied to the sovereigns of England, Navarre, Castile, and Aragon; and desired to marry either Marguerite de la Marche, sister of Henry III., by the mother's side, or Beatrice of Provence. An alliance with the latter would have reunited Provence to Languedoc, and he would have disinherited his daughter in favor of the children Beatrice might have borne him, and so formed the whole South into one kingdom. This

perish the sooner. And then, when we shall fall upon those of Christ's enemies who survive, we shall make away with them more easily, and clear the earth of them. Then the whole world will be subject to the Catholic Church, and there will be but one shepherd and one fold." *Math. Paris*, p. 314.

\* Champenois—Born in Champagne.



useless war which had lasted above a century!—and both she and the very priests besought him to renounce his intention. He was inflexible. The idea which was supposed to be so fatal for him, apparently saved him. He hoped and wished to live, and did live. As soon as he was convalescent, he sent for his mother and the bishop of Paris, and addressed them as follows:—"Since you believe that I was not perfectly myself when I took my vows, I now pluck my cross from off my shoulders, and give it into your hands. . . . But now," he went on to say, "you cannot deny that I am in the full enjoyment of all my faculties; then give me back my cross, for He who knows all things, also knows that no food shall enter my mouth until I have again been marked with his sign." "Tis the finger of God," exclaimed all present, "let us no longer oppose his will." And from that day forward, no one gainsaid his project.

The only obstacle there remained to overcome—a sad and unnatural thing—was the pope. Innocent IV. filled all Europe with his hate to Frederick II. Expelled from Italy, he assembled against him a great council at Lyons,\* which city, though imperial, held nevertheless of France, on whose territory was her faubourg beyond the Rhône. St. Louis, who had vainly offered his mediation, felt some repugnance at receiving the pope; nor did he, until after all the monks of Cîteaux had thrown themselves at his feet, and he had made him wait fifteen days before declaring his will.† In his passion, Innocent did all that lay in his power to thwart the crusade to the East; seeking to turn the arms of the French king against the emperor, or against the king of England, who had momentarily forgotten his servility towards the holy see. As early as the year 1239, he had offered the imperial crown to St. Louis for his brother, Robert d'Artois; and, in 1245, he offered him that of England—a strange sight, to see a pope neglecting nothing that might hinder the deliverance of Jerusalem, and offering all and every thing to one who had taken the cross, to induce him to violate his vow.‡

Louis recked little of acquisitions. He thought much more of rendering those of his father's lawful. He vainly attempted to reconcile England by a partial restitution. He even put the question to the bishops of Normandy, how he might make his mind easy as to his right to the possession of that province.§ He induced, first, the viscount Trencavel, to whom Nîmes and Béziers belonged by right of inheritance, with a sum of money, and took him

with him to the crusade with all the *saidits*, the exiles of the war of the Albigeois, all those whom the establishment of Montfort's companions had deprived of their patrimony.\* Thus he made the holy war a means of expiation, and universal reconciliation.

#### THE TWO LAST CRUSADES.

It was not a mere war, an expedition, which St. Louis projected, but the foundation of a great colony in Egypt. The idea of that day was, and not unsupported by probability, that to conquer and keep possession of the Holy Land, it was essential to have Egypt to rest upon. (*pour point d'appui*.) Thus he carried with him a large quantity of agricultural implements, and tools of every kind.† In order to maintain a regular communication, he desiderated a port of his own on the Mediterranean—and, as the Provençal harbors belonged to his brother, Charles of Anjou, he formed that of Aigues-Mortes.

He first sailed to Cyprus, where he took an immense stock of provisions,‡ and where he made a long stay, either waiting for his brother Alphonse, who headed his reserve, or, perhaps, to train himself to an eastern climate in this new world. Here he was amused by watching the ambassadors of the Asiatic princes, who came to observe the great king of the Franks. First, came those of the Christians, from Constantinople, Armenia, and Syria; those of the Mussulmans, and, among others, the envoys of that Old Man of the Mountain, of whom there ran so many stories.§ Even the Mongols sent their representatives|| and St. Louis, who supposed them favorable to Christianity from their hate to the other Mahometans, entered into a league with them against the two popes of Islamism—the caliphs of Bagdad and of Cairo.

When the Asiatics had recovered from their first fears, they grew familiar with the idea of the great invasion of the Franks; who were

\* Hist. du Languedoc, l. xiv. p. 457.

† "Spades, pitchforks, drags, ploughshares, ploughs," &c. Math. Paris.

‡ Jeanville, (ed. 1761, fol.) p. 29. . . . "And when they saw the stacks they took them for mountains, for rain had fallen so long that the corn had sprouted, so that it looked like grass."

§ He sent to ask the king for exemption from the tribute which he paid to the Hospitallers and Templars:—"Behind the admiral was a bachelor, the helmsman well equipped, who held in his hand three daggers, the one of which went into the handle of the other; and, had the admiral been remiss, he would have presented them severally to the king in token of defiance. Behind him who held the three knives was another who held a *houque*, or piece of cotton cloth twisted round his arm, which he would have presented to the king, to signify that it was his warding shirt, had he refused the request of the Old Man of the Mountain." Jeanville, p. 95. . . . When the Old Man rode forth, he was preceded by a crier who bore a Danish axe with a long handle, all covered with silver, and stuck full of daggers, who proclaimed, "Turn from before him who bears the death of kings in his hands." Id. p. 97.

|| M. de Remusat (Mémoire sur les Tartares) does not agree with de Guignes in thinking the ambassadors impostors.

\* Math. Paris, p. 443-447, sqq. "Let us first crush the dragons! Then, indeed, we will soon crush these young vipers." "Then he said with great anger, in a voice stifled by passion, 'swart' with his eyes, and contracted nostrils."

† Id. p. 442.

‡ "The Franks hereons durst not proceed to the Holy Land, for the plots of the court of Rome." (Municipal Romance, a French tradition.) Math. Paris, ap. Michaud, l. iv. p. 24.

§ Math. Paris, p. 612.

becoming enervated by the abundance and seductions of a tempting climate. Prostitutes pitched their tents around the very tent of the king himself, and of his wife, the chaste queen Margaret, who had followed him.\*

At length, he determined on setting out for Egypt, and had the choice of Damietta or of Alexandria as a landing-place. Borne by a gale towards the first,† he attacked in all haste and leaped into the water, sword in hand. The light troops of the Saracens, who were drawn up on the shore, tried one or two charges, but finding the Franks immovable, they fled at full gallop. The strong town of Damietta, which might have held out, surrendered in the first alarm. Master of such a place, the next step was an immediate attack on Alexandria or Cairo. But the same faith which inspired the crusade, led to the neglect of the means by which would have secured its success. Besides, the king, a foolish king, could not be able to force his followers from the plunder of a rich city. It was a repetition of Cyprus; they only allowed themselves to be driven on when wearied of their own excesses. There was another excuse. Alphonse, who had been expected, had not arrived. The count of Baux, Mameluke, already experienced in Eastern warfare, advised Alexandria's being first secured; the king insisted on making for Cairo. This led to the army's plunging into that country, into scented with curds, and followed by a route which had been so fatal to Richard the Lion. The march was singularly slow. Instead of throwing bridges over the canal, they made a causeway across each, and thus they took a month to march the ten miles between Damietta and Mansourah,‡ to give an idea of how down they made their way, which was far from the current of the Nile, and almost in a new channel. During this slow, they suffered to be driven from the Greek fire, which they rejected them by the Saracens, and wearing out in the summer as they were, found it a laborious and painful journey. Fifty days were

consumed in this, when they learned that they might have spared themselves all the labor and trouble; a Bedouin showed them a ford, (Feb. 8th.)

The vanguard, led by Robert of Artois, effected the passage with some difficulty. The Templars, who happened to be with him, recommended his waiting until his brother should come up; but the fiery youth scorned their advice as that of cowards, and spurred into the town like a madman through the open gates. He allowed his horse to be led by a brave knight who was deaf, and who cried out, with a stunning voice, "Upon them, upon them, down with the enemy!" The Templars dared not remain behind; all entered, all perished. The Mamelukes, recovered from their surprise, barricaded the streets, and crushed the assailants from the windows.

The king, as yet ignorant of what had befallen, crossed over, and encountered the Saracens. He fought valiantly. "There, where I was on foot with my knights," says Joinville, "the king came, wounded, with all his battle, and with great sound and noise of trumpets and nakirs, and halted on a raised way, but never was so goodly a man at arms seen, for he topped all his people from the shoulders upward, and had a golden helm on his head, and a German sword in his hand." In the evening, he was made acquainted with the death of the count d'Artois; he exclaimed, "that God had wished for what he had given him, and then big tears fell from his eyes." "Some one came to inform about his brother." "All that I know," he said, "is, that he is in paradise."§

The Mamelukes returning from all sides to the charge, the French retreated to their entrenchments until night fall. The count of Anjou, who had pushed on the night before to Cairo, was on foot in the midst of his knights, when he was attacked and one and the other slain by two troops of Saracens, the one on foot, the other on horseback. He was overwhelmed with the Greek fire, and was considerably and utterly discomfited. The king saved himself by breaking through the Massinians, while his horse's mane was all covered with the Greek fire. The count of Poitiers was for a moment a prisoner of the Greek vessels, but the butchery, so often a symptom of the enemy. The sultan Baidar could only keep his ground under cover of the docks of Bagdady's machine, and pushed across the river. Guido Marston, covered with the Greek fire, hardly escaped from the flames. The battalions of foot and light troops, of the towers from beyond the sea, commanded by Guido Belin and

\* "The king, who had taken up with people of a vulgar sort, who had been seduced by the abundance of the goods of the East, and who had been corrupted by the seductions of a tempting climate, pitched his tent around the very tent of the king himself, and of his wife, the chaste queen Margaret, who had followed him." Joinville, p. 117.

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Gauthier de Chatillon, had almost throughout the day the advantage over the enemy. The latter, at last, sounded the retreat; and Louis returned thanks to God, in the midst of the whole army, for the aid which He had vouchsafed him. It was, indeed, a miracle to have been enabled to defend with infantry, and they almost all wounded, a camp attacked by a formidable cavalry.\*

Louis must soon have seen that success was impossible, and have desired to retire on Damietta; but he could not resolve on the step. Indisputably, the large number of wounded in the camp rendered retreat difficult; but every day added to the numbers of the sick. Encamped on the slime of Egypt, and chiefly fed on the carpents of the Nile, which devoured so many corpses, strange and hideous maladies broke out in the army. Their gums swelled and grew rotten, and they could only swallow by having the proud flesh cut away; and the camp sounded with dolorous cries, as of women in labor. The deaths increased daily. One day during the epidemic, Joinville, sick and hearing mass in his bed, was obliged to rise and to support his almoner who was on the point of fainting: "so supported, he concluded the administration of the sacrament, said entire mass, and never sang more."

The dead inspired horror: each fearing to touch and to bury them. In vain did the king, full of respect for these martyrs, set the example, and assist in burying them with his own hands. The epidemic was daily increased by the number of bodies left without burial; and retreat was the only chance of saving the survivors—the sad and doubtful retreat of a diminished, weakened, and discouraged army. The king, who had at last fallen sick like the rest, might have secured his own safety; but he would not consent to abandon his people.† Dying as he was, he determined to retreat by land, while the sick were embarked on the Nile. To so extreme a state of weakness was he reduced, that his attendants were soon compelled to bear him into a small house and lay him on the knees of a female, a native of Paris, who happened to be there.

However, the march was soon stopped by the Saracens, who hung upon the Christians by land, and lay in wait for them on the river. A fearful massacre took place, notwithstanding their repeated cries of surrender, the Saracens fearing to make too many prisoners. At

length they drove the crusaders into an enclosed place, and summoned them to deny Christ: many consented: among others, all Joinville's seamen.

The king and the prisoners of note had been reserved for future consideration. Jerusalem was demanded by the sultan as the price of their liberty: they objected that it belonged to the emperor of Germany, and offered to surrender Damietta, and pay a ransom of four hundred thousand golden bezants. The sultan had consented to the terms, when the Mamelukes, to whom he owed his victory, revolted and slew him before the galleys in which the French were kept prisoners. Their situation was exceedingly critical; and, in fact, the murderers forced their way to the king. "The ruffian who had torn out the sultan's heart stalked up to him with his bloody hands, and said, 'What will you give me for having slain your enemy, who would have killed you?' And the king answered him not a word. There came as many as thirty with bared swords at their Danish axes in their hands into our gallery." Joinville goes on to say, "and I inquired of my lord, Baudouin d'Belin, who was well acquainted with their tongue, what they said. He replied, that they said that they had come to cut our heads off. Numbers began to confess themselves to a brother of the Trinity who was with count William of Flanders; but, for my part, not one of my sins would come into my head. On the contrary, I thought that the more I should defend myself, or do any thing to provoke them, the worse it would be for me. Then I crossed myself, and knelt at the feet of one of them who had a carpenter's Danish axe in his hand, and said, 'So died St. Agnes.' Messire Gui d'Belin, constable of Cyprus, knelt by my side, and I said to him, 'I give you absolution with such power as God has given me.' But when I got up thence, I did not recollect a word of what he had said or related to me."\*

Three days after Margaret had heard of her husband's captivity she was confined of a son, named John, whom she surnamed Tristan. For security sake, she had an old knight, eighty years of age, to lie at the foot of her bed. Shortly before her labor came on, she knelt at his feet and begged a boon, which the knight swore to grant. Then she said, "I require you, by the faith which you have just now plighted, if the Saracens take this city, to strike off my head before they lay hands on me." The knight replied, "Be sure that I will do it willingly, for I had myself resolved on slaying

\* Sismondi, t. vi. p. 129.

† Joinville. An Arab historian also says, "The French king in 2400 made his escape from the Egyptians either on horseback or on foot, but this generous prince would not abandon his troops."—Abul Mchissen, ap. Michand, t. iv. p. 317. "On his departure from Cyprus, his vessel grazed a rock, and lost three-fifths length of her keel. He was compelled to quit the ship." To this the king replied, "Lords! I see that if I leave this ship she will be considered lost, and there are eight hundred souls, and more, on board; as each loves his life as well as I do mine, none would remain, but would perish in Cyprus: wherefore, under God, I will not peril the lives of such a number, but prefer remaining to save my people." Joinville, p. 3.

\* Id. p. 75.—The king was told that the admirals had deliberated on making him sultan of Babylon. . . . And he told me, that he would not have refused. And know that the scheme fell to the ground for no other reason than that they said the king was the staunchest Christian in the world, and it was mentioned in proof, that when they took their leave of him, he took up his cross and signed his whole body; and they said that whoever made him sultan, he would slay them all, or force them to turn Christians." Id. p. 75.





Two Sicilies, and completed in Italy the ruin of the house of Swabia.

The king of England, Henry III., had borne the punishment of John's faults. His father had bequeathed him humiliation and ruin, and he had only been able to recover himself by throwing himself unreservedly into the hands of the Church; else the French would have taken England from him as they had Normandy. The pope used and abused his advantage; bestowing all English benefices, even those which the Norman barons had founded for Churchmen of their own family, on Italians. This tyranny of the Church was not patiently endured by the barons, and they blamed the king for it, accusing him of weakness. Hedged in between these two parties, and receiving their every blow, whom could the king trust to? to none other than to our French of the South, especially to the Poitevins, his mother's countrymen.

These Southerners, brought up in the maxims of the Roman law, were favorable to monarchical power, and naturally hostile to the barons. It was at this time St. Louis was collecting the traditions of the imperial law, and introducing with a strong hand the spirit of Justinian into the feudal law. In Germany, Frederick II. was endeavoring to bring the same doctrines into operation. These attempts had a very different fate. They contributed to the elevation of the monarchy in France, and ruined it in England and in Germany.

It would have required permanent armies, mercenary troops, and a well-stocked treasury to force the spirit of the South on England. Money, Henry III. knew not where to lay his hands on, and the little he contrived to get was soon poured upon by the intriguers around him. Besides, there is an important element which must not be left out of the account—the disproportion which then necessarily existed between wants and resources, receipts and expenditures. Already the wants were great; administrative order was in process of settlement, and attempts were made to establish standing armies. The resources were trifling or none; manufacturing industry, which feeds the prodigious consumption of modern treasuries, was in its infancy. It was still the age of private barons, clergy, every one, had to allege some right or other exempting them from payment; and particularly since the passing of Magna Charta had suppressed a number of hereditary fiefs, the English government seemed to be a system devised for starving the monarch.\*

Magna Charta having established the principle of association and constituted anarchy, a second necessity had become necessary to found a regular order of things, to introduce between king, pope, and nobles, a new element—the people, who gradually brought them to agree.

\* So Hallam thinks.

A revolution needs a man; and the one who met the present emergency was Simon de Montfort, son of the conqueror of Languedoc, who seemed destined to carry on against the Poitevin ministers of Henry III. his family hereditary war on the Southerners. St. Louis' wife, Margaret of Provence, hated these Montforts,\* who had wrought so much ill to her country; so Simon perceived that he would gain nothing by remaining in the French court, and repaired to England. The Montforts, except of Leicester, belonged to both countries. King Henry heaped his favors on Simon, gave him his sister in marriage, and sent him to repress the disturbances in Guyenne, where Simon acted with such severity as to necessitate his recall. On this, he turned against the king, who had never been more powerful in appearance, or weaker in reality. He had imagined that he could buy, bit by bit, the spoils of the house of Swabia. His brother, Richard of Cornwall, had just acquired, for ready money, the title of emperor, and the pope had granted his son that of king of Naples. Nevertheless, England was torn with troubles. No better remedy had been devised for opposing pontifical tyranny than the assassination of the pope's couriers and agents, and an association had been formed for this object.† In 1258, a *parliament* met at Oxford—the first time the title was taken by assemblies of the kind.‡ Here the king renewed his oath to observe Magna Charta, and placed himself in the hands of a council of four-and-twenty barons. After six years' war, both parties applied to St. Louis to arbitrate between them. The pious king, inspired alike by the Bible and by the Roman law, decided, that it was necessary to be obedient to the powers, and annulled the statutes of Oxford, which had previously been quashed by the pope; and king Henry was to resume all his power, save and excepting the charters and laudable customs of the people of England antecedent to those statutes, (A. D. 1261.)

The confederates received this as a signal for war; and Simon de Montfort had recourse to an extreme measure, he interested the towns in the war, by introducing their representatives into parliament. A strange destiny

\* See note, 2d vol. p. 1230.

† An association was formed under the title of the community of England, and was clandestinely organized by the priests of the barons and clergy. At its head was Sir Robert Thynne, a knight of Yorkshire, who by a papal provision had been deprived of his nomination to a benefice in the gift of his family. His commands were implicitly obeyed by his associates who, though they were never more than a city and a village, contrived by the severity and religiosity of their motions to impress the public with the idea that they numbered a much greater number. The number of the people's couriers, who were sending letters to the monks, increased to 400. For eight months the monks continued without interruption from the legal authorities, &c., &c. They then proceeded to Rome to plead his cause before the pontiff. He was successful and returned with a bull by which Gregory authorized him to nominate to the living which he claimed." &c. &c. 143rd, vol. III. p. 111, 142.

‡ Guizot, *Revue des Etudes de France*, p. 479. Called in our annals the "mad Parliament"—TRANSLATION.

was this family's.\* In the twelfth century one of Montfort's ancestors had counselled Louis-le-Gros, after the battle of Brenneville, to arm the militia of the communes. His father, the exterminator of the Albigens, had destroyed the municipalities of the south of France. While he himself summoned the commons of England to take a share in political rights, endeavouring, however, to associate religion with his projects, and to convert the war into a crusade.†

However conscientious and impartial might have been St. Louis's decision, it would seem to have been rash; the future was to judge this judgment. It was the first time that Louis had quitted the reserve which he had imposed on himself. No doubt, at this period, the influence of the clergy on the one hand, on the other that of the legists, had preoccupied his mind with the notion of the absolute right of royalty. The great and sudden extension of French power during the discords and declension of England and the empire, was a temptation, inducing Louis to forsake by degrees the part of pacific mediator, which he had been formerly contented to play between the pope and the emperor. The illustrious and unfortunate house of Swabia was beaten to the ground, and the pope sold its ruins to the highest bidder, offering them to all, to the king of England, to the king of France. Louis at first refused for himself, but accepted for his brother, Charles. It was having a kingdom the more in his family, but a kingdom's weight on his conscience as well. The Church, it is true, answered for all, proclaiming the son of the great Frederick II., Conrad, and the bastard Manfred, impious wretches, enemies of the pope, and rather Mahometans than Christian princes. Yet, was this reason sufficient for depriving them of their inheritances? And were Manfred guilty, what had Conrad's son done, the poor little Conradino, the last offshoot of so many emperors? He was not yet three years old!

This brother of St. Louis, Charles of Anjou, of whom his admirer, Voltaire, has left so terrible a portrait, *this dark man, who slept at night*, was to be the saint's demon-tamper. He had married Beatrice, the youngest of the four

daughters of the count of Provence. The three oldest were queens,‡ and used to make Beatrice sit on a stool at their feet. She inflamed still more the violent and grasping disposition of her husband, for she required a throne as well as her sisters, and no matter at what cost. Provence, as the heiress of Provence, could not fail of desiring some consolation for the odious marriage which subjected her to the French—if the vessels of subjected Marseilles bore the flag of France, it behooved that that flag should at least triumph over the seas, and humble the Italian.

I cannot relate the ruin of this great and helpless house of Swabia, without retracing her destinies, which are no other than the struggle betwixt the priesthood and the empire. Let me be forgiven the digression. This family perished; it is the last time we shall have to speak of it.

Throughout a course of multitudinous deeds of violence and tyranny, the house of Franco-ma and Swabia, from Henry IV. to Frederick Barbarossa, from the latter to Frederick II., and down to Conradino's day, in whom it was to be extinct, presented a character which does not suffer one to remain indifferent to its fate—heroism in its private affections. It was the common trait of the whole Ghibeline party, devotion of man to man. Never, in their greatest reverses, did they want friends ready and with cheerfulness to fight and die for them. They deserved it by their magnanimity. It is to Godfrey of Bouillon, the son of the hereditary enemies of his family, that Henry IV. intrusts the banner of the empire—how Godfrey answered to this fine confidence, is well known. The young Conradino had his Pylades in the young Frederick of Austria, heroic children, whom the conqueror did not separate in death. Their country itself, so often disturbed by the Ghibelines, was dear to them even while sacrificing it. Dante has placed in hell the leader of the Ghibelines of Florence; but from the language he puts in his mouth, there is no noble mind but would derive a place by the side of such a man on his bed of fire. "Alas!" exclaims the heroic shade, "I was not there at the battle in which we conquered Florence; but at the council in which the conquerors proposed to destroy it, I alone spoke, and saved it!"

The Guelphs seem to have been animated by quite unopposite spirit. True Italians, friends to the Church as long as she was the Church of liberty, generous, devoted to severe reasoning, and willing to sacrifice mankind to order. To judge of this party, it must be watched, either through the eternal tempest

\* The only exception to the battle of Hohenlohe, he ordered each side to retire, and to cross on his breast and the under and to press the right hand to his bow.

† Louis the Great, they traced even the administrative part of justice to his reign.

‡ The three eldest were and prudent in council, valiant in arms, and of French family. As long as the world was young, and the high thoughts which rendered them equal to the greatest enterprises, reflected on all sides to France, and the blood of her princes sparkling in the young monarch's veins, his high spirit, his great sense, and his Catholic and severe education, his Christian fervour, and his love of the way of life, his magnanimity, and his sense, he appeared more than to become the king's guests, they, any other, and he hardly slept at all. He was inexhaustibly brave, full of high thoughts, and greedy for reputation, and he sought to be the greatest and most useful to his country. Never did he take pleasure in numbers, in the desire of numbers. (Gautier, *Le roman de la Rose*, Paris, 1804, t. II, p. 200.)

\* Wives of the kings of France and England, and of the emperor Richard of Cornwall.

† Dante, *Inferno*, c. 13.

Ma fu' no mai oida d'over a offesa:  
E a per ciascun di loro via l'aveva;  
Cui, chi lo disse a viso aperto."

which was the life of Genoa, or through the successive purification by which Florence sank, as from circle to circle of a hell like Dante's, from Ghibelines to Guelphs, from white to black Guelphs, and from the last to the reign of terror of the *Guelphic Association*, until it reached the bottom of that democratic abyss, in which a wool-comber was for a moment Gonfalonier of the republic. Sunk here, she sought as a remedy the very evil which had inspired her horror of the Ghibelines, tyranny; a strong tyranny at first, then, as passion subsided, a mild one.

This hard spirit of the Guelphs, which did not spare Dante even, and which made its way both by alliance with the Church and with France, thought to attain its end by the proscription of the nobles. Out of the towns they razed their castles to the ground; in the towns they took possession of their strong residences; and those noble men, those heroes, those Uberti of Florence and Dorias of Genoa, were reduced so low, that in the last city, nobility was conferred as a degradation, and to reward a noble, he was raised to the dignity of plebeian. Then were the merchants satisfied, and believed themselves strong. In their turn they lorded it over the country, as the citizens of the ancient cities had done. Yet, what did they substitute for the nobility, for the military principle which they had destroyed!—hired soldiers, who deceived them, held them to ransom, and became their masters, until both these and they were overwhelmed by the invaders from without.

Such, briefly, was the history of the Guelphs, of the true Italian party. As to the Ghibeline, or German party, it perished, or changed its form as soon as it was no longer German and feudal. It underwent a hideous metamorphosis, became pure tyranny, and through the acts of Ezzelino and Galeas Visconti, renewed all that antiquity has related or invented of the Phalarises and Agathocleses.

The acquisition of the kingdom of Naples, which apparently raised the house of Swabia to so high a pitch, was precisely its destruction. It undertook to form a fantastical mixture of hostile elements; to blend and unite Germans, Italians, and Saracens. The last it led up to the gates of the Church, reducing the papacy to a state of siege by its Mahometan colonies of Luceria and Nocera.\* This was the beginning of a duel to the death. On the other hand, Germany was not a whit more tractable to a prince, a thorough Sicilian, who wished to force the Roman law upon her, that is to say, to level the old empire; the very law of succession alone, by dividing property equally between brothers, would have cut up and reduced all the great families. The Swabian dynasty was hated in Germany as Italian,

in Italy as German or as Arab—all shrank from it. Frederick II. saw his father-in-law, Jean de Brienne, take advantage of his absence in the Holy Land, to deprive him of Naples. His own son Henry, whom he had named his heir, renewed against him Henry the Fifth's revolt against his father; while his other son, the beautiful Enzo, was buried for life in the prisons of Bologna.\* Finally, his chancellor, his dearest friend, Pierre de Vignes, attempted to poison him.† After this last blow, it only remained for him to veil his face, like Cæsar on the Ides of March. Frederick renounced ambition, and sought to resign all, that he might withdraw to the Holy Land;‡ he wished, at least, to die in peace. The pope would not suffer him.

On this, the old lion rushed into cruelty daily, at the siege of Parma, he had four of his prisoners' heads chopped off.§ He protected the horrible Ezzelino, and gave him the vicariate of the empire. Throughout Italy men were seen begging their bread, and mutilated women, who related the vengeful atrocities of the imperial vicar.||

Frederick died toiling on at the oar,¶ and the pope shouted with joy at the news. His

\* On the death of Conradino he tried to effect his escape, enclosed in a cask, but was betrayed by a lock of his hair—"Ha! there is only king Enzo who has such beautiful red hair!" . . . A letter of Frederick's to the Bolognese has been preserved, reminding them of the inconsistency of the tune, and requiring his son at their hands under threats of his extreme vengeance. Petri de Vineis, l. ii. c. 34.

† Math. Paris, ap. Sismondi, Rep. Ital. t. iii. p. 77.

‡ Ibid. p. 80.

§ Sismondi, Rep. Ital. t. iii. p. 86.

|| See Rolandinus, De Factis in Marchia Tarentina Monachus Patavinus, ap. Sismondi, Rep. Ital. t. iii. p. 105. sqq. 204.

¶ "Frederick," says Villani, (l. vi. c. 1): "was a man of great worth and rare talents. His wisdom was derived as much from study as from natural prudence. Versed in all things, he spoke Latin, our vulgar tongue, Italian, German, French, Greek, and Arabic. Abounding in virtues, he was generous, and to his natural gifts he joined courtesy; a valiant and wise warrior, he was also much feared. But he was dissolute in search of pleasure; kept numerous concubines, after the fashion of the Saracens; like them, was served by Mamelukes; he gave himself up to all sensual pleasures, and led an Epicurean life, disbelieving in an hereafter. . . . And this was his chief reason for turning the enemy of Holy Church." . . .

"Frederick," says Nicolas de Jamsilla, (Hist. Conrad et Manfredi, t. vii. p. 435): "was a man of great heart; but wisdom, which was not less great in him, tempered his magnanimity, so that his actions never proceeded from the intemperance of passion, but were ever matured by reason. He was a warm patron of philosophy, cultivating the study himself, and diffusing it throughout his dominions. Previously to the flourishing times of his reign, there were few or no men of letters in Sicily, but the emperor opened schools for the liberal arts and sciences, and summoned professors from different parts of the world, offering them liberal rewards. He was not content with granting them a salary, but maintained poor scholars out of his own purse, that poverty might not bear men of any class from the pursuits of philosophy. He proved his own literary talents by composing a work on the nature and cure of birds—"natural history" was his favorite study; which shows the emperor's proficiency in philosophy. He cherished justice, and respected it that any one might bring his action against the emperor, without the monarch's rank securing him any favor with the bench, or any pleader hesitating to undertake the cause of the meanest of his subjects against him. But, notwithstanding his love of justice, he at times tempered its rigor by his clemency." Ap. Sismondi. Observe, Villani is Guelph, Jamsilla, Ghibeline.

\* A. D. 1223, 1247. Nocera was surnamed *Nocera de' Pagani*, (Pagan Nocera.) Sismondi, Rep. Ital. t. ii. p. 440.



Charles named judges from among his creatures to try his prisoner. But the proceeding was so strange and unheard of, that even of these judges some defended Corradino, while the rest held their peace. One alone found him guilty, and took upon himself to read the sentence on the scaffold. Not with impunity. Charles's own son-in-law, Robert of Flanders, leaped on the scaffold, and slew him with one stroke of his sword, exclaiming, "Tis not for a wretch like thee, to condemn to death so noble and gentle a lord!"

Not the less was the unhappy youth beheaded, together with his inseparable friend, Frederick of Austria. He uttered no complaint—"Oh, my mother, what sad news will they bring you of me!" He then threw his glove into the crowd, which is said to have been faithfully picked up and carried to his sister, and his brother-in-law, the king of Aragon.—All know the Sicilian vespers!

One last word as to the house of Swabia. A daughter remained, who, when all Europe was at Frederick's feet, had been married to the duke of Saxony. When the family fell, and the pope hunted the *generation of vipers*\* through all the world, the Saxon repented of his having taken to wife the emperor's daughter. He brutally struck her: he did more—he stabbed her to the heart by placing by her side, in her own castle, and at her very table, an odious concubine, whom he wished to compel her to be subservient to. The unhappy woman, concluding that he sought her life, resolved to make her escape. A faithful servant of her house kept a boat on the Elbe, under the rock on which the castle rose: and she had to let herself down by a rope at the peril of her life. It was not the danger which stayed her step—but she was leaving an infant behind. As she was on the point of descending, she would see him once more and kiss him, asleep in the cradle. What laceration of the heart! . . . In the agonies of a mother's grief she did not kiss, but bit him. The child lived, and is known in history by the name of Frederick the *Bitton*. He was his father's most implacable enemy.

The share St. Louis had in this barbarous conquest of Charles of Anjou's, it is difficult to determine. It is to him the pope addressed himself for vengeance on the house of Swabia, "as his defender, as his right hand."† Undoubtedly, he at least authorized his brother's enterprise. The last and most sincere representative of the middle age was blindly to espouse its religious violence. The Sicilian war was, in fact, a crusade. To war on the Hohenstaufen, the allies of the Arabs, was still to

combat the infidels: it was a pious work to wrest from the house of Swabia that Southern Italy which she gave up to the Sicilian Arabs, to close Europe against Africa, Christendom against Mahometanism. It must be remembered, too, that the principle of the middle age, already attacked on every side, became more bitter and violent in those minds that remained faithful to it. None wish to die: systems as little as individuals. This antique world, which felt life hourly oozing out of it, shrunk within itself, and waxed sterner. Beginning itself to doubt itself, it was only the more cruel to those who doubted. The greatest souls experienced, without comprehending why, a necessity for strengthening their own faith by intolerance.

To believe and to strike, to shun all reasoning or "discourse of reason," to blot out light by closing the eyes, to fight in the dark—such was the infantile impression of the middle age. 'Tis the common principle of religious persecutions and of crusades. The feeling grew singularly weak in the thirteenth century. Men's horror of the Saracens had greatly abated: it was replaced by discouragement and weariness. Europe entertained a confused feeling that it had but a slight hold on wearied Asia. A struggle of two centuries had taught mankind a just estimate of these frightful wars. The crusaders, who, on the faith of our chivalrous poems, had gone in quest of empires of Trebisonde, paradises of Jericho, and Jerusalem of emeralds and sapphires, had only found rugged valleys, a vulture cavalry, trenchant Damascus steel, an arid desert, and thirst even under the shade of the palm-tree. The crusades had been like the perfidious Dead Sea fruit—an orange to the view, ashes to the taste. Europe looked less and less towards the East. Enough had been done, the Holy Land was neglected, and when it was lost, God bore the blame. "Has God then sworn," exclaims a troubadour, "to leave no Christian alive, and to make St. Mary's of Jerusalem a mosque?" And as his Son, who ought to oppose this, finds it good, "twere madness in us to oppose it. God sleeps, while Mahomet triumphantly displays his power. I would never hear more of crusading against the Saracens, since God protects them."‡

Meanwhile, Syria swam in blood. After the

\* St. Louis showed great kindness to the Saracens. "He enriched many Saracens whom he had had baptized, and he won them by marrying them with Christian women. . . . When beyond sea, he commanded, and issued orders to his people, not to slay the wives or children of the Saracens; on the contrary, to take them alive and bring them to be baptized. Likewise, he commanded to the utmost of his power, that the Saracens should not be slain, but taken, and kept in prison. And at times vessels of silver and other things of the sort would be stolen in his court, and then the blessed king put up good-humoredly with it, and would give the thieves money and send them beyond sea; and this he did to many. He was ever full of charity and pity to others." Le Confesseur, p. 302, 303.

† Le Chevalier du Temple, ap. Raynmond, *Chans des Poésies des Troubadours*, t. iv. p. 131.

mondi, Schmidt and most of the modern historians who have spoken of Conrad, have made too little use of Johannes Vindobonensis. We shall return to the subject else where.

\* De Vipera semine Frederici Secundi.

† Tunc in ad defensionis sue dexteram. Nangis, ap. *Preuves des Libertés de l'Eglise Gallicane*, t. ii. p. 6.



Christian army would decide the sultan of Tunis to conversion. Tunis entertained friendly relations with Castile and France; and not long before, St. Louis, on the occasion of the baptism of a converted Jew in the abbey of St. Denys, had desired the presence of the Tunisian ambassadors, and had said to them after the ceremony, "Say to your master, that so strong is my longing for the safety of his soul, that I would consent to enter a Saracen prison for the remainder of my life, and never again to see the light of day, if by so doing I could make your king and his people Christians, even as this man."<sup>\*</sup>

A peaceful expedition which should end in intimidating the king of Tunis, and frightening him into Christianity, was not the mark of the Genoese, in whose ships St. Louis had effected his passage. Most of the crusaders preferred violence. Tunis was reported to be a rich city, the plunder of which would indemnify them for undertaking so dangerous an expedition. So that without any regard to the views of the king, the Genoese commenced hostilities by seizing the vessels which lay before Carthage. The army disembarked without opposition: the Moors only showed themselves to provoke, draw after them, and fatigue the Christians. After languishing some days on the broiling shore, the crusaders advanced on the castle of Carthage. All that remained of Rome's great rival was a fort garrisoned by two hundred soldiers, which the Genoese seized. The Saracens, taking refuge in the vaults, were either put to the sword, or suffocated by fire; and the king found the ruins full of dead bodies, which he had removed to make room for himself and attendants.<sup>†</sup> He had to wait at Carthage for his brother Charles before marching upon Tunis, so that the greater part of the army had to remain under an African sun, half buried in the sand drifted by the winds, in the midst of dead bodies and of the stench of the dead. Around them prowled the Moors, ever carrying off stragglers. There were neither trees nor grass; and the only water they had was that of pestilential pools, or of cisterns full of loathsome insects. In eight days the plague broke out, and carried off the counts of Vendôme, of la Marche, of Viane—Gautier de Nemours, marshal of France—and the lords of Montmorency, Piennes, Brissac, Saint Brice, and Apremont. The legate soon followed them. The survivors, not having strength to bury their dead, threw them into the canal, which was soon choked with corpses. The king and his sons fell sick; his youngest son died on board of his ship, and it was a week before St. Louis's confessor ventured to break the tidings to him. He was the best-beloved of his subjects, and his death removed another of the ties binding him to this world, of his dying

father: it was a summons from God, a temptation to die. Thus, without fear or regret, he went through the last duties of a Christian's life, repeating the appointed litanies and psalms, dictating a beautiful and touching Paper of Instructions to his son and successor, and even receiving the ambassadors of the Greeks, who had come to beseech his intervention in their favor with his brother Charles. He spoke kindly to them, and promised his best offices, if he lived, to ensure them peace: the next day, he was himself taken to God's peace.<sup>\*</sup>

On this his last night, he ordered his attendants to lift him out of bed and lay him on ashes; and he died so, ever keeping his arms crossed. "And, on the Monday morn, the blessed king raised his clasped hands to heaven, and said, 'Gracious Lord God, (*Bien seies Diez*,) have mercy on this people sojourning here, and grant them a safe return, that they may not fall into their enemy's hands, or be forced to deny thy holy name.' . . .

"And the night before he died, as he was reposing, he sighed and said in a low voice, 'Oh, Jerusalem! oh, Jerusalem!'"<sup>†</sup>

This was the last of the crusades. The middle age had yielded its ideal—flower and fruit: its time was come. With Philippe-le-Bel, grandson of St. Louis, begin modern times; when the middle-age is buffeted in the person of Boniface VIII., and the crusade burnt in that of the Templars.

A crusade will long be talked of—the word will be oft repeated: it is a well-sounding, effective word—for the raising of tents and imposts. But the great of the earth and the popes well know what to think of it.<sup>‡</sup> Some time afterwards we shall see the Venetian Sanuto, proposing to the pope a commercial crusade:—"It was not enough," he said, "to invade Egypt, it behooved to ruin it." His proposition was to reopen the Persian route to the Indies, so that Alexandria and Dametta would no longer be the emporiums of its trade. Here is announced afar off the modern spirit:

<sup>\*</sup> Sismondi, i. viii. p. 149.

<sup>†</sup> Petri de Condo, Epist. ap. Spicilegium, (6d.) t. ii. p. 667.

<sup>‡</sup> Petrarch, Basle, p. 421, relates that it was once deliberated at Rome who should be leader of a new crusade, and that Don Sancho, son of Alphonso, king of Castile, was chosen. He came to Rome and was admitted to the consistory, where the election was to take place. Being unacquainted with Latin, he took one of his courtiers with him as an interpreter. He was then proclaimed king of Egypt, and all present applauded the choice. On hearing the applause, the prince asked the interpreter what it was signified. The pope, replied the interpreter, "has just made you king of Egypt." "We must not be ungrateful," was Don Sancho's reply. "Get up, and proclaim the holy father, caliph of Egypt." Michoud, t. v. p. 129.

<sup>§</sup> Marin Sanuto, *Secreta fidelium crucis*, ed. Bongars, Hanc. 1611. The first book is devoted to an explanation of his design; the second, to the consideration of the means requisite to the success of the crusade; the third, to a history of the settlements in, and expeditions to the East. Sanuto added maps of the Mediterranean, the Holy Land, and Egypt. The pope was loud in praise of the project, and it was favorably received by all Christian princes, who, however, did not attend to it. Sanuto then applied to the emperor of Constantinople, and so spent his life in preaching a crusade.

<sup>\*</sup> Gautier de Bell, loc. Vita S. Lud. ap. Duchesne, v. 462.

<sup>†</sup> Joinv. de, p. 136.

commerce, and not religion, is about to be the lever of distant expeditions.

CHARACTER OF ST. LOUIS.

That the Christian age of the world should have been last symbolized in a French monarch, was a great thing for the monarchy and for the dynasty. It is what emboldened the successors of St. Louis to oppose so bold a front to the clergy. Royalty assumed in the eyes of the people religious authority, and the idea of sanctity was attached to it. They had found the true king just and pious, and the impartial judge of his people. How far the conscientious determinations of this pure and spotless soul might have been influenced by the legists, the modest and crafty counsellors, who afterwards became so notorious, none of his own day could estimate. We shall not attempt it here. This great subject will be treated of in its connection with the preceding and subsequent epochs of our legislation.

The interests of the crown being at the time identified with those of order, the pious king found himself constantly led to sacrifice to it feudal rights which he would have desired, in his conscientiousness and disinterestedness, to respect. Whatever his able counsellors suggested to him for the aggrandizement of the royal power, he carried into act for the good of justice. The subtle thoughts of legists were received and promulgated through the simplicity of a saint. Their decisions passing through so pure a mouth, acquired the authority of a judgment of God.

"Many a time did it happen that in summer, he would go and sit in the forest of Vincennes after noon, and would rest against an oak, and make a seat around him, and all who had business came to speak to him without hindrance from him or any other. And then he asked them with his own mouth, 'Is there any one who has a suit?' And they who had, rose up, and then he said, 'Silence all, and speak one after the other.' And then he would call to him my lord Pierre de Fontaines and my lord Geoffroy de Villefrois, and say to one of them, 'Hear me this cause.' And when he saw any thing to amend in the speech of those who pleaded for the others, he himself amended it with his own mouth. I have seen him sometimes go and come to hear his people's suits in the forest of Vincennes, in a coat of vest, a surcoat of tunic, and a short sleeve, a kerchief of black, and a hood of black, his hair neatly arranged, and without beard, and a fillet of white, and a sword at his side, when he would have a carpet, and a cushion to sit upon him. And all would come to him to speak to him, and then he said, 'This cause is such and such as I have told you, where he did in the forest of Vincennes.'"

In the year 1256 or 1257, he issued a decree against the lord of Vesnon, condemning him to indemnify a merchant who had been robbed in open day in a road lying within his lordship. The lords of the manor were bound to have the roads watched from the rising to the setting sun.\*

Enguerrand de Coucy having hung three young men who were sporting in the woods, the king had him arrested and condemned. All the great vassals protested against this proceeding, and supported Enguerrand's demand of trial by battle. The king said, "That in regard to the poor, the churches, and persons on whom one ought to have pity, they ought not thus to be met with wager of battle, since it would not be easy to find persons to undertake to encounter the barons of the kingdom in the lists for such sort of people. . . ."

"When the barons," he said to John of Brittany, "who held altogether of you without other remedy, laid their complaint of you before us, and offered to prove their integrity by wager of battle against you, you replied that you could not meet them in the lists, but by inquiry into the matter, and said besides, *that battle is not the way of justice.*"† Jean Thourout, who had warmly undertaken the defence of Enguerrand de Coucy, cried out ironically, "Had I been the king I would have hung all my barons, for the first step taken, the second costs nothing." The king overheard him, and called him back, "How, John, do you say that I ought to hang my barons? Certainly, I will not hang them, but I will punish them if they do wrong."

Certain gentlemen, who had for cousin a wicked man who would not reform, besought Simon de Nelles, then lord, who had the right of pit and gallows on his land, permission to put him to death, for fear he should fall into the hands of justice, and be hung to the disgrace of his family. Simon refused, referring them to the king, who would not suffer it, for he wished justice to be executed on malefactors throughout his kingdom openly and before the people, and that none should be punished privately.‡

A complaint having been laid before St. Louis by one whom his brother, Charles of Anjou, wished to force to sell him an estate which he had in his countyship, the king summoned Charles before his council, "and the foolish king ordered his possession to be restored to the man, and that thenceforward he should have no trouble on its account, since he desired rather to sell than exchange it."§

Let us add two remarkable facts which

\* It seems that a similar judgment was given against the lord of Vesnon in 1257. *ibid.* p. 243.

† See the queen Margaret's petition addressed to the king. Among other penalties with which the king's council Enguerrand de Coucy had been charged, he was ordered to be deprived of all his high jurisdiction, to lose his office, lands, and private goods, and of the right of imprisoning or condemning to death.

‡ *ibid.* p. 243.  
§ *ibid.* p. 241.



equally prove, that though voluntarily submitting to the advice of priests or of legists, this admirable man preserved an elevated sense of justice, which, in doubtful circumstances, led him to sacrifice the letter to the spirit.

Regnault de Trie brought one day to St. Louis a letter, by which the king had bestowed the countship of Dammarin on the heirs of the countess of Boulogne. The seal was broken, and all that remained of it were the limbs of the king's image. All his counsellors assured him that he was not bound to keep his promise. He replied, "Lords, you see this seal which I used before I crossed the sea: it is clear from this seal that the imprint of the broken is similar to that of the entire seal: wherefore I durst not in conscience retain the said countship."<sup>\*</sup>

One Good Friday, as St. Louis was reading the Psalter, the relatives of a gentleman, a prisoner in the Châtelet, came to beseech his release, reminding the king that the day was one of forgiveness.

The king laid his finger on the verse at which he then was—"Happy are they who observe justice, and who execute it at all times." He then sent for the provost of Paris, and continued his reading. The provost informed him that the prisoner had been guilty of enormous crimes: on which St. Louis ordered him to be at once led to the gibbet.<sup>†</sup>

There can be little doubt that St. Louis owed this elevation of mind which placed equity above law, in a great degree to the Franciscans and Dominicans, by whom he was surrounded. On thorny questions, he was wont to consult St. Thomas.<sup>‡</sup> He sent Mendicant friars to inspect the provinces, in imitation of the *missi dominici* (the royal commissioners) of Charlemagne.<sup>§</sup> This mystic Church strengthened him against the episcopal and pontifical

Church, giving him courage to resist the pope in favor of the bishops, and the bishops themselves.

The Gallican bishops being one day assembled, the bishop of Auxerre addressed St. Louis in their name as follows:—"Sire, the lords here present, archbishops and bishops, have commissioned me to tell you that 'urstendom is perishing in your hands.' The king, upon this, crossed himself, and said, 'Now, tell me how this is.' 'Sire,' said he, 'it is because excommunications are so little cared for at this time, that the excommunicated suffer themselves to die before they seek for absolution, and will not render satisfaction to the Church. So, we require you, sire, for God and your duty's sake, to give order to your provosts and bailiffs to compel all who shall endure excommunication for a year and a day, to seek absolution by the seizure of their goods.' To this the king replied, that he would willingly so command as regarded those who were proved to him to have done wrong. . . . And the king said that he would abide by his determination, for that it would be contrary to God and common sense to compel people to seek absolution, when the priests had done them wrong."<sup>\*</sup>

France, so long the servant of ecclesiastical power, assumed a freer spirit in the thirteenth century. Though allied with pope and Guelf against the emperors, it became Ghibeline in spirit. Nevertheless, there was this great difference: it carried on its opposition by legal forms, and, therefore, the more formidably. From the commencement of the thirteenth century, the barons had lent a cheerful support to Philippe-Auguste against the pope and the bishops; and, in 1225, they declared that they would either quit their lands or take up arms, if the king did not put a stop to the encroachments of the ecclesiastical power. In fact, the Church, ever acquiring and never letting go, would in the long run have absorbed all. And, in 1246, the famous Pierre Mauclerc entered into a league to this end with the counts of Angoulême and St. Pol, and numerous barons. The terms in which the act of association is drawn up, are of extraordinary energy. The hand of the legists is visible: one would fancy one's self already reading the language of Guillaume de Nogaret.<sup>†</sup>

<sup>\*</sup> Joinville, p. 15.

<sup>†</sup> Joinville de Meus Chronie, ap. Art de Verifier les Dates, v.

<sup>‡</sup> Guili. de Thoro, Vit. S. Thom. Aquin. De reg. Franc. de tur quod semper in rebus arduis dicti Doctores requirunt consilium, quod frequenter expertus fuerit esse totum. . . . "Which he desired," says the writer, "to be carried in certain arduous and necessary matters on the following morning, he would send to the foremost doctor to consider during the night the dubious point of the case, so as to give him the fitting answer on the next day."

<sup>§</sup> Mott. Paris, ed. ann. 1247, p. 493.—By his will, &c. p. 134, he left them his books and large sums of money, and appointed a council to consist of the bishop of Paris, the chapter of the prior of the Dominicans, and the guardian of the Franciscans, to appoint to vacant benefices. Buloz, ii. 129. After the first crusade, he always had two counsellors, one a Franciscan, the other a Franciscan. Guifred de Be. hist. p. 151. Queen Margaret's confessor related that he had entertained the idea of turning Dominican, and that his wife had much difficulty in dissuading him from it. He took care to forward to the pope Gerardus de Saint Amour's book. The pope returned him thanks, and prayed him to continue his protection to the monks. Buloz, iii. 313. From a letter addressed to the pope by prebendaries of the university, in which they refuse to admit Mendicant friars among their number, we find that St. Louis had given them guards. "Since by allowance of our lord the king they have an armed multitude ever at their beck, whence they have recently begun to celebrate the solemnities of their offices without us, with many armed men. . . ." Id. 290.

<sup>\*</sup> Joinville, p. 14.

<sup>†</sup> "Seeing that the superstition of the priests, forgetful of the fact that it was by war and bloodshed, under Charlemagne and others, that the Kingdom of France was converted from the error of the Gentiles to the Catholic faith, has so absorbed the jurisdiction of secular princes, that these sons of serfs judge after their law freemen and the sons of freemen, albeit, according to the law of the first conquerors, it is we who should rather judge them. We, all nobles of the kingdom, considering that it was not by the written law, nor by clerical arrogance, but by the sword and toil of war that the kingdom was conquered. . . . resolve that no one, priest or layman, shall in future summon any before the ordinary judge or delegate, spiritual judge, except in cases of heresy, marriage, and adultery, under pain for the violator of notice of the loss of all his



solemn days, he would himself produce it from the shrine, and show it to the people. Thus he unconsciously accustomed them to see the king dispense with the priest. In like manner, David took the shew-bread from off the table. There is still pointed out, on the south side of the little church, a narrow cell, supposed to have been St. Louis's oratory.

Even during his life, his contemporaries, in their simplicity, had suspected that *he was already a saint*, and more holy than the priests. "While he lived, it might be said of him, as is written of St. Hilary, 'Oh, how exceeding perfect a layman, whose life priests themselves desire to imitate!' For many priests and prelates would desire to be like the blessed king in his virtues and in his manners; for he was even supposed to be a saint while he lived."<sup>\*</sup>

When St. Louis interred the dead, "there were present, in their robes, the archbishop of Sur and the bishop of Damietta, and their clergy, who repeated the burial service, but they stopped their noses for the stench; though not once was the good king Louis seen to stop his, such were his earnestness and devotion."<sup>†</sup>

Joinville relates that a large company of Armenians, who were going on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, came and asked him to show them *the saint king*.—"I went to the king, who was sitting in a tent, leaning against the pole of the tent, and sitting on the sand without carpet or aught else under him. I said to him, 'Sire, there is without a large company from the Great Armenia, who are going to Jerusalem, and who pray me, sire, to show them the *saint king*; but I do not wish to kiss your relics yet.' And he laughed a clear loud laugh, and told me to tell them to come in; and I did so. And when they had seen the king, they commended him to God, and the king them."<sup>‡</sup>

This sanctity is touchingly apparent in the last words he wrote to his daughter: "Dear daughter, the measure according to which we ought to love God, is to love him beyond measure."<sup>§</sup>

And so in the instructions he left to his son, Philippe.—"If it happen that any suit between rich and poor come before thee, support the stranger's cause, but show not too much heat therein until thou know the truth, for those of thy council might be fearful to speak against thee, and this thou oughtest not to desire.

And if thou art given to understand that thou holdest any thing wrongfully, either in thy own time or in that of thy ancestors, quickly restore it, no matter how great the thing may be, either in land, or money, or otherwise."<sup>\*\*</sup>—"The love which he bore his people appeared by what he said to his eldest son during a severe illness he had at Fontainebleau. 'Dear son,' he said, 'I pray thee to gain the love of the people of thy kingdom; for, truly, I should prefer a Scot, coming from Scotland to govern the people of the kingdom well and loyally, to thy governing them ill in the face of the world.'"<sup>††</sup>

Beautiful and touching words! it is difficult to read them without emotion. But at the same time the emotion comes mingled with self-reflection and sadness. This purity and gentleness of soul, this marvellous elevation to which Christianity raised its hero, who will restore to us! . . . Indisputably we now enjoy a more enlightened morality; is it a firmer one? This is a question well calculated to trouble every sincere friend of progress. None more warmly than the writer of these lines identifies himself with the immense steps made by mankind in modern times, and with its glorious hopes. The living dust which the powerful trampled under foot, has acquired a human voice, has risen to property, intelligence, and participation in political rights. Who does not bound with joy in seeing the victory of equality! I only fear that while acquiring so just a feeling of his rights, man has lost some part of his feeling of his duties. One's heart stagnates to find that in the universal progress, morality has not gained power. The idea of freewill and of moral responsibility becomes daily fainter. Strange! in proportion as the old fatalism of climates and of races which weighed upon antique man lessens and fades away, there succeeds and grows up as if a fatalism of ideas. Be passion, fatalist; let it seek to kill liberty, well and good: 'tis its part, its office. But that science, but that art. . . "And thou, too, my son!" . . . You cannot look out at window without beholding this larva of fatalism. Vainly do the symbolism of Vico and of Herder, the natural pantheism of Schelling, the historic pantheism of Hegel, the history of races and the history of ideas which have done so much honor to France, differ in every thing else. Against liberty, they are all agreed. The artist even, the poet, who is bound to no system, but who reflects the idea of his age, has, with his pen of bronze, inscribed on the old cathedral this sinister word, *'Anacyra'*, ("Necessity.")<sup>‡‡</sup>

So wavers the poor, small light of moral liberty. And yet the tempest of opinions, the wind of passion, blow from the four quarters of the world. . . The light burns, widowed, and solitary; each day, each hour, it sheds a

<sup>\*</sup> Ibid. p. 371.—"He had the Church-service performed so solemnly and deliberately, as to tire himself and all with him." Ibid. p. 312.

<sup>†</sup> Conf. de Nangis, Annales, p. 225.

<sup>‡</sup> Joinville, p. 118. The passage is mutilated in Petitot's edition, t. i. p. 392. "I cannot refrain from subjoining an admirable passage from queen Margaret's confessor:—"The time of life fitted to endure labor, practise one's self in arts, and exercise the heart in works—the early prime so favorable to its post-mortals—did not pass by the blessed St. Louis in vain; so that he died most boldly, as knowing that the best things fade away and the worst remain. Just as in the full puffer—the first, which is purest, runs out, and the troubled water settles down; so in the life of man, the best part is its beginning and time of youth." P. 221.

<sup>§</sup> Le Confesseur, &c., p. 227.

<sup>\*</sup> Ibid. p. 331.

<sup>†</sup> Joinville, p. 4, ed. 1761.

<sup>‡‡</sup> The allusion is to Victor Hugo's *Nôtre-Dame*.—TRANSLATOR.



These doctrines, common to members of the Franciscans, were likewise received by many of the Dominicans. On this, the university burst forth. The most distinguished of its doctors was a native of Franche-Comté, of the Jura, Guillaume de St. Amour, a man of hard and penetrating intellect. The portrait of this intrepid champion of the university was long to be seen on a window at the Sorbonne.\* He published a series of eloquent and witty pamphlets against the Mendicants, in which he tried to identify them with the Beghards and other heretics, whose preachers were, like them, wanderers and mendicants, and entitled, *Discourse on the Publican and the Pharisee; Questions on the rule of Almsgiving, and the healthy Mendicant; Treatise on the Dangers predicted to the Church in the last Days, &c.*† His strength lies in his intimacy with Scripture, and the admirable use he makes of it; seasoned, too, with a piquant satire, which is couched in half a word. Unfortunately, it is too clear that the author has other motives than the interests of the Church. There was a literary rivalry and professional jealousy between the university professors and the Mendicants. The latter had obtained a chair at Paris in 1230—the time that the university, offended at the regent's severity, had withdrawn to Orleans and Angers.‡ This chair they had kept, and the university did not shine in the presence of two orders, whose *savant* was Albertus Magnus, and whose logician was St. Thomas.

This great controversy was argued before the pope at Anagni. The Dominican, Albertus Magnus, Archbishop of Mentz, and St. Bonaventura, general of the Franciscans, were Guillaume de St. Amour's opponents.§ St. Thomas

noted down in his memory the whole discussion, and wrote an account of it. Guillaume de St. Amour lost the day; but though condemning him, the pope at the same time censured John of Parma's book, thus animadverting equally on logicians and on mystics, on the partisans of the letter and those of the spirit.\*

It was St. Thomas who laid down this middle course, so hard of attainment, by which the Church essayed to fix and stay herself, without swerving to the right or to the left; and it is his chiefest glory. Coming at the end of the middle age, as Aristotle did at the end of the Greek world, he was the Aristotle of Christianity, whose legislation he drew up, endeavoring to reconcile logic with faith for the suppression of all heresy. The colossal monument which he reared ravished his age with admiration. Albertus Magnus declared that St. Thomas had established the rule which would endure to the consummation of time.† His overpowering task utterly absorbed this extraordinary man, and occupied his whole life to the exclusion of all else; a life that was entirely one of abstraction, and whose events are ideas. From five years of age he took the Scriptures in his hand, and henceforward never ceased from meditation.‡ He was from the country of idealism, the country where had flourished the school of Pythagoras and the school of Elea, from the country of Bruno and of Vico. In the schools, he was called by his companions the large mute ox of Sicily.§ He only broke this silence to dictate; and when sleep closed the eyes of his body, those of his soul remained open, and he went on still dictating. One day, at sea, he was not conscious of a fearful tempest; another, so deep was his abstraction, he did not let fall a lighted candle which was burning his fingers.¶ Fall of the dangers of the Church, he was ever dreaming of it, and even at the table of St. Louis. Giving the table a triumphant thump, he one day exclaimed, "The Manicheans never

is spirited, Christ's Gospel, literal.—That the third state of the world, which is peculiarly the Holy Ghost's, will be without parole or figure . . . and the true meaning of the two testaments will appear without a veil.—That as in the beginning of the first state . . . Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob . . . and as in the beginning of the new . . . Zacharias, John the Baptist, and the man Christ Jesus . . . so in the beginning of the third there will be three like them, namely, the man clad in linen, (Jeremiah) and an angel holding a sharp scythe, (Dominic), and another angel having the mark of the living God, (Francis). And in like manner he shall have twelve angels . . . as Jacob in the first, Christ in the second.—That the everlasting Gospel will be intrusted to that order which is perfected and equally composed of the order of laymen and of priests, which he calls the order of Independents.—That the virtue of the New Testament shall only last for the next six years, that is, to the year 1240.—That the Roman Church is literal, and not spiritual.—That the Greek pope walks more according to the Gospel than the Latin."

\* This portrait has been engraved and prefixed to his works. (Geneva, 1632, 4to.)

† *Curiosus de Publicano et Phariseo; De Quantitate Elemosynarum; De Arte Mendicantis; que dicitur: Tractatus de periculis Novorum Temporum ex Scripturis sumptus, &c.* His last work was immediately translated into French verse by the youthful youth of the University, in order to make it known to the common people." Bulaeus, lib. 349.—It was reprinted at Rouen, in Louis the Thirteenth's time, but its sale was stopped by a decree of the privy council, dated July 2, 1633.

‡ Bulaeus, l. 349.

§ The Mendicant orders were greatly alarmed. "When the above-mentioned doctor, Thomas, was appointed to answer the above-mentioned volume, not without tears and sobs of those who doubted of the ability of the order to withstand

such powerful adversaries, brother Thomas, taking the volume, and commending himself to the prayers of the brothers," &c. . . . Guillel. de Thoro, Vit. S. Thomae, ap. Acta SS. Martii, l.

\* He pronounced sentence of condemnation on Guillaume de St. Amour publicly, and on John of Parma with less parade and circumstance. Bulaeus, lib. 352.

† Processus de S. Thom. Aquin. ap. Acta SS. Martii, p. 714. Concludit quod Fr. Thomas in scripturis suis insinuat finem omnibus laborantibus usque ad finem salutis, et quod omnes deinceps frustra laborant.—The Dominicans decided in two chapters held, one at Paris in 1261 the other at Caracassonne in 1302, "that the brethren were faithfully to follow the doctrine of St. Thomas, and that if any master, bachelor, or brother departed from it, it should be reason sufficient to suspend him from his functions." Martene, Thes. Anecd. iv. 1617.—Hollstenii Cod. Regal. ed. Brockie, iv. 114.

‡ Acta SS. p. 160.

§ An epithet full of meaning to all who have noticed the dreamy and monumental appearance of the ox of Southern Italy. "St. Thomas was large-bodied and upright . . . of a wheaten complexion (*coloris tritici*), brown as ripe corn? . . . with a large head . . . somewhat bald." Acta SS. p. 672.—"He was fat." (Grossus fuit.) Processus de S. Thom. libid.

|| Acta SS. p. 672, 674.

can get over that argument ;" and the king immediately ordered the argument to be written down.\* In his struggle with Manichæism, St. Thomas was supported by the authority of St. Augustine ; but, on the question of grace, he clearly departs widely from that doctor, and sides with liberty of will. The Church's theologian, it behooved him to support the hierarchical edifice, and that of ecclesiastical government. Now, if liberty be not admitted, man is incapable of obedience, and government impossible. But to depart from St. Augustine, was to open a wide door to whoever should wish to enter the Church as an enemy ; and it was by this that Luther came in.

Such then is the aspect of the world in the thirteenth century. At the summit, *the large rock* of *St. Augustine*, ruminating the question ; below, man and liberty ; there, God, grace, divine foreknowledge, fatality ; on the right, the observation which bears witness to human liberty ; on the left, the logic which compels irresistibly to fatalism. Observation distinguishes, logic identifies. Suffer the latter to have her way, she will resolve men into God, God into nature ; she will still the universe into an indivisible unity, absorbing liberty, morality, and all the action of life. Therefore, the ecclesiastical legislator stayed himself upon the slippery steep, combating with his good sense his own logic, down which he would have been borne headlong. His firm collected genius stopped upon the razor-edge which separated the two abysses, and scanned and measured their depth. Such a man type of the Church, he held the balance, sought to adjust its equilibrium, and died at the oar. The world, which looked up at him from below, and saw him distinguishing, reasoning, and calculating in a higher region, has not dreamed of all the struggles which may have shaken this existence, abstract as it was.

Below this sublime region, is at the wind and the storm. Below the angel was man, morality beneath metaphysics, below St. Thomas, St. Louis. In the latter, the thirteenth century has its Passion—a Passion of gentle, profound, penetrating character, hardly dreamed of by previous ages. I allude to the first agony with which man can doubt convulse his soul, when the whole harmony of the middle age was troubled ; when the great edifice in which men were settled began to shake, when saints clamoring against evils, right setting itself up against right, the most docile minds found themselves compelled to sit in self-judgment and examination. The pious king of France, who only asked to understand and believe, was early compelled to struggle, doubt, and choose. Humble as he was, and untroubled of himself, he was forced first of all to oppose his mother, next, to become arbiter between the pope and the emperor, to judge the spiritual judge of Christendom, to recall to the path of modera-

tion him whom he would have wished to have been able to take as his rule of sanctity. Subsequently, the Mendicant friars attracted him by their mysticism, and he entered into the third order of St. Francis, and took part against the university. Yet John of Parma's book, accepted though it was by such numbers of Franciscans, must have inspired him with strange doubts. The uneasiness of his mind is perceptible in the simple questions he put to Joinville. The man in whom the holy king confided, may be taken as the type of the *honest man* of the thirteenth century. It forms a curious dialogue between the loyal and sincere man of the world, and the pious and candid soul who advances a step into doubt, then shrinks back, and hardens himself in the faith.

Robert de Sorbonne and Joinville were at the king's table. "The king, being in good spirits, said to me, 'Now, seneschal, tell me why *prudomme* (an honest man) is a better title than *begun* (a devotee) ?' Then began the noise between me and Master Robert. When we had disputed a long time, then the king gave his decision, and said, 'Master Robert, I would wish both to be called and to be an honest man, and you may be all the rest ; for an honest man is so great and so good a thing, the even naming it fills the mouth.'"<sup>1</sup>

"He once called me, and said, 'I fear, so subtle is your reasoning, to speak to you of any thing concerning God, and therefore have summoned these brothers here present, as I have a question to put to you.' The question was this : 'Seneschal,' said he, 'what is God, &c. . . .'"<sup>2</sup>

St. Louis tells Joinville that a knight who was present at a discussion between some monks and Jews, put a question to one of the Jewish doctors, and on getting his answer, gave him a blow on the head with a stick which knocked him down. "So I tell you," said the king, "that none ought to dispute with them, except he be right good etc. &c., but when a layman hears the Christian law maligned, he ought not to defend it save with the sword, which he ought to thrust into the defamer's belly as far as it will enter."<sup>3</sup>

St. Louis told Joinville, that at the moment of death, the devil strives to shake the faith of the dying man. "And therefore one ought to be on one's guard, and defend one's self against the snare by saying to the enemy, when he sends such temptation, 'Get thee gone ; and one ought to cry to the enemy, 'Thou shalt

\* Joinville, vol. III. p. 7.

<sup>1</sup> Id. p. 6. He then asked Joinville whether he would prefer having a great deal of mortal sin, or being leprous. Joinville replied that he had rather resume thirty mortal sins. And when the brothers were gone, he called me a fool, and made me sit at his feet and said, 'What did you say to me to-day ?' And I told him, as I had already said, and he said, 'You speak as an honest layman, for so leprosy is better than that mortal sin.'"<sup>2</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Id. p. 12. In the instructions which he left to his son, King Philip, he says there was a clause as follows, 'Be your utmost to drive Judæism and all other evil people out of your kingdom, so that the land may be thoroughly purged of them.'—*Le Comte de St. Louis*, p. 264.

not tempt me from my firm belief in all the articles of faith, &c."\*

"He said, that faith and belief consisted in giving our steadfast credence, although only on the assurance of hearsay."†

He told Joinville that a doctor of theology one day applied to bishop William of Paris, and set forth to him, with tears, that he could not "force his heart to believe in the sacrament of the altar," (transubstantiation.) The bishop asked whether, when the devil pressed this temptation on his thoughts, he took delight in it! The doctor replied that, on the contrary, it gave him exceeding grief, and that he would be hewed to pieces rather than renounce the Eucharist. The bishop then comforted him with the assurance, that he had more merit than he who had no doubts.‡

Trivial as these signs appear, they are grave, and deserve attention. When St. Louis himself was troubled, how many souls must have doubted, and suffered in silence. But the bitterness of this first falling off in faith was, that men shrank from avowing it. At this day we are injured and hardened to the torments of doubt: the points are blunted. But let us carry ourselves back to the first moment in which the soul, still living, and warm with faith and love, felt the cold iron enter. The pain was harrowing; but it was exceeded by the horror and surprise. Would you know what the candid and believing soul suffered! Recall the moment that faith first failed you in love, that you first doubted the loved object.

To anchor your life on an idea, to rest it on a boundless love, and see it failing you! To love, to doubt, to hate one's self for this doubt, to feel the ground receding from under one's feet, and the abyss engulfing us in our impiety, in that hell of ice where divine love never shines, . . . and yet to clutch at, and hang by, the branches overhanging the gulf, to strive to believe that we still believe, to fear to be afraid, to doubt of one's own doubt. . . . But if the doubt be uncertain, if the thought be not sure of the thought, is not this to open a new region to doubt, a hell under hell! . . . This is the temptation of temptations; all others are nothing in comparison. Yet did this temptation shrink from the light of day and burn of shame within itself, until the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Luther is a great master hereupon; no one had a more horrible experience of these tortures of the soul:—"Ah! were St. Paul now living, how would I wish to hear from himself what kind of temptation it was which he went through. It was not the sting of the flesh, it was not the good Thelca, as the papists dream.

. . . Jerome and the other fathers did not

know extreme temptations; they suffered but puerile ones, those of the flesh, which indeed have their own pangs as well. Augustin and Ambrose had theirs; *they trembled before the sword*. . . . There is something beyond despair caused by one's sins, . . . as when it is said, 'My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me!' 'Tis as if the speaker said, 'Thou art my enemy without cause.' Or the cry of Job, 'I am just and innocent.' "

Christ himself, of whom Job was the type, experienced this anguish of doubt, this night of the soul, when not a star appears above the horizon. 'Tis the last pang of the Passion: the summit of the cross. But all which has preceded this term of agony, all that must be understood by the word—Passion—in its different senses, popular and mystic, we must here essay to describe. In this abyss lies the mind of the middle age; which age is wholly contained in Christianity, as Christianity is in the Passion. Literature, art, and the different developments of the human mind from the third to the fifteenth century, all depend on this mystery.

Eternal mystery, which, though idealized on Calvary, does not the less continue to be. Yes, Christ is still on the cross; nor will he descend. The Passion endures, and will endure. The world has its Passion likewise; as has humanity in its long historic life, and each man's heart during the few moments it beats. To each his cross, and his wounds. Mine date from the day that my soul fell into this miserable body; which I finish wearing out in writing this. My Passion began with my Incarnation. Poor soul; what hadst thou done to be burdened with this flesh! Virgin, thou wast thrown—as was Eve into the garden of seductions—ignorant, impassioned, avid, and timid, prepared both for temptation and fall. Life is already a step in the Passion.

Then this soul, condemned to a Hymen with matter, voluntarily materializes herself. She relishes her punishment, embraces it, loses herself in it. She has set out on a journey through the mud of the highways, eating, drinking, enjoying herself at every gate, like those incarnate gods of India, who, the better to personate humanity, sully themselves with human pleasures; or, if you will, like the prophet condemned to represent, by symbols of shame, the adultery of Jerusalem, faithless to her divine spouse.

This is the eastern Passion, the immolation of the soul to nature, the suicide of liberty. But liberty is vivacious; she will not die. She rises indignantly against nature, and at first repels its threats. She stiffens her arms against Nemean lions and hydras of Lerna. All the labors imposed upon her by her stepmother, she accomplishes. She tames, and gives peace to the world. This is the heroic Passion;—strength, the beginning of virtue.

Still, if all were ended with this external

\* Joinville, p. 10.

† Id. *ibid.* G. Villani, viii. 200. Word was one day brought to him that Christ had appeared in the host—"Let those who doubt," he said, "go and see; for my part, I see 'him in my heart.'"

‡ Joinville, p. 10, 11.

strife! But, what if the enemy remain within ourselves, if the soul be subdued by love, if the strong find his own conqueror within himself, if Hercules clothe himself in the burning tunic, if the sage Merlin, in obedience to his Vyvyan, lie down in his own tomb! This delirium men still call Passion. 'Tis the antique, I think; ah! tell me, when will it end!

Against this new enemy Hercules could find but one shelter—the funeral pile. 'Tis by this last trial, by the purifying flame of solitary privations in which the heroes of the life within, the athletes of morality, the solitary Christians, the Riches of India steeped in penitence, consumed a long life, that the soul acquired such power that at the wrinkling of their brow the seven worlds would have been turned to powder. Still there is something higher than the power of dashing seven globes to pieces—'tis to live pure in the midst of the impurity of the world, yet to love, and die for it.

Nature roars with rage at this mild, calm strength, this victorious serenity. The material infinite, in presence of the moral infinite, compares itself to it, and is troubled and stung with spite. What can it do with its brutal force, its massive bulk! Strike, only strike. Array, then, on one side, in arms, all kings and people, and, if this do not suffice, let all the globes of creation shiver—place against all, the thinking reed. A strange combat, and such as God alone were worthy to assist at, were God himself not the combatant.

The mass strikes, shatters, crushes, but 'tis but the outward form she has crushed. This destroyed, the spirit soars on its wings with blessings on its cruel liberator, whom it illumines and sanctifies—such is the rite of the Passion, of the divine Passion. The marvel is, that this Passion is not altogether passive—Passion is action by free consent, by the sufferer's will; it is even action pre-eminently—*dramatic*, to use the Greek word. The Passion, whatever may be said to the contrary, is of all subjects the *dramatic* subject.

Although the Passion is active and voluntary, inasmuch as this will is in a body, this soul in a covering, this God in a man, there is a moment of fear and doubt. In this consists the tragic part, the terror of the drama—it is this which rends in twain the veil of the temple, which sheds the earth in darkness, which troubles me as I read the Gospel, and which to this day wrings tears from me. That God should have doubted God! that the sacred victim should have said, "Father, Father, have you then forsaken me!"

All heroes such who have dared great things for mankind, have known this trial: all have more or less approached this ideal of suffering. It was in such a moment that Brutus exclaimed, "Virtue, thou art but a name." It was in such a moment that Gregory the Seventh said, "I have followed justice and shunned iniquity, and therefore I die in exile."

But to be forsaken of God, to be left to one's self, to one's own strength, to the sense of duty to resist the world in arms,—there is in all this a colossal greatness. It is to learn the true key to man, to taste the divine bitterness of the fruit of knowledge, of which it was said at the beginning of the world, "Ye shall know that ye are gods, ye shall become gods."

Here you have the whole mystery of the middle age, the secret of its ever-flowing tears, and the key to its profound genius—precious tears, which have flowed into limpid legends, into marvellous poems, and which, heaping themselves up towards the sky, have become crystallized into gigantic cathedrals, that have wished to rise to the Lord!

Seated on the bank of this great poetic river of the middle age, I can distinguish in it by the color of their waters, two different sources. The epic torrent, which erst gushed out of the depths of pagan nature to traverse the Greek and Roman heroism, rolls mingled and troubled with the confused waters of the world. By its side flows in purer current the Christian stream, which springs from the foot of the cross.

#### THE EPOPEE OF THE MIDDLE AGE.

Two poetries, two literatures—the one chivalrous, warlike, and amorous, and, from an early period, aristocratic; the other, ever religious and popular.

The first, too, is popular at its birth. It begins with the war against the infidels, with Charlemagne and Roland. I can readily believe that there existed among us from this time, and even before it, poems of Celtic origin in which the closing struggles of the West with the Romans and Germans, were illustrated by the names of Fingal or of Arthur. But the importance of the indigenous principle, of the Celtic element, must not be exaggerated. What is proper to France is to have little proper to it, to receive all, to appropriate all, to be France, and to be the world. Our nationality has an irresistible power of attraction: all comes to it, willingly or not. It is the least exclusively national, and most human, of all nationalities. The indigenous basis has been often submerged and inundated by foreign alluvions. All the poetries of the world have flowed into ours in rivulets, in torrents. While Celtic traditions were distilling from the mountains of Wales and of Brittany, like the rain rustling among the green oaks of my Ardennes, the cataract of the Carlovingian romances was rushing down from the Pyrenees. Even as far as from the mountains of Alsace and of Swabia, there have been poured in to us, through the channel of Austrasia, a flood of the Nibelungen. The erudite poetry of Alexander and of Troy, despite the Alps, overflowed from the old classic world, and still, from the distant East, thrown open by the crusade, there flowed to us, in fa-



bles, tales, and parables, the recovered rivers of Paradise.\*

Europe knew herself to be Europe, by combating with Africa and Asia: hence, Homer and Herodotus; hence our Carlovingian poems, with the holy wars of Spain, the victory of Charles Martel, and the death of Roland. Literature is the awakening consciousness of a nationality. The people are unified in one man. Roland dies in the solemn passes of the mountains which separate Europe from African Spain. Like the Philenæ, immortalized at Carthage, he consecrates with his tomb the boundary of his country. Grand as the struggle, lofty as heroism, is the tomb of the hero; his gigantic *tumulus* is the Pyrenees themselves. But the hero who dies for Christendom is a Christian hero, a warrior, barbarian Christ; like Christ, he is sold with his twelve companions; like Christ, he sees himself forsaken, deserted. From his Pyrenean Calvary he cries out, he winds the horn which is heard from Toulouse to Saragossa. He winds it; but the traitor, Ganelon of Mentz, and the careless Charlemagne, will not hear the sound. He winds it, and Christendom, for which he dies, still makes no reply. Then he shivers his sword in pieces: he longs to die. But he will the neither by the Saracen sword, nor by his own arms. He swells the accusing sound, the veins of his neck start out, they burst, his noble blood wells forth: he dies of indignation at his unjust desertion by the world.

The sonorous voice of this grand poetry was soon to grow fainter, just like the sound of Roland's horn, in proportion as the crusade, seceding from the Pyrenees, was transferred

from the mountains to the centre of the Peninsula, and as the feudal dismemberment of the world caused the Christian and imperial unity, still prevailing throughout the Carlovingian poems, to be forgotten. The chivalrous poetry, smitten with personal prowess and heroic pride, which was the soul of the feudal world, took a hate to royalty, law, unity. The dissolution of the empire, and the resistance of the barons to the central power in the time of Charles the Bald and the later Carlovingians, were celebrated in the persons of Gérard of Roussille and of the four sons of Aymon, (les quatre-fils-Aymon,) all four galloping on the same courser, a significant plurality. But the ideal is not expressed by many, but by one alone, by Renaud. Renaud de Montauban;† the hero on his mountain, on his tower,—in the plain, the besieger, king and people, innumerable, but hardly confident against their solitary opponent. The king—that man-people—strong in numbers, and representing the idea of number, is incomprehensible to this feudal poetry: he seems to it a coward.‡ Charlemagne has already made a sorry figure in the previous cycle: he has suffered Roland to perish. In the present he pursues Renaud and Gérard of Roussillon by cowardly means, and prevails over them by stratagem. He plays the part of the legitimate and unworthy Eurystheus, persecuting Hercules, and subjecting him to rude labors.

This apparent contradiction between authority and equity, which, after all, is but hatred of law—the revolt of individual against general man—is ill-supported by Renaud, by Gérard.

\* Besides former laborers in this field, as Faucher, Tresson, St. Pol, Le Grand d'Aussy, Barleson, Méon, &c., we must mention Becker, Goerres, F. Burlet, Monin, Quinet, and the last editor of Warton,—see, also, M. P. Paris, Introduction au Roman de *Beuve*, dedicated to M. de Montmerqué: "Follow up the publication of the Roman du *Renaud*, there have appeared, under your auspices, both our first comic opera, *Le Jeu de Robin et Marion*, and our first drama, *Le Jeu d'Amour et de Mort*,—M. Roquembourg, too, has contributed to this offering the poems of *Marie de France*, and M. Crapet, the graceful romance of the *Châtelain de Coucy*. M. F. Michel, not content with having published the romance of the *Comte de Putiers*, and that of *La Violette*, is about to bring out, with the assistance of an able orientalist, a version of *Mikomet*, from which we may expect to learn the position entertained in the West, in the thirteenth century, of the religion and person of the Arab legislator. M. Bédier is busied with an edition of the *Chant de Roland*, and M. Robert, whose labors on *La Fontaine* are well known, will shortly publish the beautiful romance of *Partonopeus de Blois*. Meanwhile, M. Rymond is on the eve of completing his *Glossaire des Langues Vulgaires*, and the Abbé Delarue is seeing through the press a great work on *Les Bardes, les Jongleurs, et les Trouvères*.—"How many romances of the Round Table have we not still in Latin? Are not Nennius, the False Gildas, Brutus of English, the Lay of Merlin, his Prophecies, the romance of the Knight of the Lion, that of Joseph of Arimathea, &c., in all our large libraries? Do we not also find in Latin Turpin's Romance of Charlemagne, and that of Charlemagne's Voyage to Jerusalem, the romance of Oger the Dane, that of Amas and Amilon—of Atlas and Porphyria, *alias* of the Siege of Athens, those of Alexander, Dolophtus, &c. &c.?" Finally, have we not a large number of our folk-tales in the *Disciplina Clericalis* of Pierre Alphonse, and in the *Gesta Romanorum*?" Delarue, *Bardes Armoricains*, p. 64.

\* A pleonasm: in Celtic, *Alben, Alp*, signify mountain—so *Mont-alben* is equivalent to "mountain-mountain."

† The following is a passage from (*Guillaume au Court Nez*, (Paris, Introd. de *Beuve aux Grands Poètes*), quoted in *Gérard de Nevers*:—

"Grant fu li cort en la saie a Loon,  
Moult de as tables oïeuz et venoison.  
Qui que menjast la char et le poisson,  
Orques Guillaume n'en passat le meson.  
Ains menja tourte, et but aigne a feson.  
Quant mengier orent li chevalier baron,  
Les napes oient esquier et garçon.  
Li quens Guillaume mist le roi a raison:  
—'Qu'avez en pense,' dit-il, li fies-Charlon?  
'Secours-moi vers la geste Mahon.  
Dist Loen: 'Nous en consillerons,  
Et le matin savoir le vous ferons  
Ma volente, se je irai o non.'  
Guillaume l'ot, si tint come charbon;  
Il s'abstint, si n'pris un baston.  
Puis dit au roi: 'Vostre fies vous rendon,  
N'en tenez mes vaillant une esperon,  
Ne vostre ami ne sera ne vostre hom.  
Et si venez, o vous voillez o non.'"

MS. de *Gérard de Nevers*, No. 7494, thirteenth century, corrected from the oldest of the MS. of *Guillaume au Court Nez*, No. 6995.

(Grant was the throng in the hall at Loon, the table spread with fowl and venison: let who would eat flesh and fish, not a bit passed William's chin, but he eat pie, bread, and drank plenty of water. When the knights and barons had done; squire and page removed the cloths. Count William took the king to book: "What have you determined about your son Charles? Will you aid me against the Turks?" Loen replied, "We will take counsel, and in the morning, will let you know my will, whether I go or not." William heard, and reddened like a coal. He stooped down, picked up a stick, and said to the king, "Stand your son, or I will not value you a stick, nor be your friend nor your man; and you shall go, whether you will or not.")

and by the fœdal sword. The king, for all they may say, is the more legitimate; the representative of a more general and a diviner idea. He can only be unseated by a more general idea still. The king will prevail over the baron, and the people over the king. The notion of this last conquest is already implied in a satiric drama, which, brought from Asia into France, has been welcomed and translated by every nation—the dialogue between Solomon and Morolf. The latter is an Æsop, a rude bullock, a rustic, a *vilain*; but villain as he is, his subtle reasonings are embarrassing, and he humbles good king Solomon on his throne, who, possessed at will of all gifts, handsome, rich, and all-powerful, and above all, learned and wise, is discomfited by this cunning clown.\* The weapon of the feudal Renaud against authority, the king, and the written law, is the sword-force—that of the popular bullock, far more overpowering, reasoning and wily.

The king is to overcome the baron, not only in power, but in popularity. The epopee of feudal resistance only loses all its popular character, and restricts itself to the limited sphere of the aristocracy. Especially will it fade away in the South, where feudalism was never taught else than an odious importation, and where municipal life, the vivacious remnant of antiquity, had always prevailed in the cities.

The idea common to the two cycles of Roland and of Renaud, is war, heroic—foreign war, civil war. But to complete the idea of the heroic, heroic extends its horizon, and tends to the infinite. The poetic unknown which floated at first over two continents, over the Ardennes and the Pyrenees, rolls back towards the East, as that of the moderns pushed on towards the West with their Hospitallers, from Italy to Sicily, and from Spain to the Atlantic. After the *Chanson des Oïseaux*, Poetry goes on seeking and finding, seeking what? The subject is to be strictly mythical, poetic. The poet is to remember that a Greece, that a Rome once peopled the world. But the West accepts Alexander and Caesar as the incarnation of their heroic Westerns. The Greek knighted, Alexander becomes a parallel to the Macedonians and Romans are ancestors of the Franks; the Saxons descend from the English, the Britons from Britons. That affinity between the Indo-Germanic na-

tions which science was to prove in our days, poetry, in its divine presence, has foreseen.

Yet is the hero still incomplete. In vain to attain it does the middle age raise itself on antiquity. In vain to complete the conquest of the world, is Aristotle turned into a magician, who leads through air and over sea the knightly Alexander.† The foreign element not sufficing, they trace back to the old indigenous element, up to the Celtic dolmen and Arthur's tomb. Arthur revives; no more the petty chief of a clan as barbarous as his Saxon conquerors, no, an Arthur purified by chivalry. Pale, very pale, it is true, is this king of the valiant, with his queen Genevieve, and his twelve paladins seated round the round table. And what do they bring into the world after the long sleep into which woman has cast Merlin? They bring with them in the love of woman—it is their heroic idea—ever woman, ever Eve, that deceiving symbol of nature, of pagan sensuality, which promises infinite joy, and which keeps mourning and tears. Let them go, then, sad lovers, seeking adventures in forests, weak and agitated, revolving in their interminable epopee as in that circle of Dante, in which gyrate the victims of love at the sport of a constant wind.

What was the end of these religious forms, these mutations, these tables of two, yet, these chivalrous love feasts, a mutation of the last Supper? An effort is made to anticipate all this, to convert it to preaching, poetry, and to bring it to penitence. By the side of the profane chivalry, which sought women and glory, another is created. The old legends are warlike and adventurous, even heroic, but the object is changed. It is left Arthur and his brave knights, but no more the quest of the Grail and the Holy Grail. This new poetry takes the novel of pilgrims to the holy lands for its type, where the sacred treasure is kept. The Grail is a relic of woman; it is not the profane quest of the Grail, and of the person of the Grail, but the chastity of St. Joseph and St. Simeon, the piety in which our Lord drank at his last Supper, and in which Joseph of Arimathea collected His precious blood, to make a vessel for His cup of Gilead, prolongs future's life for two hundred years.

\* See the poem of *Alcuin* by E. Chartier and A. de la Borderie. The latter asserts that they are verses of the 10th century. There is also a Latin Æsop, which is a good specimen of the 13th century. An Æsop of the 14th century is also in the *Manuscrit de la Bibliothèque de la Sorbonne*. The *Manuscrit de la Bibliothèque de la Sorbonne* is the *Manuscrit de la Bibliothèque de la Sorbonne*. The *Manuscrit de la Bibliothèque de la Sorbonne* is the *Manuscrit de la Bibliothèque de la Sorbonne*.

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\* *Æsop*, a rustic, a *vilain*; but villain as he is, his subtle reasonings are embarrassing, and he humbles good king Solomon on his throne, who, possessed at will of all gifts, handsome, rich, and all-powerful, and above all, learned and wise, is discomfited by this cunning clown. The weapon of the feudal Renaud against authority, the king, and the written law, is the sword-force—that of the popular bullock, far more overpowering, reasoning and wily.



mother. Both were still free from distrust: the mother wished to be all in all to her child. She took him wholly to her, and without reservation, . . . "Pandentemq[ue] sinus et tota veste vocatem cœruleum in gremium."<sup>6</sup>

Worship was a tender dialogue between God, the Church, and the people, expressing one and the same thought. Impassioned and grave by turns, she blended the old sacred language with that of the people. The solemnity of the prayers was broken—dramatized with pathetic chants, like that dialogue between the foolish and the wise virgins which has been handed down to us. And sometimes, also, the great, the learned, the eternal Church herself made herself a child to prattle with her child, and translated the ineffable to it in puerile legends, such as fitted its tender age. She spoke: it listened. The people lifted up their voice: not the fictitious people who speak in the choir, but the true people, rushing from without tumultuously and immemorially through all the vomitories of the cathedral, with their loud confused voice—a giant child, like the St. Christopher of the legend,<sup>7</sup> brute, ignorant, passionate, but docile, imploring initiation, and praying to bear Christ on their colossal shoulders. They entered, dragging into the Church the hideous dragon of sin, gorged with victuals, to the Saviour's feet, to wait the stroke of the prayer which was to immolate it.<sup>8</sup> At times, also, recognising that the animalism was in themselves, they exposed in symbolical extravagances their miseries and infirmity. This was called the festival of idiots, *fatuorum*;<sup>9</sup> and this imitation of the pagan orgies, tolerated by Christianity as man's farewell to the sensualism which he abjured, was repeated at the festivals of the Nativity, the Circumcision, Epiphany, the Murder of the Innocents, and likewise on those days on which mankind, moved from the devil, fell into the intoxication

of joy—at Christmas and Easter. The clergy themselves took a share in it. Here, the canons played at ball within the church; there, they insultingly dragged after them the odious Lent herring.<sup>10</sup> Beast as well as man was rehabilitated. The humble witness of our Saviour's birth, the faithful animal which warmed his infant body as he lay in the manger with his breath, which bore him with his mother into Egypt, which carried him in triumph into Jerusalem—it had its share in the general joy.<sup>†</sup>

<sup>6</sup> See, above, note at p. 175, an enumeration of the burlesque festivals, partially preserved in our provinces.

<sup>†</sup> At Beauvais, Autun, &c., they celebrated the Feast of the Ass.—Rubricæ: *Missa, festi assinorum*, ap. Durango — "At the end of the mass, the priest turning to the people with the words, 'He, missa est.' Ye may depart, church is over, shall neigh thrice, and then the people, with the formula, 'Deo gratias,' all thanks to God, shall thrice answer 'Hi ha, hi ha, hi ha.' Then the following hymn was sung —

*Ovisque partibus  
Adventavit assinus  
Pueri et fortissimus,  
Puerini aptissimus.  
Hæc, sire asnes, car chanta  
Belle bouche rechignez,  
Vois auez du fon asnes  
Et de l'avoine a plantes*

*Lentus erit ped bus  
Nisi foet baculus  
Et cum in clunibus  
Punget aculeus.  
Hæc, sire asnes, &c.*

*Hic in collibus Sichem,  
Jem nutritus sub Ruben,  
Transiit per Jerichem,  
Salut in Bethleem.  
Hæc, sire asnes, &c.*

*Eccæ magnis auribus  
Pubug dis hinc,  
Assinus egregius  
Assinorum dominus  
Hæc, sire asnes, &c.*

*Altu vineat hinculum,  
Dumtaxat et expressum,  
Super denudationem  
Veni a Mahanem  
Hæc, sire asnes, &c.*

*Aurum de Archa,  
Thaus et myrrum de Saba,  
Tu, tu celestia  
Vires et natis  
Hæc, sire asnes, &c.*

*Dum trahit vehicula  
Mula cum extrinula,  
Hinc mendicula  
Hinc fortis patula  
Hæc, sire asnes, &c.*

*Cum arcto hircum  
Comet vel cardium,  
Tertium pueri  
Pegrogat in arca  
Hæc, sire asnes, &c.*

*Assin d'as, asine  
As grandetebate  
Jem salut de gramme  
Assin, Assin d'as,  
Assinare volens  
Hæc, sire asnes, car chanta  
Belle bouche car chanta "*

M. du Breuil, *asne*, ap. Durango, *Glosses*

From the east came the ass, fat and sturdy, fitted for burdens. Ha, so ass upon your line mouth to sing, you shall have hay enough, and plenty of oats.

<sup>6</sup> Throwing open her bosom, and inviting with outstretched robes to her young lap.

<sup>7</sup> Monnaies Primitives de la Langue Romane—given by M. Raynouard in his great work. Since writing this I have perused on this subject the character of the middle age an important article of my friend M. Ch. Magnien's *Revue des Deux Mondes*, and several chapters of Mr. Digby's new work, *Monnaies Primitives* (London 1872-1873).

<sup>8</sup> This was the ritual only elsewhere.

<sup>9</sup> At Tournai, the devil, at Metz, the *gargouille*, at Rouen the *gargouille*, at Paris the monster of the *Beuve*, &c. See more at p. 161. The *gargouille* is on the walls of Rouen. Archives de la Beuve.

<sup>†</sup> See Durango, *verbi Kalenda cœruleus albus cornu dorum*, *Leit. con. Hist. de Paris*, t. i. p. 224. Duclot, *Mem. des parois de l'Église de la Fête des Fous*. Duclot, *Geschichte des Karnevals in Frankreich*. Mariot, *Mémoires de la Société de l'Étude de la Fête des Fous*. In 1184 the legate Peter of Capua prohibited the celebration of this festival in the diocese of Paris, but it was not given up in France till about 1444. We find it held in 1524 and in 1530. In 1561 the children of the choir of the Sainte Chapelle still danced to the first of Innocent's Day, and occupied the first of it with the children's rope and ballad. Mariot, *Hist. de la Sainte Chapelle*, p. 222. At Bayeux on Innocent's Day the children of the choir headed by a little bishop who performed the service occupied the upper stalls and the canons the lower. *Histoire du Diocèse de Bayeux*, par Hermant, curé de Saint-Etienne-Cathédrale de Bayeux.

The middle age, juster than we, discerned in the ass sobriety, patience, resignation, and I know not how many Christian virtues. Wherefore be ashamed of the ass! The Saviour had felt no such shame.\* . . . At a later time these simple manifestations turned into mockery; and the Church was obliged to impose silence on the people, remove them, keep them at a distance. But in the first centuries of the middle age, what harm was there in all this! Is not all permitted to the child! So little alarm did the Church feel at these popular dramas, that she borrowed their boldest features for the decoration of her walls. In Rouen cathedral† we see a pig playing on a fiddle; in that of Chartres, an ass holds a sort of harp;‡ at Essone, a bishop holds a fool's bauble.§ Elsewhere, we see the images of vices and of sins sculptured with all the liberty of pious cynicism.|| The courageous artist does not shrink from representing the incest of Lot or the infamies of Sodom.¶

The Church exhibited at this period a marvellous dramatic genius, full of boldness and of easy good-fellowship, and often stamped with touching puerility. No one laughed in Germany when the new curé, in the midst of the mass of installation, walked up to his mother, and led her out to dance. If she were dead, there was no difficulty in saving her; he *put his mother's soul under the candlestick*. The love of mother and of son, of Mary and of Jesus, was a rich source of the pathetic to the

He was slow of foot, unless the stick, or the goad, should prick him in the buttocks. Ha, sir ass, &c.

He on the hills of Sichem, reared by Reuben, crossed the Jordan, bounded into Bethlehem. Ha, sir ass, &c.

Lo with his great ears, the son of the yoke, the excellent ass, the lord of asses. Ha, sir ass, &c.

In tracking he exerts fawns, deer, and kiddings, swift beyond the dromedaries of the Medinities. Ha, sir ass, &c.

Gold from Arabia, frankincense and myrrh from Saba, as Arabian worth has brought into the church. Ha, sir ass, &c.

While he drags wagons, with many a little load, with his jawbones he crushes hard food. Ha, sir ass, &c.

Barley with its beard, and thistles he cuts; wheat from the chaff, he winnows on the thrashing-floor. Ha, sir ass, &c.

Say Amen, O Ass, (*here all kneel*.) having now thy fill of grass, Amen, Amen repeat, spare your former way of life. Fine sir ass for going, fine mouth for singing.)

Nostri nec penitet illas,  
Nec te penitet peccatis, divine poets.

Virgil, Eclog. 10.

† On the north porch of the cathedral, (the Booksellers' porch.)

‡ On a counterfort of the old tower.

§ In the church of St. Guenault, rats are represented gnawing the globe of the world. Millin, Voyage, t. i. p. 29, et pl. vii. Aristotle does not escape this universal jeer. He is figured at Rouen bending down with his hands on the ground, and carrying a woman on his back.

¶ The stalls of Notre Dame de Rouen, Notre Dame d'Amiens, of St. Guenault d'Essone, &c. In the church of l'Eglise, a small village near Châlons, are some very remarkable but also very obscene sculptures. St. Bernard writes about 1125 to Guillaume de St. Thierry:—What is the good of all those grotesque monsters in painting or in relief, which are placed in clusters in sight of those who are bewitching their sins? What is the use of this beautiful deformity or this deformed beauty? What is the meaning of these such-and-such, those raging lions, those monstrous centaurs? Ed. Mabilon, p. 539.

¶ This formed the subject of one of the external bas-reliefs of Reims cathedral. It has been effaced.

Church. Even to this day, at Messina, the Virgin, carried through all the city, seeks her son, as the Ceres of ancient Sicily sought Proserpine; and at last, just as she is to enter the grand square, she is shown our Saviour's image, when she starts back with surprise, twelve doves flying out of her bosom, bear God the outpouring of maternal transport.\*

At Pentecost, white pigeons used to be loose in the church amidst tongues of fire; flowers were rained down, and the inner galleries were illuminated.† At other festivals illumination was outside.‡ Let us picture ourselves the effect of the lights on these prodigious edifices, when the priests, waving through the aerial staircases, animated by fantastic processions the darksome mass, passing and repassing along the balustrade under the denticulated buttresses, with their rich costumes, wax tapers, and chants; with light and voice revolved from circle to circle, and below, in dark shadow, answered the cry of people. Here was the true drama, the mystery, the representation of the pilgrimage of humanity through the three worlds:—sublime intuition which Dante caught from transient reality to fix and eternize in the *Divina Commedia*.

After its long carnival of the middle age, this colossal theatre of the sacred drama sunk into silence and into shade. The pre-weak voice is powerless to fill vaults, whose ample span was reared to embrace and contain the thunder of a people's voice. Widow and empty are the churches. Their profane symbolism, which then spoke with so clear a voice, is mute. They are now objects of scientific curiosity, of philosophical explanations, Alexandrian interpretations—Gothic museums visited by the learned, who walk round, gaze irreverently, and praise instead of pray. I do they clearly know what they praise! To which finds favor in their sight is not the chalet itself, but the delicate workmanship of its ornaments, the fringe of its cloak, its lace of some laborious and subtle piece of workmanship of the later Gothic, (*du Gothique en séduction*.)

Gross-minded men, who look upon the

\* J. Blunt, *Vestiges of Ancient Manners and Customs discoverable in Modern Italy and Sicily*, London, 1830, p. 159.—How comes it that Mr. Blunt could only see this ridiculous mummery?

† In the Sainte-Chapelle, the figure of an angel used to let down from the roof, holding a silver jar, from which poured water on the hands of the officiating priest. Mon. Hist. de la Sainte-Chapelle, p. 180.—At Reims, on the day of the Dedication, a lighted taper was placed between the arches.

‡ Over the gallery of the Virgin in the church of St. Denis, at Paris, was the figure of a virgin, with two men bearing candlesticks in their hands; and in these the priest or treasurer used to place tapers after lauds on *Sunday*. Gilbert, *Description de Notre-Dame de Paris*. In some churches, the priest represented our Lord's Assumption on the porch.—Sometimes even the clergy were called to perform the ceremony on the loftiest parts of the choir for instance, when relics were sealed up under the tower or steeple; as was done in the church of Notre-Dame de Paris.



external classification of Tournefort, science has discovered the system of Linneus and Jussieu. The organic law, then, of Gothic architecture, I have felt impelled to seek, on the one hand, in the genius of Christianity, in its principal mystery, the Passion; and, on the other, in the history of art and in its fruitful metempsychosis.

*Ars*, in Latin, is the contrary of *in-ers*: it is the contrary of inaction, it is action. In Greek, action is named *drama*. The drama is pre-eminently the action or the art, being the principle and the end of art.

Art, action, drama, are strangers to matter. For inert matter to become spirit, action, art, for it to become human and put on flesh, it must be subdued, it must suffer. It must allow itself to be divided, torn, beaten, sculptured, changed. It must endure the hammer, the chisel, the anvil; must cry, hiss, groan. This is its Passion. Read in the English ballad of the *Death of John Barleycorn*, what he suffers under the flail, the kiln, and the vat. Just so the grape in the wine-press. The wine-press is often the shape of the cross of the Son of man.\* Man, grape, barleycorn, all acquire under torture their highest form: heretofore gross and material, they become spirit. The stone also breathes and gains a soul under the artist's hand; who calls life out of it. Well is the sculptor named in the middle age *Magister de viris lapidibus*, ("the master of living stones.")†

This dramatic struggle betwixt man and nature is to the latter at once Passion and Incarnation, destruction and generation. Together, they engender a common fruit, a mixture of the father and the mother—Humanized nature, spiritualized matter, art. But, just as the fruit of generation more or less resembles father or mother, and yields in turn both sexes, so, in the mixed product of art, man or nature is more or less predominant. Here we have the virile; there, the feminine stamp. We must discriminate between sexual characters in architecture, as we do in botany and zoology.

This characteristic is strikingly marked in Indian architecture; which presents, alternately, male and female monuments. The latter, vast caverns, profound wombs of nature in the heart of mountains, have been fecundated in their darkness by art: they pant for man, and seek to absorb him in their bosom. Other monuments represent man's impulse towards nature, the vehement aspiration of love, and start up, luxurious pyramids, seeking to impregnate the sky. Aspiration, respiration, mortal life and fecund death, light and darkness, male and female, man and nature, activity, passivity,—the whole, combined, is the drama of

the world, of which art is the serious ody.

Yes, in face of the all-powerful nature v laughs at us in the deceiving phantasma of her works, we erect a nature fashione ourselves. To this solemn irony, this et comedy, with which the world, while am man, makes him its sport and mock, we o; our Melpomene. We take so little um: at the homicidal and charming nature v smiles upon as she crushes us, that we m the delight of our lives to track and in her. Spectators and victims of the dram take our parts in it with a good grace, and nify the catastrophe by embracing, acc; idealizing it.

The fecundity of this double drama seer have been seized by the Indians. The li fig-tree, the bôdhi, the tree-forest, (the grove,) each branch of which strikes ro the earth, another tree,—this arcade of arc: this pyramid of pyramids, is the shelter t which God reached, they say, the perfect of contemplation, the state of *bôdhi*, bud: of absolute sage. As the God, so the —their name becomes identical; it is na fecundity and intellectual fecundity. This in which there are so many trees, this tho in which there are so many thoughts, rise together, and aspire to being: here is the of fecundity, of creation. Aspiration, ac gation—these are the male and female pr ples, the paternal and maternal, the two pr ples of the world, and of the little world o as well. Rather, we should say, the one principle—aspiration after aggregation, o in one, of all to one, as all the lines of pyramid tend to the point.

The pyramidal form, the abstract pyra reduced to its three lines, is the triangle, the ogival triangle, in the ogive, two line curves; that is, composed of an infinity of lines. This common aspiration of innume lines, which is the mystery of the ogive, appears in India and Persia,\* and in the na age it prevails throughout our West. At two ends of the world we see the efforts of infinite towards the infinite; in other w the universal, *Catholic* tendency. It is the less repetition of the same within the sam

\* John Crawford, *Journal of an Embassy to the em Ava*, in the year 1827, p. 64. "The Gothic arch is able in all the ancient temples: a characteristic which not mark modern buildings."—M. Lenoirant conjecture ogive to be originally from Persia; the palace of Eup the other monuments of the Sassanides present man samples of it. It would, indeed, be strictly logical for mystic form to have been invented by the mystic a (See Chardin.) M. Lenoirant has seen in Egypt the ninth century. Sicily and Naples must have been ring, connecting oriental with western architecture.

† Report by M. Eug. Burnouf on Daniel's edifice Indian views, Nov. 5th, 1827. (*Journal Asiatique*, t. 316.) "The religious monuments drawn by this arte long to all parts of the peninsula, but especially a vicinity of Benares, Bahar, and Madras, whither the sulman conquest did not extend, and to the southern trinity of the peninsula. Considered in a general pr view, these vast constructions are marked by one con

\* On one of the windows of St. Etienne du Mont, Jesus Christ is figured in the wine press; the wine running from his body into vats.

† The surname of one of the architects whom Ludovic Borza sent for from Germany, to close the arches of the roof of Milan cathedral. Gœt. Franchetti, *Storia e descrizione del duomo di Milano*, 1821.





obelisk, but raised on a temple. The figures of angels and of prophets, standing on the counterforts, seem to cry out to the four quarters of heaven the summons to prayer, like the imamu on the minarets: while the arched buttresses, which rise to the roofing of the nave,\* with their lighted balustrades, their radiant wheels, their denticulated bridges, seen Jacob's ladders, or that sharp bridge of the Persians, over which the souls of the departed are obliged to cross the abyss, at the risk of losing their balance under the weight of their sins.

Behold this prodigious pile, this work of Encecladus. To rear these rocks, four, five hundred feet in the air,† giants must have sweated,—Ossa on Pelion, Olympus on Ossa,—but no, it is no work of giants, no confused mass of enormous materials, no inorganic aggregation,—something stronger has been at work than the arm of the Titans.—What! The breath of the Spirit; that light breath which passed before the face of Daniel, carrying away kingdoms and dashing empires to pieces, is what has swelled these roofs and wifted these towers to the sky. It has animated all the parts of this vast body with a powerful and harmonious existence, and has drawn out of a grain of mustard-seed the vegetation of this marvellous tree. The Spirit is the builder of its own dwelling. See, how it labors out the human figure in which it is enclosed, how it stamps its physiognomy, how it forms and deforms its features; how it sinks the eye with meditation, worldly trials, and griefs; how it ploughs the forehead with wrinkles and with thoughts; how it bends and curves the very bones, the powerful framework of the body, to the motions of the life within. In like manner, the Spirit was the architect of its own stony covering, and fashioned it to its own use, traced on it, without and within, the diversity of its own thoughts, told its history upon it, took care not to leave unchronicled one hour of the long life which it led here, and engraved upon it all its remembrances, all its hopes, all its regrets, all its loves. To this cold stone it transferred the dreams and cherished thoughts of its existence. After it had once escaped from the catacombs, from the sacred crypt in which the pagan world had detained it,‡ it reared this crypt to the sky.

\* It was in the twelfth century (the first period of the primitive style), that buttresses were first projected from the wall. In the eleventh century, they used to be hidden under the roofing of the wings.—Next, the counterforts were raised. The towers above the roofing of the wings, and the windows with small steeples. Niches were hollowed out on the east face of the counterforts; the arcades were introduced, and were pierced with trefoils and roses. (Cumont, *l. c.* p. 238. See also, the magnificent plates in *Revue de l'Art*, Description de la Cathédrale de Cologne.)

† The height would seem to be the ideal to which German architects aspired. Thus, according to the plans, which are still extant, the towers of Cologne cathedral were designed to be five hundred feet in height; the spire of Strasburg is five hundred feet strong and high. (Forcillo, *Geschichte der Zeilenbaukunst in Deutschland*, t. i. p. 411.)

‡ There is hardly an trace of a crypt after the twelfth century. (Cumont, *Antiquités Monumentales*, t. ii. p. 123.)

The more deeply it had sunk, the higher did it rise. The glittering spire escaped like the deep sigh of a chest oppressed for a thousand years. And so powerful was the respiration, so strongly did the heart of the human race beat, that it revealed itself in every part of its stony covering, which shone with love to meet God's looks. Regard the contracted but deep orbit of the Gothic window, of that *ogival* eye,\* when it endeavors to open itself in the twelfth century,—this eye of the Gothic window is the distinguishing sign of the new architecture. Ancient art, worshipper of matter, was distinguished by the material support of the temple, by the column—whether Tuscan, Doric, or Ionic. The principle of modern art, child of the soul and of the spirit, is not form, but the physiognomy, the eye; not the column, but the window; not the full, but the void. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the window, buried in the depth of walls, like the solitary of the Thebaid in his granite cell, is wholly to itself; it meditates and dreams. By degrees, it advances from within to without, till it reaches the external superficies of the wall. It radiates in beautiful mystic roses, all triumphant with celestial glory. But hardly is the fourteenth century past, than the rose alters, and change into burning shapes,—they flames, hearts, or tears! Perhaps all three at once.

A similar progress is observable in the progressive enlargement of the Church. The spirit, whatever it does, is ever ill at ease in its dwelling, which it vainly seeks to extend,‡ vary, and adorn. It cannot rest there: it is stifled. No, beautiful as you are, marvellous cathedral, with your towers, your saints, your flowers of stone, your forests of marble, your great Christs, with their glories of gold, you cannot contain me. Round the Church must be built little churches: it must be radiant with chapels.§ Beyond the altar must be reared

It was in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries that the great impulse was given to ogival architecture.—The largest church in France is that of the cathedral of Chartres. See G. de la Notice Historique et Descriptive sur Notre Dame de Chartres, p. 76.

\* The root of the word *ogive* is the German *ogee*, "curve." Its curvilinear angles are like the corners of the eye. (Forcillo, *Description de Notre Dame de Paris*, p. 26.) In the primitive ogival architecture, the windows were long and narrow; they are styled by the English antiquaries, *lancet*. Two lancet windows are often joined and framed in one principal arch. Between the tops of these double lancet windows, and that of the principal arch, remains a space in which a trefoil, quatre fol, or small rose is usually inserted. (Cumont, p. 251.)

† It is, at least, the chief element of classification which our Norman antiquaries have conceived that they have established, after a comparison of more than twelve hundred churches of different ages. The glory of having given a scientific principle to the history of Gothic art, belongs to the province which contains the greatest number of monuments of the kind. At the head of our Norman antiquaries I must mention MM. Auguste Prevost and de Cumont.

‡ In the thirteenth century, the choir became longer than before, in comparison with the nave. The collateral nave were prolonged round the sanctuary, and were always bordered with chapels. (Cumont, p. 26.)

§ This was the mode of construction in general use in the eleventh century. Ibid. p. 122.



long, (396 : 6=66, which, divided by 2=33=3 × 11.) The naves of St. Ouen at Rouen, and of the cathedrals of Strasbourg and of Chartres, are all three of equal length, (244 feet.) The Sainte-Chapelle at Paris is 110 feet high, (110 : 10=11,) 110 feet long, and 27 feet (the third power of 3) wide.

To whom belonged this science of numbers, this divine mathematics!—To no mortal man did it belong, but to the Church of God. Under the shadow of the Church, in chapters and in monasteries, the secret was transmitted together with instruction in the mysteries of Christianity.\* The Church alone could accomplish these miracles of architecture. She would often summon a whole people to complete a monument. A hundred thousand men labored at once on that of Strasbourg,† and such was their zeal, that they did not suffer night to interrupt their work, but continued it by torchlight. Often, too, the Church would lavish centuries on the slow accomplishment of a perfect work. Renaud de Montauban bore stones for the building of Cologne cathedral, and to this day it is in process of erection.‡ Such patient strength was all-triumphant.

\* There is a tradition that the most illustrious bishops of the middle age were architects and builders. It was Lanfranc who built the magnificent church of St. Etienne-de-Caen.—According to a tradition that we have noticed above, Thomas Becket built a church during his exile, &c. (See p. 243.) Each of the ten abbots, successors of Marcdesargens, was master of the works of St. Ouen. An archdeacon of Paris constructed all Simon de Montfort's machines of war. In the fourteenth century, William of Wickham, bishop of Winchester, built Windsor for Edward III. See Boyle, at the word, Wickham.—In 1497, a carpenter of Verona rebuilt the bridge Notre-Dame at Paris, after it had fallen in. Corrozet, *Antiquités de Paris*, 1566, p. 156, &c., &c.—Under the first and second Free, up to the time of Philip Augustus, there was not a single artist but belonged to the priesthood.—No one has better drawn the line of demarcation between the sacerdotal and the following epochs than M. Mignin, in an article, *Revue des Deux Mondes*, July, 1832, on the statue of queen Nautica, and in another article on the origin of theatrical representations, (Dec. 1831.)

† See Grandidier, *Essai sur la Cathédrale de Strasbourg*; *Histoire de la Cathédrale de Strasbourg*; and Fiorillo, *Gesch. der Zoch. Kunst in Deutschland*, t. i. p. 330, sqq.

‡ The cutting of the choir alone is finished; it is two hundred feet high. M. Bossere has subjected to his description this cathedral a project for its restoration and completion, based on the original plans of the designers, which were discovered a few years since by a lucky accident. See, also, *For. L.*, t. i. p. 391-423.

(The completion of this cathedral is going on rapidly under the auspices of the present king of Prussia.—The following is from the *Athenæum* of Feb. 19th. of the present year, 1845.—“The model of the temple intended for the cathedral of Cologne is exhibiting at Berlin, and attracting the public by its beauty and magnificence. The pedestal is a bundle of columns, about two feet in height, imitating in their clustering the lower piers which sustain the building. These are terminated by a capital of acanthus leaves and scrolls, and are crowded, out of which spring a system of ribs that converge to the pulpit, developing themselves in exact resemblance to those which climb towards the key-stones of the vault. Above the ribs, and riches containing the figures of the twelve apostles of the cathedral, ornaments more especially revered by the Catholics constitute the principal decoration of the monument. At its base is the archbishop Conrad of Hochstaden, and higher up, surrounding the pulpit, the twelve Apostles, and at the top bearing the banner of the redemption, and blessing his disciples. The capitals, beneath which these figures stand, form so many little steeples of floral workmanship, in whose upper portions are sculptured the arms of the principal German cities. The pulpit is covered by a sounding-board, on which sit the four Evangelists, with their recognised attributes. Over them, in a

No doubt, affinities with Gothic art may be traced at Byzantium, in Persia, or in Spain. But what does this matter? It belongs to that spot in which it has struck deepest root, and has most closely approached its ideal. Our Norman cathedrals are singularly numerous, beautiful, and varied; their daughters of England are marvellously rich, and delicately and subtly wrought. But the mystic genius seems more strongly stamped on the German churches. The land there was well prepared, the soil expressly fitted to bear the flowers of Christ. Nowhere have man and nature—that brother and sister—disported under the Father's eye with a purer and more infantile love. The German mind has attached itself with simple faith to the flowers, trees, and beautiful mountains of God, and has reared out of them, in its simplicity, miracles of art, just as on the anniversary of the Nativity they arrange the beautiful Christmas-tree, hung all over with garlands, ribands, and little lamps, to delight the hearts of their children. Here the middle age brought forth golden souls, who have passed away unknown and unnoticed, fair souls, as once puerile and profound, who have hardly entertained the idea that they belonged to time, who have never quitted the bosom of eternity, and have suffered the world to flow on before them without seeing in its stormy waves any other color than heaven's own azure. What were their names? Who can tell them! . . . All that is known is, that they were of that obscure and vast association which has spread in every direction. They had their lodges at Cologne and Strasbourg.\* Their sign, as ancient as Germany herself, was the hammer of Thor. With the pagan hammer, sanctified in their Christian hands, they continued through the world the great work of the new temple, a renewal of the temple of Solomon. With what care they worked, obscure as they were, and lost in the general body, can only be learned

carved niche, is the Holy Virgin; and the cupola is closed in by a crown of flowers, on which sculpture has lavished its resources. The pulpit is ascended by a spiral staircase winding round the pillar before mentioned.”)—TRANSLATOR.

\* During the crusades, another circumstance took place, which also contributed much to the perfection of these ecclesiastical buildings. Some Greek refugees, Italians, French, German, and Flemings, united into a fraternity of builders, and procured papal bulls and particular privileges. They assumed the name of free masons, and travelled from one nation to another, where their services were required. Their government was regular. Adjacent to the building which was to be erected, they constructed a camp of huts, a surveyor governed in chief, and every tenth man, called a warden, overlooked nine. (Wren's *Parenthesis*.) This establishment, similar to the Dionysiacs of Louis, upon whose model it was probably formed by the Greek refugees, was the means of creating great dexterity in the workmen, and of making the surveyors become perfectly well acquainted with every circumstance which related to the plans and decorations. From the different national styles which were formed and closely adhered to, it is probable that the ecclesiastics furnished the designs; because, if the surveyors had done so, the same plans would have been repeated in the several countries where they were employed. Still it was of the first importance, to have men who understood plans, and workmen who were familiar with all the minute of execution.” (Civil Architecture, in the *Edinburgh Encyclopædia*.)—TRANSLATOR.



monarchy. Its front, formerly covered with the images of all the kings of France, is the work of Philippe-Auguste; the south-east front, that of St. Louis;\* the northern, that of Philippe-le-Bel;† the latter was built out of the spoil of the Templars, no doubt to ward off the curse of Jacques Molay.‡ On the red door of this funeral front is the monument of Jean-sans-Peur, (John the Fearless,)§ the assassin of the duke of Orleans. The great and heavy church, covered with fleurs-de-lis, appertains rather to history than religion. There is in it little of the soaring, little of that ascending movement, so striking in the churches of Strasbourg and Cologne. The longitudinal bands, intersecting Nôtre-Dame de Paris, arrest the upward flight: they are as the lines of a book, and narrate instead of praying.

Nôtre-Dame de Paris is the church of the monarchy; Nôtre-Dame de Reims that of the coronation. Contrary to what is the case with most cathedrals, the latter is finished—rich, transparent, bridding up in its colossal coquetry, it seems to be expecting a fête: it is but the sadder for it; the fête returns not. Charged and surcharged with sculpture, and covered more than any other church with the emblems of the priesthood, it symbolizes the union of the king with the priest. Devils gambol on the external balustrades of the cross-aisle, slide down the rapid descents, and make mouths at the town, while the people are pilloried at the foot of the Cocher-à-l'Ange, (the Angel's Tower.)

St. Denys is the church of tombs; not a sombre and saddening pagan necropolis, but glorious and triumphant,—resplendent with faith and hope, large and without shade, like the soul of St. Louis who built it; simple without, beautiful within; soaring and light, as if to weigh less on the dead. The nave rises to the choir by a staircase, which seems to expect the procession of generations which have to mount and descend with the spoil of kings.

At the epoch at which we have now arrived, Gothic architecture had attained the fulness of its growth; it was in the severe beauty of virginity—a brief adorable moment, which can last with nothing here below. To the moment of pure beauty, succeeds another which we also know full well. It is that second youth, when we have felt the weight of life, when the knowledge of good and evil displays itself in a sad smile; when a penetrating look escapes from the long eyelids,—one cannot then plunge too deeply into pleasures to cheat the troubles of the heart. It is the time for indulging in

dress and in rich ornaments. Such was the second age of the Gothic church. She was charmingly coquettish in her apparel—displaying rich windows, capped with imposing triangles,\* beautiful tabernacles appended to the door and the towers, like sets of brilliants, a fine and transparent lace of stone-work, spun by fairies' distaffs: thus she went on more and more ornate and triumphant, in proportion as the evil gained ground within. Vain are your efforts, suffering beauty, the bracelet hangs loosely on a fading arm. You know but too well that your own thoughts burn you up, and that you sicken through the impotence of your love.

Art sunk daily deeper into this emaciation warred furiously upon the stone, waxed wroth at it, as if it had dried up her source of life, hollowed, dug into, thinned, refined upon it. Architecture became the handmaid of logic: she divided and subdivided. Her process was Aristotelic; her method, that of St. Thomas. She raised as it were a series of syllogisms of stones, which were never concluded. A feeling of coldness has been observed in these refinements of Gothic art, in the subtleties of scholastic philosophy, and in the scholastic of love of the troubadours and of Petrarch. It is to betray ignorance of what passionate devotion means, of its ingenuity and obstinacy, of the subtlety and acuteness with which it madly pursues its ends. Thirsting for the infinite, of whose fugitive light it has had a glimpse, it gifts the senses with an extraordinary distinctness, and becomes a magnifying-glass that distinguishes and exaggerates the smallest details. It pursues the infinite in the imperceptible air-bubble in which floats a ray of heaven, seeks it in the thickness of a fine fair hair, in the last fibre of a quivering heart. Divide, divide, sharp scalpel,—thou mayst pierce, tear, split the hair and cut the atom, thou wilt not find thy God there.

Pushing on further each day this ardent pursuit, that which man found was man himself. The human and natural part of Christianity was more and more developed, and invaded the church. Gothic vegetation, wearied of climbing in vain, laid itself down upon the ground, and gave out its flowers. What flowers! images of man, painted and sculptured representations of Christianity, saints, and apostles. Painting and sculpture, the material arts which call the finite into a second existence, gradually stifled architecture;† the latter, an abstract

\* Begun in 1247.

† Begun in 1312 or in 1313.

‡ He was burnt in the Parvis Nôtre-Dame. The bishop's gallow was in the Parvis; it was destroyed at the beginning of the seventeenth century, and was replaced, in 1767, by an iron collar, fixed to a post. All the tumbrelly distances of France (as the English would say, mile-stones) were calculated from this post: it was pulled down in 1700. Gilbert, *Descript. de Notre-Dame de Paris*.

§ 1404-1419.

\* These triangles are the favorite ornament of the fourteenth century, when they were added to many doors and eavesments of the thirteenth; for instance, those of Nôtre-Dame at Paris.

† Painting on glass begins with the eleventh century. (From Nero's time the Romans made use of colored glass, the blue by choice.) A fine red is the commonest in old eavesments; so that "Wine, the color of the windows of the Sainte Chapelle," became a proverb. The windows of this church belong to the first age; those of St. Germain to the second and third: they are from the hands of Vinsagrier and of Jean Cousin. In the second age, the figures, becoming



them, contracted an alliance with her old enemy—feudalism, and then with monarchy on its triumph over feudalism. She took an interest in the lamentable victories of the monarchy over the communes, which, in their infancy, she had aided. At the foot of one of the bell-fries of the cathedral at Reims are representations of citizens of the fifteenth century, punished for having resisted the imposition of a tax\*—representations which are a stigma on the Church herself. The voice of these unfortunates rose to heaven with the hymns. Did God receive such homage willingly? I know not; but, methinks, churches built by forced labor, raised out of the tithes of a famished people, all blazoned with the pride of bishops and of lords, all filled with their insolent tombs, must have daily pleased Him less. These stones had cost too many tears.

The middle-age could not suffice the wants of mankind. It could not support its proud pretensions to be the last expression of the world—the *consummation*. The temple was to be enlarged. The divine embrace which the extended arms of Christ promised to mankind, was to be realized; and this embrace was to work the marvel of love—the identification of the object loving with the object loved. Humanity had to recognise Christ in itself; to feel in itself the perpetuation of the Incarnation and the Passion, which it had remarked in Job and Joseph, and rediscovered in the martyrs. This mystic intuition of an everlasting Christ, unceasingly renewed in human kind, may be everywhere detected in the middle age,—confused, it is true, and obscure, but daily acquiring a new degree of clearness, and spontaneous and popular, foreign from, and often contrary to, the influence of the Church. The people, while all-obedient to the priest, clearly distinguish apart from the priest, the Holy One, the Christ of God; and from age to age, cultivate, raise, and purify this ideal into an historical reality. This Christ of meekness and of patience is made manifest in Louis-le-Débonnaire, spat upon by the bishops; in the good king Robert, excommunicated by the pope; in Godfrey of Bouillon, a man of war and a Ghibeline, but who dies in the odor of chastity at Jerusa-

lem, a simple *baron* of the Holy Sepulchre. This ideal grows greater still in St. Thomas of Canterbury, deserted by the Church, and dying for her; and attains a new degree of purity in St. Louis, king-priest and king-martyr. Presently the ideal, generalized, will reach the people, and in the fifteenth century it will be realized not only in the man of the people, but in the woman—in the pure woman, in the Virgin; let us call her by her popular name, *la Pucelle*, (the maid who has not known man). She, in whom the people dies for the people, will be the last visible representation of Christ to the middle age.

This transfiguration of the human race—we recognised the image of God in themselves—who generalized that which had been individual, who chained to an everlasting present that which had been supposed temporary and past—who made a heaven upon earth—was the redemption of the modern world; but it seems to be the death of Christianity and of Christian art. Satan let loose on the unfinished Church a burst of loud and witheringly derisive laughter—and the laugh is still visible in the grotesque figures of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. He thought that he had conquered. Never has the insensate learned that his apparent triumph is ever but a means towards a greater end. He does not see that God is not the less God for having made himself mankind; that the temple is not destroyed because it has become as large as the world. He does not see that through having become immovable, divine art is not dead, but only gathers breath, that before rising to God, humanity needed once more to retreat within itself, try, examine, and complete itself by founding a juster, a more equal, and a diviner state of society.

Before this arrives, the old world must pass away, all trace of the middle age must be effaced, we must see all that we love die—even that which suckled us in our infancy, what was both father and mother to us, and which sang so sweetly to us in our cradle. Vainly does the old Gothic church ever raise towards heaven her supplicatory towers; vainly do her casements weep; vainly do her saints do penance in their niches of stone. . . . "Though the fountains of the great deep should break up, their waters will never reach the Lord." This condemned world will pass away, as have done the worlds of Greece, of Rome, of the East. He will lay its spoils by the side of their spoils. At the most, God will grant to it, as to Hezekiah—a revolution of the dial.

Is it then over, alas! will there be no pity? Must the tower be stayed in its flight towards heaven? Must the spire fall down, the dome crumble upon the sanctuary? Must this heaven of stone sink in and crush those who have adored it! . . . The form ended, is all ended! Does nothing remain to religions after death? When the dear and precious relic, torn from our trembling hands, sink into the coffin, is

\* These are eight figures, of colossal size, serving as Caryatides. One of them holds a purse, from which he is drawing out money; another bears marks of branding; others, pierced with wounds, hold out tax-papers torn in pieces. Some are of opinion that these figures are in allusion to a revolt which took place on account of the Gabelle, in 1461, known by the name of *misgarnage*. Louis XI. hung up two hundred of the rebels. Others think, that the citizens having risen against their archbishop, Gervais, in the eleventh century, were condemned to build the towers at their own expense. Four similar statues were placed on silver columns, which stood round the grand altar. Puvion-Pierard, *Descript. de Notre-Dame de Reims*.—New lights on the history and antiquities of this important city are looked for from M. Varin, one of the most distinguished professors of history belonging to the university.—A dealer in corn at Rouen having been hung for making use of a false measure, his property was confiscated, and part given to the poor, part devoted to building one of the fronts of the cathedral, on which his life is portrayed from his childhood to his death. *Taillepié, Antiquités de Rouen*, p. 77.

nothing left! . . . Ah! for my own part I rely, both as regards Christianity and Christian art, on the words which the Church addresses to her dead—"Whoso believeth in me, cannot die." Lord, Christianity has believed, has loved, has comprehended,—in it have met

God and man. It may change its vestment, but perish, never! It will transform itself to perpetuate its life. One morning it will show itself to those who think they are watching its tomb, and will rise again the third day.

## BOOK THE FIFTH.

### CHAPTER I.

#### THE SICILIAN VESPERS.

THE son of St. Louis, Philippe-le-Hardi, (the Bold,) returning from the luckless crusade against Tunis, deposited five coffins in the crypts of St. Denis\*. Weak and dying himself, he found himself the heir of almost all his family. Not to speak of the Valois, which reverted to him by the death of his brother, Jean Tristan, his uncle, Alphonse, bequeathed him a whole kingdom in the south of France, (Pouitou, Auvergne, Toulouse, Rouergue, Albigeois, the Quercy, the Agenois, and the Comtat;) and, finally, the death of the count of Champagne, king of Navarre, who had but one daughter, placed this rich heiress in Philippe's hands. He married her to his son.

By the possession of Toulouse, Navarre, and the Comtat, this great monarchical power turned its looks southward, to Italy and Spain. But, all-powerful as he was, the son of St. Louis was not the true head of the house of France; its head was the sainted king's brother, Charles of Anjou. The history of France at this period is the history of the king of Naples and of Sicily; of which that of his nephew, Philippe III., forms only an incidental branch.

Charles had used, and abused, his unexampled good fortune. Youngest son of the house of France, he had become count of Provence, king of Naples, of Sicily, and of Jerusalem, and more than king—the master and ruler of popes. To him might have been applied what was said to the famous Ighin: "What is there wanting to me?" asked the tyrant of Pisa. "Nothing but the anger of God!"†

We have seen the advantage he took of the pious simplicity of his brother to divert the crusade from its destination, in order to gain a foot-

ing in Africa and make Tunis his tributary. He was the first to return from this expedition, undertaken by his advice and on his own account; and found himself in time to profit by the tempest which wrecked the vessels of the crusaders, and to seize their spoils—arms, clothes, and provisions—on the rocks of Calabria; coldly objecting to the remonstrances of his companions, his brother crusaders, the right of *wreck*, which gave the lord of the fatal coast whatever the sea cast up to him.

He thus swelled his state by the great shipwreck both of the empire and the Church. For three years nearly, he reigned almost pope in Italy, as he would not allow of the nomination of a pope on the demise of Clement IV. This pontiff had found that for twenty thousand pieces of gold which the Frenchman promised to pay him yearly, he had delivered into his hands not only the Two Sicilies, but all Italy. Charles got himself named by him senator of Rome, and imperial vicar in Tuscany. He was accepted as suzerain by Placenza, Cremona, Parma, Modena, Ferrara, Reggio, and, subsequently, even by Milan, as well as by many cities of Piedmont and of Romagna. All Tuscany had chosen him peace-maker. "Kill every man of them," was the reply of this peace-maker to the Guelphs of Florence, when they asked him what they should do with their Ghibeline prisoners.\*

But Italy was too small. He was not at his ease in it. From Syracuse, Africa met his eye; from Otranto the Greek empire. He had already married his daughter to the Latin pretender to the throne of Constantinople—to the young Philip, an emperor without an empire.

The popes had reason to repent of their melancholy victory over the house of Swabia. Their avenger, their dear son, was settled among them, and on them; and the question with them was, the means of escaping from this terrible friendship. They felt with dread the irresistible force, the malignant attraction which France exerted over them; and, rather late in the day, they sought to win the affection of

\* These were the remains of his father of his brother of his father-in-law. The bold king of Navarre, who had expired at Treason, worn down by the fatigues of his late campaign of his queen Isabella of Aragon, and of a late who survived only a few hours after an accident which by giving him premature birth occasioned the death of his mother. — *Translatio*.

† Et Mater I. regine. Perche non v. falls after the *lira d'Ides*. And certainly," adds Villani, "God's anger soon overtook him." — *G. Villani*, c. 120, p. 200.

\* Only one child was spared, who was sent to the king of Naples and who died in prison, in the tower of Capua. — *Id.* c. 25, ann. 1270.



Italy. Gregory X. essayed to quiet the factions which his predecessors had so carefully kept up, and desired the suppression of the epithets Guelph and Ghibeline. The popes had ever been the antagonists of the emperors of Germany and of Constantinople: Gregory declared himself the friend of both empires. He proclaimed the reconciliation of the Greek Church, and succeeded in ending the long interregnum which had prevailed in Germany, by inducing, at least, the election of such an emperor—a simple knight, spare, meager, and out at elbows\*—as might reassure the prince-electors with regard to a title but recently so formidable. This poor emperor was, however, Rodolph of Hapsburg, founder of the house of Austria, which was thus raised up by the popes to oppose that of France.

Gregory the Tenth's idea was to lead himself all Europe to the crusade with his new emperor, and so to elevate both empire and papacy. A different project was entertained by Nicholas III., a Roman, and of the house of Orsini; who sought to found a central kingdom in Italy, in favor of his own family. He seized the opportunity of Rodolph's great victory over the king of Bohemia, and used him as a check upon Charles. The latter, all whose thoughts were directed to Constantinople, resigned the titles of senator of Rome and imperial vicar; and in the interim Nicholas signed a secret treaty with Aragon and the Greeks to compass his ruin.

Conspiracy abroad, conspiracy at home: the Italians reckon themselves masters of the art. They have always conspired, rarely succeeded; yet enterprises of the kind have had to this artistic people the captivation of a work of art, of a drama unalloyed by fiction, of a real tragedy, in which they desiderated all the effects of the drama, requiring numerous spectators and some solemn occasion, as that of a great festival for instance: their theatre would often be a temple; the hour, that of the elevation of the host.†

The conspiracy of which we are about to speak, was of a far different character from those of the Pazzi or of the Orsini. The work in hand was not a dagger's blow—the killing a man at the sacrifice of your own life, and which after all leads to nothing,—but the rousing of Sicily and of the world; conspiring, negotiating, encouraging conspiracy by insurrection, and insurrection by conspiracy; the raising up of a whole people, and yet holding them in; the organizing of war, yet simulating peace. This design, so difficult of accomplishment, was of all others the most just—for it was undertaken to expel the foreigner.

The strong head which conceived this great thing, and which accomplished it—a head coldly

ardent, hardly obstinate and astute, such as are found in the South—was Calabrian. He was a physician,\* one of the barons of the court of Frederick II., lord of the island of Prochyta, and, as their physician, he had been the friend and confidant both of Frederick and of Manfred. To please these freethinkers of the thirteenth century, it behooved to be a physician either Arab or Jew; and admission was gained into their houses rather through the channel of the school of Salerno than of the Church. Probably this school taught its adepts something more than the innocent prescriptions which has left us in its Leonine verses.†

After the downfall of Manfred, Procida took refuge in Spain. Let us look at the situation of the different Spanish kingdoms, and see what the house of France had to fear from them.

And firstly, Navarre, the narrow and venerable cradle of Christian Spain, was in the power of Philippe III. Its last national king had invited, first, the Moors, then the French, against the Castilians. His nephew, Henri, count of Champagne, having no other family than one daughter, intrusted her, at his death, to the care of the king of France, who, as we have just mentioned, married her to his son. By inheriting Toulouse, Philippe III. found himself here, too, close to Spain; and, apparently, he had only to descend from the *pons* of the Pyrenees into his city of Pampeluna, and take the road to Burgos.

But experience has proved that Spain is not to be thus laid hold of. She guards her gate badly; but so much the worse for him who enters. The aged king of Castile, Alphonso X., father-in-law and brother-in-law of the king of France, in vain desired to leave his kingdom to his eldest son's sons, who, by their mother's side, were descended from St. Louis. Alphonso was not in good repute with his people, either as a Spaniard or a Christian. A great clerk, devoted to the evil sciences of alchemy and astrology, he was ever closeted with his Jews,‡ to make spurious money, or spurious laws—adulterating the Gothic law by a mixture of the Roman;

\* Procida enjoyed such celebrity as a physician, that a noble Neapolitan sought permission of Charles II. to repair to Sicily to have the benefit of his advice. *Sum. Rep. l. t. iii. p. 457.*

† For instance:—

"Cur moritur homo, cui salvia crescit in horto?

"Contra vim mortis, non est medicamina in hortis."

c. 67, ed. 1687.

(Why, should a man die who has sage growing in his garden? Gardens have no remedies against the power of death.)

‡ They were employed preferentially in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries by the Spanish kings. The Aragonese, likewise, complained at the same period, with regard to the treasurers and receivers, "*que eran Judios*," (that they were Jews.) *Curia, Anales de la Corona d'Aragon*, p. 254.

§ *Procida*, ann. 1281, t. iv. p. 322. The reference is to the French translation.

¶ I do not intend by this to undervalue the *code* of the *Siete Partidas*, with which I hope my friend, M. Roussu Montfaucon, will bring us acquainted in the second volume of his *History of Spain*, the publication of which is so eagerly

\* Schmidt, *Ge. historie der Teut. chen*, vi. b. 1, cap. 3 th. (edit. 1770).

† The monument chosen by the Pazzi for the assassination of the Medici, and by the Orsini to put to death John Galeas Sforza.



observes. The signs of approaching eruption were visible—concentrated rage, a stifled sound of effervescence, murmurs, and silence. Charles was exhausting his unhappy people in order to subject another; and the isle was full of preparations and menaces against the Greeks. Procida passes on to Constantinople, warns Palæologus, and gives him exact information of his enemy's movements. Charles had already dispatched three thousand men to Durazzo, and was about to follow with a hundred galleys and five hundred transports. His success was assured; for Venice did not hesitate to embark in the enterprise, and contributed forty galleys and her doge, who was still a Dandolo. The fourth crusade was about to be repeated; and Palæologus, in despair, knew not what to do. "What to do? Give me money. I will find you a defender, who has no money, but who has arms."<sup>\*</sup>

Procida returned to Sicily with one of Palæologus's secretaries, introduced him to the Sicilian barons, and then to the pope, with whom he had a secret interview in the castle of Soriano. The Greek emperor desired, above all, the signature of the pope, to whom he had been but recently reconciled; but Nicholas hesitated to embark in so vast an undertaking. Procida gave him money. According to other accounts, he had only to remind the pontiff, who was a Roman and an Orsini, of a saying of Charles of Anjou's. When the pope proposed a marriage between his niece Orsini and Charles of Anjou's son, Charles had said, "Does he fancy, because he wears red stockings, that the blood of his Orsini can mingle with the blood of France?"<sup>†</sup>

Nicholas signed the treaty, but died shortly after. The whole work seemed broken up and destroyed. Charles became more powerful than ever. He succeeded in having a pope of his own. He drove from the conclave the Ghibeline cardinals, and compelled the nomination of a Frenchman, an old monk of Tours, a servile and trembling creature of his house. This was to make himself pope. He became once more senator of Rome, and placed garrisons in all the holds of the Church. This time, the pope could not escape him. He kept him with him at Viterbo, and would not let him out of his sight. When the unhappy Sicilians came to implore the pope's mediation with their king, they saw their enemy by their judge, the king sitting by the side of the pope. The only answer the deputies received was to be thrown into a dungeon—yet were they a bishop and a monk.

Sicily had no pity to expect from Charles of Anjou. Half-Arab, it had held out obstinately for the friends of the Arabs, for Manfred and his house. All the insults with which the conquerors could load the Sicilian people, seemed

to them but so many reprisals. The petulance of the Provençals, and their brutal jealousy, are well known; but had national antipathies and the insolence of conquest been the only subjects of complaint, there might have been hopes of the evil's mitigating. What, however, threatened to increase and to weigh each day more heavily, was a first and unskilful attempt at taxation—the invasion of treasury agents and of finance in the world of the *Odyssey* and the *Æneid*. This nation of husbandmen and of shepherds had, under every change of master, preserved something of its ancient independence. Till now, they had found solitude in the mountain, and liberty in the desert. But now, the tax-gatherer explored the whole island. Inquisitive traveller, he measures the valley, scales the rock, values the inaccessible peak. He rears his office under the mountain chestnut, or hunts out and registers the goat wandering on the ledges of the rocks, in the midst of lava and of snow.

Let us essay to disentangle the complaints of Sicily from that wilderness of solecisms and of barbarisms, through which the torrent-like eloquence of Bartolomeo de Néocastro forces its way:—"How tell of their unheard-of inventions! of their decrees respecting forests! of the absurd interdiction of the shore! of the inconceivable exaggeration of the produce of the flocks! Though all was drying up under the heavy autumnal heats, no matter, the year must be good, the harvest abundant. . . . He, all of a sudden, had a pure silver coin minted, and only returned in the proportion of one Sicilian denier for thirty. . . . We had thought to receive a king from the Father of Fathers, we have received Anti-Christ."<sup>\*</sup>

"It was required," says another chronicler, "to make returns of every flock at the year's end, and to return more young than the flock could have yielded. The poor husbandmen wept. There was a universal terror among the cow-herds, the goat-herds, and all the shepherds. They were held accountable even for their bees, even for the swarm which the wind bears away. They were prohibited the chase, and then skins of stags or deer would be secretly introduced into their huts to serve as a pretext for fining them. Whenever it pleased the king to coin new money, a trumpet was sounded in all the streets; and they had to give up their money to be recoined from door to door."<sup>†</sup>

Such has been the fate of Sicily for ages. ever the milch-cow, drained both of milk and blood by a foreign master. Her only hours of independence and of healthy existence have been under her tyrants, the Dionysiuses and the Gelons. They alone rendered her formidable

<sup>\*</sup> Ferrutus Vicentinus, ap. Muratori, l. 952.

<sup>†</sup> G. Villani, p. 270.

<sup>\*</sup> Regni Siculi antichristum. Bart. & Neocastro, ap. Muratori, l. iii. 1026. Neither Bartholomew nor Neocastro makes any mention of Procida. The one wishes to give all the glory to the Sicilians, the other to the king of Anjou. Don Pedro.

<sup>†</sup> Nic. Specialis, ap. Muratori.

ble abroad. Since then, she has been a constant slave. Firstly, it is in her bosom, that all the great quarrels of the ancient world have been decided—Athens and Syracuse, Greece and Carthage, Carthage and Rome, have made her their battle-field; and, lastly, there the servile wars were fought out. All these solemn battles of mankind have been contested within sight of Etna—like the "Judgment of God" before the altar. Then come the Barbarians, Arabs, Normans, Germans. Each time that Sicily hopes and desires, each time she suffers; she turns, and then back to the same side, like Enceladus under the volcano. Such are the weakness and incurable irreconcilableness of a people composed of twenty races, and so heavily oppressed by the double fatality of history and climate.

All this is but too clearly visible in the beautiful and soft lament with which Falcando begins his history.\* "I was anxious, my friend, now that rugged winter has been smoothed by a softer breath, I was anxious to write and to address thee some grateful strain, as the first-fruits of the spring. But the mournful news presages to me new storms; my songs sink into tears. In vain do the heavens smile; in vain do the gardens and groves inspire me with unseasonable joy, and the returning concert of the birds tempt me to resume my own. I cannot behold with dry eyes the approaching desolation of my kind nurse, Sicily. . . . Which of the two should they choose, the yoke or honor? I ruminate in silence, and know not how to decide. . . . I see that in the confusion of a moment like this, our Saracens are oppressed. Will they not second the enemy? O that all, Christians and Saracens, would agree to elect a king! . . . That on the eastern coast of the island, our Sicilian brigands should combat the barbarians, amidst the trees and lava of Etna, well and good! they are a race of fire and thund. . . . But for the interior of Sicily, for the country honored by our beautiful Palermo, to be walked with the sight of the barbarians, it were impious, monstrous. . . . I have no hopes from the Apulians, who love novelty alone. . . . But thou, Messina, powerful and noble city, art thou thinking of thy defence, of driving the stranger from the strand? Woe to thee, Catania! . . . Never have thy calamities been able to satisfy and subdue torture. War, pestilence, the fiery torrents of Etna, earthquake and ruins—there wants but servitude to fill up thy measure. Rouse thee, Syracuse, shake off peace, if thou canst, devote the eloquence in which thou arrayest thyself, to revive the courage of thy citizens. What avails it to have freed thyself from thy Dionysuses? Ah! who will restore us our tyrants? . . . I now

come to thee, O Palermo, head of Sicily! How pass thee over in silence, and how land thee fully! . . ." But no sooner has Falcando named the beautiful Palermo, than he thinks of nothing else, and forgets the barbarians and all his fears. He plunges insatiably into a description of the voluptuous city, its fantastic palaces, its port, its marvellous gardens, silk mulberry trees, orange, lemon trees, and sugar cane. He is lost in fruits and flowers. Nature absorbs him; he dreams, and has forgotten all. I fancy that I hear in his prose the echo of the lazy, sensual, and melancholy poetry of the Greek idyll—"I will sing, sheltered by the cave, holding thee in my arms, and gazing at the flocks as they graze on the shores of the Sicilian sea."

It was Monday, the 30th of March, 1282. Easter Monday. In Sicily, it is already summer—just as it would be with us on St. John's day, when the heat has begun to be intense, and the ground, moist and warm, is lost beneath the grass, and the grass beneath the flowers. Easter is a voluptuous month in these countries. With the closing of Lent, abstinence disappears, and sensuality awakens, fierce and ardent, and sharpened by devotion—God has had his share, the senses claim theirs. The change is a sudden one—every flower starts at once from the ground, every beauty is in fulness of bloom. 'Tis a triumphant outburst of life, sensuality's revenge, an insurrection of nature.

This day, then, this Easter Monday, all, both men and women, went up the beautiful hill, according to custom, from Palermo to Monreale, to hear vespers. The foreigners were there to trouble the festival—so great an assemblage of people was not without giving them uneasiness. The viceroy had forbidden the wearing of arms, or exercising with them, as was the custom on that day. Perhaps he had noticed the concourse of nobles, for Provencal had had the address to assemble them at Palermo. The opportunity, however, was wanting, and it was presented by a Frenchman beyond Provencal's hopes. This man, named Droget, stopped the beautiful girl, of noble birth, whom her father's groom and the whole family were conducting to church. Having searched the bed-groom and found no arms, he pretended to think the man had the arms about her, and passed his hand under her gown. She faints. The Frenchman is at once disarmed, and slain with his own sword. A cry is raised, "Death, death to the French!" In all directions they are cut down. Their houses, it is said, had been marked with a distinguishing mark beforehand. Whoever could not pro-

\* Hugo, *Falcandus, op. Muratori*, v. 252. The identity of this great historian of the twelfth century is singularly pure compared with that of Bartholomew, who however wrote a hundred years later.

\* *« Arrivé au village de l'Assunta, ayant l'épée au poignard, par le trou de la chemise, il dit : « Vivez ! » »*

\* *« Quant au viceroy, nommé De-bellay, Bartholomew p. 1027.*

\* *« Monseigneur de Bellay, id. p. 1029.*

\* *« Ceux de Palermo et des Marches et des autres lieux ses vassaux, signèrent les boys de France, y de nuit, et quant*

nounce the Italian *c* or *ch* (*ceci, ciceri*) was immediately put to death.\* They disembowelled Sicilian women, to tear from their bosom a French offspring.

It was a whole month before the other towns, gaining assurance from the impunity of Palermo, followed its example. The oppression had been felt unequally, unequal, too, was the vengeance; and sometimes the people displayed a capricious magnanimity.† Even at Palermo, the viceroy, surprised in his house, had been insulted, but not slain: it was wished to send him back to *Aigues-Mortes*. At Calatafimi, the inhabitants spared their governor, the honest *Porcelet*,‡ and suffered him to depart with his family. Perhaps in this there might be some fear of the vengeance of Charles of Anjou. The people—such is the mobility of the southern—had already cooled, and felt discouraged. The inhabitants of Palermo sent two priests to intercede with the pope, and these deputies durst venture no other entreaty than the words of the Litany, “*Agnus Dei, qui tollis peccata mundi, miserere nobis*,” (Lamb of God, who takest away the sins of the world, have mercy upon us,) which they repeated three times. The pope replied with the verse, “*Ave, rex Judæorum, et dabant ei alapani*.”§ (Hail, king of the Jews, and they smote him,) which, in like manner, he repeated thrice. Messina succeeded no better with Charles of Anjou. His answer to its envoys was, that they were all traitors to the Church and to the crown, and he advised them to defend themselves as they best might.¶

The people of Messina lost no time in profiting by his advice, and prepared for a desperate resistance. Men, women, and children, all set to work to carry stones, and in three days had raised a wall, under cover of which they bravely repulsed the first attacks. A fragment of a song remains, commemorating this—“*Ah! how pitiful it is to see the dames of Messina, with dishvelled hair, bearing stones and mortar! . . . God confound him, who seeks to lay waste Messina!*”¶

ce vint au point du jour qu'ils purent voir entour eux, si occirent tous ceux qu'ils purent trouver, et ne furent épargnez ne vœux ne jeunes que tous ne fussent occis.” *Chroniques de St. Denis*, Ann. 1282.

\* *Tristram*, i.

† *Fazio* asserts that *Sperlinga* was the only town where the French were not massacred, and hence the Sicilian saying—“*Quod Sperlinga planti, sola Sperlinga negavit*.” (*Sperlinga alone refused what the Sicilians desired*.) *Fazio*, p. 210, ed. 1575.

‡ *Propter multorum probitatum suarum cumulum*. (“On account of his innumerable good qualities.”) *Barth.* p. 102.

§ *Villem*, i. 7, c. 62, p. 279.

¶ *Villem* adds the thoroughly Machiavelian sentiment—“*Which was, and ever will be, a striking example to all now, and hereafter to take what conditions they can make with the enemy, so long as they can manage to get the land in their power*.” *Villem*, i. 63, l. vii. pp. 281, 282.—The legate endeavored to persuade Charles to accede to the terms of the inhabitants. “*Since, after they got obstinate, they would be for pressing him for terms every day, but when he had got possession of the land he must be able every day to free himself from them with the consent of the citizens themselves*,” which was sound and good advice.” *Id. ibid.*

¶ “*E una canzonetta che dice: ‘Deh! come gli e gran*

It was full time for the Aragonese to arrive. The crafty prince had from the first kept on the watch, leaving all risk to the Sicilians. The massacre had irrevocably compromised them. still Don Pedro waited to see how they would follow up this inconsiderate deed. He kept aloof, but at hand, in Africa, leisurely employing his army against the infidels. His preparations had given some uneasiness to the king of France and the pope; but he reassured the first by pretending that they were directed against the Moors, and the better to deceive he borrowed money of him: he even borrowed from Charles of Anjou.\* His barons could only open the sealed orders which he had given them at sea; and they contained instructions for the African war alone.† It was not till after a delay of several months, and after he had received two deputations from the Sicilians, that he took his resolution, and landed in the island.

He at once sent his defiance to Charles of Anjou, who lay before Messina; but he made no haste to attack his formidable enemy. Like a skilful taureador, he goaded, and then slipped

pietate delle donne di Messina, veggendole scapigliate per fare pietre et calcina? Iddio li dia briga et travaglia a Messina vuole guastare.” *Id. l. vii. c. 67, p. 282.*

\* *Id. c. 50, p. 277.*

† See *Muntaner's* fine narrative, t. i. c. 49, p. 133, seq.

‡ Nothing can be more romantic, and yet more probable than the picture drawn by the Sicilian chronicler, when the cold Aragonese ventured to descend on this burning land where all was passion and danger. He was entering the territory of Messina, and had already come to a river: dedicated to Our Lady—an ancient temple, situated on a promontory, whence was descried the sea and the distant smoke of the Lipari Isles. He could not refrain from admiring this view, and encamped in the adjoining valley. It was the evening, and already all the world was at rest. An aged mendicant arrives, and humbly asks to speak to the king of matters that concern the honor of the kingdom—“*Excellent prince*,” he said, “*disdain not to listen to one covered with the skins of the goats of Etna. I loved your brother-in-law, king Manfred, of everlasting memory. He is dead and despoiled of my possessions on his account. I visited Christian and barbarian kingdoms. But I longed to see Sicily once more, and run every risk to return here where I have lived with the shepherds, shifting my place of concealment in the gorges of the hills and in the woods. You know not the Sicilians, over whom you are about to reign: you are ignorant of their duplicity. How trust yourself, for instance, to the Leonine. Alayme, and to his wife Machaldia, who governs him? Know you not that he was banished by Manfred, and brought back and crowned by Charles of Anjou? His wife will find the means to turn him against yourself.—Who art thou, my friend, whoarest to inspire us with distrust of our new subjects?*” *I am Vitalis de Vitili. I am from Messina.*” . . . . At that moment arrives Machaldia, attired as an Amazon; she rushes boldly to take possession of the young king.—“*Lord*,” said she, with Sicilian vivacity, “*I have arrived late. All the lodgings are taken: I come to ask your hospitality for a night.*” The king gave up to her the spot which he had chosen for himself. But this was not what she wanted, as she did not stir. In vain he observed to his majordomo—“*It is time to retire.*” She remains immovable. Then the king takes his resolution. “*Well*,” he said, “*let us talk to-day. Madam, what do you fear the most?*—“*The death of my husband.*—“*What do you love the most?*—“*What I love is not mine.*”—“*The king then assuming a graver tone, relates the strange phenomena which he stated to have accompanied his birth. He was ushered into the world by an earthquake, so marked out by Providence, he only took up arms to fulfil the holy duty of avenging Manfred. Machaldia thus trifled with, became the king's implacable enemy.*” “*Would to heaven*,” he next remarks the puerile history, “*she had ordered the king! She would not have troubled the kingdom.*” *Barthol. & Noce. ap. Muntaner, 28*

1029-1033.



two kings covenanted to be present at Bordeaux on the 25th of May, 1283, and that the combat should take place there under the protection of the king of England. As the time drew nigh, Don Pedro, who had travelled by night, well mounted, and guided by a dealer in horses, well acquainted with all the roads and *ports* of the Pyrenees, repaired with only one more companion to Bordeaux. He arrived there on the day fixed for the battle, and entered a protest with a notary to the effect, that as the king of France was close to Bordeaux with his troops, there could be no security for him. While the notary was drawing up the document, the king rode round the lists, then set spurs to his horse, and hardly drew bridle till he was nearly a hundred miles on his way to Aragon.

Charles of Anjou, thus played with, levied a new army in Provence. But before he could return to Naples, he sustained at the hands of the admiral, Roger de Loria, the bitterest blow he had yet received. Having come with forty-five galleys to parade boastfully before the port of Naples and to brave Charles-le-Boiteux, (the Lame,) Charles of Anjou's son, the young prince and his knights could not brook such an insult, but sailing out to meet him with thirty-five galleys, all that were in the port, they were defeated and taken at the first shock. Charles of Anjou arrived the day after—"Why is he not dead!"\* he exclaimed on hearing that his son was a prisoner. By way of consolation, he hanged a hundred and fifty Neapolitans.

This proved an overwhelming stroke to Charles. He lost his wonted activity, and wasted the summer in endeavoring to effect through the pope's mediation an arrangement with the Sicilians. In the winter he made new preparations; of which he was not destined to avail himself. Life slipped from him, as well as the hopes of vengeance. He died with the piety and sense of security of a saint—bearing witness to himself that he had only conquered the kingdom of Sicily in order to promote the glory of the Church. (Jan. 7th, 1285.)

Meanwhile the pope, a Frenchman both by birth and heart, had declared Don Pedro to have forfeited his kingdom of Aragon, (A. D. 1283,) and promised all the indulgences of a crusade to whoever would fall upon him. The following year he awarded the kingdom to the young Charles of Valois, second son of Philippe-le-Hardi, and brother of Philippe-le-Bel, (the Fair.) It was in fact a real crusade. France

had not made war for a long time; and as desired to witness it, even the queen herself and many noble ladies. The army was the strongest that had left France since Godfrey of Bouillon's day. The Italians estimate it at twenty thousand knights and four thousand foot soldiers. The fleets of Genoa, Marseille, Aigues-Mortes, and Narbonne, were to cross along Catalonia, and second the troops. Alaugured an easy triumph. Don Pedro was deserted by his ally, the king of Castile, and even by his own brother, the king of Majorca. His subjects, too, had just formed a *hermandad* against him. He found himself reduced to a few Almogavars, with whom he occupied unassailable positions, watching and harassing the enemy. Elna offered some resistance, and all in it were cruelly massacred. Gerona held out longer. The French monarch, who had made a vow that he would take it, persisted, and wasted precious time there. By degrees the maleficent influence of the climate began to be felt. Fevers broke out in the army. The defeat of the fleet increased the general discouragement: the victorious admiral, Roger de Loria, had exercised fearful cruelties on the prisoners. It became necessary to think of retreat; but all were ill. The soldiers fancied themselves pursued by the saints, whose tombs they had violated. All the passes were occupied. The numbers of the Almogavars, attracted by booty, perceptibly increased. The king was carried back dying on a litter in the midst of his fainting knights. The rain fell in torrents on this army of invalids, and most sank by the way. The king reached Perpignan—to die there. Not an inch of Spanish ground remained his.

The new king, Philippe-le-Bel, managed to arm the king of Castile against his ally of Aragon. Charles of Anjou's son obtained his liberty by a perjury. Sicily and its new king, younger sons of the house of Aragon, saw themselves abandoned by the elder branch, who even took up arms against them. Meanwhile Charles of Anjou's grandson, the son of Charles-le-Boiteux, had been made prisoner by the Sicilians, as his father had been. A treaty followed, (A. D. 1299,) by which King Frederick was to retain possession of the island for the term of his life. His descendants, however, kept it above a century.

The monarchy of Naples, so badly acquired, was not wholly overthrown; but it was, at least, mutilated and humbled. The dead, too, had some reparation made them. "The pious Charles, our present king, (Charles of Anjou's son,)" says a chronicler who died about the year 1300, "has built a Carmelite church over the tombs of Conradin, and of those who perished with him."\*\*

able to proceed to the succor and defence of the Sicilians. . . . Whence he feared . . . that they might surrender . . . perceiving that they were neither constant nor firm . . . and his wise foresight was tested by experience." Id. c. 85, p. 286.

\* "Lo re Carlo . . . come intese la novella . . . della presura del pronte . . . fu molto crucciooso e disse con irato animo: *Or tost il mort: percu qu'il a fals nostre mandement*." Would that he were dead, since he has disobeyed our command! Id. c. 93, p. 302.

\*\* Ricobald. Ferrar. sub finem, ap. Muratori, &c.





The first act of the grandson of St. Louis was to exclude priests from the administration of justice, and to prohibit their sitting in any court, not only in the king's parliament and in his domains, but in those of the barons, (A. D. 1287.) "It is ordered by the council of our lord the king, that dukes, counts, barons, archbishops and bishops, abbots, chapters, colleges, gentlemen, (*milites*,) and, in general, all who have temporal jurisdiction in France, shall choose laymen for bailiffs, provosts, and officers of justice; and that they shall by no means appoint priests to these offices, so that if they commit any fault (*delinquant*) their superiors may straightway punish them. Whatever priests may fill the aforesaid offices must be removed.—Also, it is ordered, that all who after the present parliament have or shall have any suit in the court of our lord the king, and before the regular judges of the kingdom, shall choose laymen for their solicitors.—Registered in parliament, this All-Saints' day, in the year of our Lord 1287."<sup>\*</sup>

Philippe-le-Bel composed his parliament altogether of laymen. This is the first express separation of the civil ecclesiastical orders; rather, 'tis the foundation of civil order.

The priests were far from humbly submitting. They seem to have endeavored to resume their seats in the parliament forcibly. In 1289, the king forbids "Philippe and Jean, door-keepers of the parliament, to allow any prelate to enter the chamber without the permission of the masters, (presidents.)"

Placed on its proper basis by the exclusion of the foreign element, the parliament proceeded to organize itself, by a division of labor, and the distribution of its different functions. Some were to receive and expedite petitions; others formed themselves into committees of inquiry. Regular days were appointed for sitting, lists of **challenge** made out, and the functions of the **king's** officers determined. A great step was made towards judicial centralization. The parliament of Toulouse was suppressed, and the Languedocian appeals henceforward referred to Paris;† business of importance must have been more calmly transacted at a distance from this impassioned land, which bore the trace of so many revolutions.

The parliament has rejected the priests. It is not long before it proceeds to overt acts against them. In 1288, the king forbids the arresting of a Jew on the suit of a priest or monk, previous to information laid before the seneschal or the bailli of the grounds of the arrest, and without handing him in a copy of the writ. The religious tyranny under which the South groaned was moderated; and the seneschal of Carcassonne forbidden to imprison any one on the requisition of the inquisitors alone.‡ No doubt

these concessions were interested. The Jew was the king's thing, his property; the heretic his subject, his *taxable*, would not have remained for him to plunder, had he been resigned to the extortions of the Inquisition. But let us not search too narrowly into the motive. The ordinance seems honorable to him who signed it; and we discern in it with pleasure the far light of tolerance and of religious equity.

In the same year, 1291, the king struck a bolder blow at the Church. He limited and loosened that fearfully absorbing power, which would by degrees have swallowed up all the lands of the kingdom\*—gifts in mortmain, (*main morte*, "dead-hand.") Dead, indeed, either to sell or give, the priest's and monk's hand was open and living to receive and take. The bar raised the payment to be made by the clergy heir in compensation of the reliefs upon succession and fines upon alienation lost to him by an estate's devolving on the undying corporation of the Church, to treble, quadruple, and even sextuple its yearly value; and thus every donation of the kind made to the Church turned henceforward to the king's profit. The king, this new god of the civil world, came in for his share of pious gifts with Jesus Christ, with our Lady, and the saints.

So much for the Church. Feudalism, all armed and warlike as it is, is not the less attacked. It gives out from itself the principle which is to be its ruin—the principle of the feudal suzerainty of the crown. St. Louis expressly says in his Establishments (*Etablissements*,)†—"If any one bring an action against his lord in the king's court for debt due to him, or on account of promises or covenants entered into with him, his lord shall not hold the court, for no lord ought to be judge, or to administer law in his own cause, according to the law inscribed in the code, 'Ne quis in sua causa judicet,' in the only law which begins with *Generalis*, in red and black," &c. The Establishments of Louis were drawn up for the king's own domains. Beaumanoir, in the *Coutume de Beauvoisis*—laws drawn up for the domains of one of St. Louis's sons, Robert of Clermont, progenitor of the house of Bourbon—writes (this is in the time of Philippe-le-Bel) that the king has a right to draw up Establishments not for his own domains only, but for the whole kingdom. The original should be consulted, to see with what skill he advances this scandalous and paradoxical opinion.‡

\* "It was said (in parliament) that neither prelates nor their officials can inflict money fines on the Jews, or compel them by ecclesiastical censures, but that they can only punish them as laid down in the canon, namely, by cutting them off from the communion of the faithful." *Liberum de l'Eglise Gallice*, ii. 148.—One is tempted to take this for a bitter irony on excommunication.

† L. ii. c. 27.

‡ Beaumanoir, c. 49, pp. 266, 267.—See, also, c. 65, and c. 34.

§ Beaumanoir lays it down, though in very moderate and doubtful terms, that "when the king makes any ordinance specially for his own domains, the barons do not come to

\* Ordonnances, i. 316.

† D. Vaissette, Hist. du Languedoc, i. xviii. c. 21, p. 72.

‡ Ordonnances, pp. 307, 322.



er of the seals. Philippe-le-Long revoked the grants which had been made him by Philippe-le-Bel; but he was not included in the proscription of the Marignis—an exemption no doubt due to a fear of throwing discredit on his judicial acts, which were of the last importance to the crown.

These legists, who from the twelfth century had governed the English kings, and who in the thirteenth directed St. Louis, Alphonso X., and Frederick II., were under St. Louis's grandson the tyrants of France. These *knight-at-law*, these souls of lead and iron, these Placians, Nogarets, and Marignis, proceeded with frightful coldness in their servile imitation of the Roman law and of imperial fiscality. The Pandects were their Bible, their Gospel. They stopped at nothing as soon as they could say, whether wrongly or rightly, *Scriptum est*. . . . With texts, quotations, and falsifications, they battered down the middle age—popedom, feudalism, and chivalry. They went boldly to *make bodily seizure* on Pope Boniface VIII.; they burnt the crusade itself in the person of the Templars.

Painful though it be to avow it, these cruel demolishers of the middle ages are the founders of civil order in modern times. It is they who organize the centralization of the monarchy; and who scatter over the provinces bailiffs, seneschals, provosts, auditors, notaries, royal attorneys, masters, and weighers of coin. The forests are invaded by royal verderers and *gruurs*.\* All these functionaries set about confusing, discouraging, and destroying the feudal jurisdictions. In the centre of this vast spider's web, sits the council of legists under the name of Parliament, (fixed at Paris in 1302.) There, all will gradually be absorbed and swallowed up by the kingly power. This lay law is especially the enemy of the ecclesiastical. At need, the legists will enrol the citizens with themselves; in fact, they are nothing better, although, while persecuting the nobility, they solicit ennoblement.

Creating government on this fashion was certainly a costly process. We are without sufficient details to arrive at exactitude; but we know that the provost's sergeants, that is, the executors and agents of this administration, so tyrannical at its birth, had at first—the horse-sergeant three sous (Paris) daily, which was subsequently doubled, and the foot-sergeant eighteen deniers, &c. Here is a complete judicial and administrative army. Presently, mercenary troops will arrive. Philippe de Valois will have at once several thousand Genoese cross-bowmen. Whence draw the enormous sums which all this is to cost! Manufactures are not yet created. This new social

system is already attacked by the complaint of which the ancient died. It consumes, but does not produce. In process of time, manufactures, commerce, and wealth, will issue out of the bosom of order and security. But so vast is the price of the establishment of this order, that it may be long doubted whether it does not increase the miseries it was designed to cure.

These evils are aggravated to excess by one circumstance. The baron of the middle age paid his servitors in lands, and in the produce of the land; great and small, they had seats at his table. Their pay was their daily food. To the immense machine of royal government, which substituted its complicated movement for the thousand natural and simple movements of feudal government, money alone can give the requisite impulse. If the new-born monarchy fail to possess itself of this vital element, it will perish, it will dissolve, and all its parts will crumble back into the isolation and barbarism of feudal government.

'Tis not the fault of this new system of government if it be greedy and hungry. Hunger is its nature, its necessity, the very basis of its constitution; to satisfy which, it must alternately employ craft and force. We have here in the king's individual person, as in the old romance, master Renard and master leechgrin—fox and wolf.

It is but right to observe, that naturally the king does not love war; but prefers all other means of getting—purchase and usury. At first, he traffics, exchanges, buys; the strong can thus strip his weak friends honestly. For instance, as soon as the French monarch despairs of taking Spain by means of papal bulls, he at least buys the patrimony of the younger branch of Aragon, the good city of Montpellier, the only one which remained to King Jayme.<sup>†</sup> Our prince, well-advised and knowing in the law, had no scruples to acquire in this manner the last garment of his prodigal friend, a poor younger son, who sold his patrimony but by lot, and the management of which he no doubt thought ought to be taken away from him in virtue of the Roman law, "*Prodigus et furiosus*."<sup>‡</sup>

On the north he acquired Valenciennes, which placed itself in his hands, (A. D. 1293.) undoubtedly money had something to do with the transaction. Valenciennes brought him near to wealthy Flanders, so desirable to lay hold of, both for its wealth, and as being the ally of England. On the side of English France, he had purchased from the necessitous Edward I. the Quercy, a dry, mountainous country, of little value, but affording an entrance into Guyenne. Edward was at the time entangled

\* Hist. de Languedoc, l. xxviii. c. 30, p. 78.

\* (Wood rangers. According to Borel, the word comes from druid—gru for dru, *drû*, "oak." In the Latin of the middle age, we find *gruarius*, *gruarius*. See Roquefort, Glossaire de la Langue Romaine.)—TRANSLATOR.

† Montpellier was at the same time a fief of the bishops of Magonne. The bishops, worn out by the opposition of the bourgeois, and the support given them by the king of France, sold the latter all his rights; which, though previously judged invalid, seemed on this quite good enough to serve as a pretext for despoiling the aged Jayme. Raymond, l. viii. p. 464.

in his Welsh and Scotch wars, in which he gained glory only. Indisputably, it would have been much to have established Britannic unity, and to have united in himself the sovereignty of the whole island ; an object for the effecting of which Edward made heroic efforts, and at the same time committed atrocious barbarities. But in vain did he break the harps of Wales, slay its bards, in vain did he reduce King David to a traitor's doom, and transfer to Westminster the famous stone, the Scottish palladium, from Scone, he could bring nothing to a conclusion, either in the island or on the continent. Whenever he looked towards France with eager desire to cross over, some bad news would be sure to be brought him from the Scotch border, or from the marches of Wales, some new attempt of Llewellyn's or of Wallace's. The latter, the heroic chief of the clans,\* was encouraged by Philippe-le-Bel, by this royal attorney, who took care not to stir ; his end was secured by rousing Edward with his Scotch blood-hounds. He willingly allowed him to immortalize himself in the deserts of Wales and of Northumberland, proceeded against him at his ease, and let judgment go against him by default.

Thus, when he saw him occupied with repressing Scotland, in arms under Bahlol, he summoned him to answer for the piracies of his Gascons upon our Normans. He summoned this king, this conqueror, to appear and clear himself before what he called the tribunal of peers. He first threatened, then beguiled him, offering him in marriage a princess of France, as the price of a fictitious submission, a simple *serment* which would arrange every thing. The arrangement ended in the Englishman's throwing open his strongholds, and in Philip's keeping them, and withdrawing his offers, so that this great province, this kingdom of Guyenne, changed masters by sleight of hand.

He even offered Edward Fox, then against this proposal. He sought and obtained against Philippe the alliance of the king of the Romans, Adolphus of Nassau, that of the dukes of Brabant and of Brabant, of the counts of Flanders, Burgundy and Guelders. He wrote humbly to his subjects of Guyenne, asking their pardon for having consented to the seizure.<sup>4</sup>

• The following list of names is preliminary and  
subject to change. The names are listed in the order that  
they were received by the FBI. The names are listed in the order that  
they were received by the FBI. The names are listed in the order that  
they were received by the FBI.

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But, too busied with Scotland, he did not repair to Guyenne in person, and his party only experienced reverses. The pope (Boniface VIII.) sided with Philippe, to whom he owed his tiara; and, to give him an ally, he released the Scottish king from his oaths to the king of England. Finally, Philippe managed so well, that the Flemings, discontented with their cent, summoned him to their assistance.\* Both kings relied on Flanders for supporting the war. This fat land was a natural temptation to these voracious governments. To that whole world of barons and of knights, whom the French kings weaned from private wars, Flanders was their dream, their poetry, their Jerusalem. All were ready to make a joyous pilgrimage to the magazines of Flanders, the spices of Bruges, the fine cloths of Ypres, the tapestries of Arras.

It would seem as if God had made this good Flanders, and placed it between all, to be eaten of one or other. Before England was the Colossus we now see, Flanders was an England; but how inferior and incomplete in comparison. Drapers without wool, soldiers without cavalry, merchants without a navy, were the Flemings; and it is these three things, cattle, horses, and ships, which now constitute the marrow of England—the material, vehicle, and defence of her industry.

This is not all. The name of Flanders does not express a people, but a union of several very different countries, a collection of tribes and of cities. Nothing can be less homogeneous. Not to speak of differences of race and tongue, there has ever been hatred between city and city, hatred between the towns and the country, hatred between classes, hatred between trades, hatred between the sovereign and the people.<sup>6</sup> In a land where women inherited and transferred the sovereignty, the sovereign was often a foreign husband. Flemish sensuality, the materialism of this people of flesh, is manifested in the precocious indulgence of the *Coutume de Flandre* to women and bastards.<sup>7</sup> The Flemish women brought in by marriage masters from all countries—a Dane, an Arabian, then, Frenchmen of different branches, Dampierre, (a Bourbon), Louis de Mow, (a Capetan), Philippe-le-Hardi, (a Valois.) finally, Austria, Spain, then, Austria again. And now, Flanders is under the sway of a Saxon, (George.)

Flanders complained of the French court. Guy Dangereux Philippe offered the Flemings his protection. Guy applied to the Eng-

\* 1012, 1013, 1014, 1015, 1016, 1017, 1018, 1019, 1020, 1021, 1022, 1023, 1024, 1025, 1026, 1027, 1028, 1029, 1030, 1031, 1032, 1033, 1034, 1035, 1036, 1037, 1038, 1039, 1040, 1041, 1042, 1043, 1044, 1045, 1046, 1047, 1048, 1049, 1050, 1051, 1052, 1053, 1054, 1055, 1056, 1057, 1058, 1059, 1060, 1061, 1062, 1063, 1064, 1065, 1066, 1067, 1068, 1069, 1070, 1071, 1072, 1073, 1074, 1075, 1076, 1077, 1078, 1079, 1080, 1081, 1082, 1083, 1084, 1085, 1086, 1087, 1088, 1089, 1090, 1091, 1092, 1093, 1094, 1095, 1096, 1097, 1098, 1099, 1100, 1101, 1102, 1103, 1104, 1105, 1106, 1107, 1108, 1109, 1110, 1111, 1112, 1113, 1114, 1115, 1116, 1117, 1118, 1119, 1120, 1121, 1122, 1123, 1124, 1125, 1126, 1127, 1128, 1129, 1130, 1131, 1132, 1133, 1134, 1135, 1136, 1137, 1138, 1139, 1140, 1141, 1142, 1143, 1144, 1145, 1146, 1147, 1148, 1149, 1150, 1151, 1152, 1153, 1154, 1155, 1156, 1157, 1158, 1159, 1160, 1161, 1162, 1163, 1164, 1165, 1166, 1167, 1168, 1169, 1170, 1171, 1172, 1173, 1174, 1175, 1176, 1177, 1178, 1179, 1180, 1181, 1182, 1183, 1184, 1185, 1186, 1187, 1188, 1189, 1190, 1191, 1192, 1193, 1194, 1195, 1196, 1197, 1198, 1199, 1200, 1201, 1202, 1203, 1204, 1205, 1206, 1207, 1208, 1209, 1210, 1211, 1212, 1213, 1214, 1215, 1216, 1217, 1218, 1219, 1220, 1221, 1222, 1223, 1224, 1225, 1226, 1227, 1228, 1229, 1230, 1231, 1232, 1233, 1234, 1235, 1236, 1237, 1238, 1239, 1240, 1241, 1242, 1243, 1244, 1245, 1246, 1247, 1248, 1249, 1250, 1251, 1252, 1253, 1254, 1255, 1256, 1257, 1258, 1259, 1260, 1261, 1262, 1263, 1264, 1265, 1266, 1267, 1268, 1269, 1270, 1271, 1272, 1273, 1274, 1275, 1276, 1277, 1278, 1279, 1280, 1281, 1282, 1283, 1284, 1285, 1286, 1287, 1288, 1289, 1290, 1291, 1292, 1293, 1294, 1295, 1296, 1297, 1298, 1299, 1300, 1301, 1302, 1303, 1304, 1305, 1306, 1307, 1308, 1309, 1310, 1311, 1312, 1313, 1314, 1315, 1316, 1317, 1318, 1319, 1320, 1321, 1322, 1323, 1324, 1325, 1326, 1327, 1328, 1329, 1330, 1331, 1332, 1333, 1334, 1335, 1336, 1337, 1338, 1339, 1340, 1341, 1342, 1343, 1344, 1345, 1346, 1347, 1348, 1349, 1350, 1351, 1352, 1353, 1354, 1355, 1356, 1357, 1358, 1359, 1360, 1361, 1362, 1363, 1364, 1365, 1366, 1367, 1368, 1369, 1370, 1371, 1372, 1373, 1374, 1375, 1376, 1377, 1378, 1379, 1380, 1381, 1382, 1383, 1384, 1385, 1386, 1387, 1388, 1389, 1390, 1391, 1392, 1393, 1394, 1395, 1396, 1397, 1398, 1399, 1400, 1401, 1402, 1403, 1404, 1405, 1406, 1407, 1408, 1409, 1410, 1411, 1412, 1413, 1414, 1415, 1416, 1417, 1418, 1419, 1420, 1421, 1422, 1423, 1424, 1425, 1426, 1427, 1428, 1429, 1430, 1431, 1432, 1433, 1434, 1435, 1436, 1437, 1438, 1439, 1440, 1441, 1442, 1443, 1444, 1445, 1446, 1447, 1448, 1449, 1450, 1451, 1452, 1453, 1454, 1455, 1456, 1457, 1458, 1459, 1460, 1461, 1462, 1463, 1464, 1465, 1466, 1467, 1468, 1469, 1470, 1471, 1472, 1473, 1474, 1475, 1476, 1477, 1478, 1479, 1480, 1481, 1482, 1483, 1484, 1485, 1486, 1487, 1488, 1489, 1490, 1491, 1492, 1493, 1494, 1495, 1496, 1497, 1498, 1499, 1500, 1501, 1502, 1503, 1504, 1505, 1506, 1507, 1508, 1509, 1510, 1511, 1512, 1513, 1514, 1515, 1516, 1517, 1518, 1519, 1520, 1521, 1522, 1523, 1524, 1525, 1526, 1527, 1528, 1529, 1530, 1531, 1532, 1533, 1534, 1535, 1536, 1537, 1538, 1539, 1540, 1541, 1542, 1543, 1544, 1545, 1546, 1547, 1548, 1549, 1550, 1551, 1552, 1553, 1554, 1555, 1556, 1557, 1558, 1559, 1560, 1561, 1562, 1563, 1564, 1565, 1566, 1567, 1568, 1569, 1570, 1571, 1572, 1573, 1574, 1575, 1576, 1577, 1578, 1579, 1580, 1581, 1582, 1583, 1584, 1585, 1586, 1587, 1588, 1589, 1590, 1591, 1592, 1593, 1594, 1595, 1596, 1597, 1598, 1599, 1600, 1601, 1602, 1603, 1604, 1605, 1606, 1607, 1608, 1609, 1610, 1611, 1612, 1613, 1614, 1615, 1616, 1617, 1618, 1619, 1620, 1621, 1622, 1623, 1624, 1625, 1626, 1627, 1628, 1629, 1630, 1631, 1632, 1633, 1634, 1635, 1636, 1637, 1638, 1639, 1640, 1641, 1642, 1643, 1644, 1645, 1646, 1647, 1648, 1649, 1650, 1651, 1652, 1653, 1654, 1655, 1656, 1657, 1658, 1659, 1660, 1661, 1662, 1663, 1664, 1665, 1666, 1667, 1668, 1669, 1670, 1671, 1672, 1673, 1674, 1675, 1676, 1677, 1678, 1679, 1680, 1681, 1682, 1683, 1684, 1685, 1686, 1687, 1688, 1689, 1690, 1691, 1692, 1693, 1

"While the Flemings of these two cities, even the Burgundians and the French, were of one accord" Meyer

It has been noted in Flanders from the earliest times, that there is a tradition in the mother's side. Meyer, loc. 75. The village was abandoned in the time of the Crusades. He freed them from bastardy were the bastard children of a nobleman's son, without blood." (1331.) Under-stand, (Cham de Flandre).

lish, and sought to marry his daughter, Philippa, to Edward's son. According to the feudal law, this marriage, directed against the king of France, could not take place without his consent, as suzerain of Guy Dampierre. However, Philippe entered no protest; but hypocritically declared, that being the maiden's god-father, he could not allow her to cross the strait without embracing her.\* To refuse, was to declare war; and before the time had come. To go to Paris, was to run the risk of remaining there. Guy went; and did remain. Both father and daughter were detained in the tower of the Louvre. Thus Philippe deprived Edward of his ally and of his wife, just as he had of Guyenne. Subsequently, it is true, the count made his escape: but the maiden died, to Philippe's great damnification, who was interested in keeping such a hostage, and yet was accused of her death.

Edward thought he had roused the whole world against his disloyal enemy. The emperor Adolphus of Nassau, a poor petty prince despite of his title, would willingly have made war in Edward's pay, as Otho of Brunswick had formerly done in John's, and as, subsequently, Maximilian battled for Henry VIII. on a subsidy of a hundred crowns a day. The counts of Savoy, Auxerre, Montbelliard, Neuchâtel, Hainault, and Gueldres, the duke of Brabant, the bishops of Liege and of Utrecht, and the archbishop of Cologne, all promised to attack Philippe, all took English money, and, with the exception of the count of Bar, they to a man remained quiet. Edward paid them to act: Philippe, to do nothing.

The war was thus waged without tumult or battle. It was a struggle of corruption, a contest of money—to see which would first ruin the other. They had to give to their friends, they had to give to their enemies. Poor and wretched were the resources of kings of those days to meet such expenses. True, Edward and Philippe banished the Jews, and kept their property;† but the Jew is slippery, and glided out of France, managing to take much of his means with him. The French king, whose ministers were at the time Italian bankers, bethought himself, no doubt by their advice, of levying contributions on the Italians, the Lombards, who were then turning France to profit, and who were a variety of the Jewish species. Then, in order to reach more surely still the whole race of money-makers, of those who bought and sold, the king, for the first time, had recourse to that evil expedient so often employed in the fourteenth century—the debasement of the coin.‡ It was an easy and silent tax, a secret bankruptcy: at least, at the outset. But soon all profited by it; each paid his debts in debased money. The king gained less by the transac-

tion than the crowd of faithless debtors. At last, he had recourse to a director means—the universal imposition of the *maltôte*.\*

This repulsive name, invented by the people, was boldly accepted by the king himself. It was a last means—an invention from which if there still remained any substance, if there was still any thing left to be sucked out of the marrow of the people, that remainder was to be expected. But in vain did they press and screw. The patient was so dry that the new machine could express nothing out of him. Nor could the king of England any more draw any thing from his people. His distress reduced him to despair; and in one of his parliaments he was even seen to weep.

Between this famished king and consumptive people there was, however, some one who was rich: that some one was the Church. Archbishops and bishops, canons and monks, ancient monks of St. Benedict, new monks called mendicants, all were rich and gorged with wealth. The whole of this tinselled world thrived on the blessings of heaven, and on the fat of the earth. They were a small, happy people, round, fat and oily, in the heart of the vast, hungered people, who then began to eye them with side-long looks.

The German bishops were princes, and levied armies. The Anglican Church was said to possess half the lands of the island. Its revenue in 1337 amounted to seven hundred and thirty thousand marks. At present, it is true, the archbishop of Canterbury receives only twelve hundred thousand francs a year, and the archbishop of York eight hundred thousand. When the Restoration (la Restauration) was making preparations for the Spanish expedition, in 1822, among other items of information it was ascertained, that the archbishop of Toledo distributed daily before his farms and palaces ten thousand basins of soup, and the archbishop of Seville six thousand.†

Confiscation of the Church was the dominant idea of kings from the thirteenth century, and the chief instigation of their contests with the popes: all the difference is, that the Protestants took, and the Catholics compelled her to give. Henry VIII. employed schism, Francis I. the concordat.

Which then of the two, in the fourteenth century, the king or the Church, was henceforward to make the most of France? This was the question. Already, when Philippe laid on his people the terrible tax of the *maltôte*, when he debased the coin, when he stripped the Lom-

\* Guill. Nangiac, ann. 1296, p. 51.

(*Maltôte*, meaning *maltôte*, "wrongfully taken." The tax amounted to the fiftieth penny on every article deemed taxable, and was arbitrarily and violently raised, with a total disregard to justice.)—TRANSLATOR.

† I should hardly have believed this, had it not been confirmed in my presence by the very minister by whose order information had been collected.—One of the monasteries recently suppressed at Madrid (that of St. Salvador) had two millions of revenue, and but one monk.

\* Id. ibid. c. 130, fol. 213.—Steuern, t. viii. p. 496.

† Edward, in 1299; Philippe, in 1290.

‡ Leblanc, *Traité des Monnaies*, p. 302.

bards, subjects or bankers of the holy see, he struck Rome directly or indirectly, ruined it, cut off its supplies.\*

At last Boniface resorted to reprisals. In the year 1296, in his bull *Clervus laicos*, he declares that every priest who shall pay, and every layman who shall exact relief, loan, or gift, unauthorized by the holy see, is to be held excommunicate by the act; and this without exception of rank or privilege. He also annulled an important privilege of our sovereigns, who, though excommunicated in their kingly capacity, could still hear mass and receive the sacrament in their chapel, with closed doors.

At the same moment, alleging the war with England as the cause, Philippe prohibited the exporting out of the kingdom gold, silver, arms, &c. This was to strike at Rome much more than at England.

Nothing can be more mystically haughty, or more paternally hostile, than the bull launched in reply to this.—"In the sweetness of an ineffable love, (ineffabilis amoris dulcedine spensio), the Church, united to Christ, her husband, enjoys the most ample gifts and graces, especially the gift of liberty. He has willed that his adorable spouse shall reign, as a mother, over his faithful people. Who, then, will not dread offending or provoking her? Who but will feel that he offends the husband in the spouse? Who will dare to infringe the liberties of the Church, in opposition to his God and his Lord? Under what backler will he hide himself, that the hammer of the power from on high may not reduce him to dust and ashes. . . . O, my son, turn not thy ear from the voice of thy parent, &c."

Boniface goes on taking the keys to examine well into his situation. "Then hast not prudently taken into consideration the countries and kingdoms who are scattered thy own, the wits of those who govern them, or, perhaps, the sentiments of thy subjects in the different parts of thy states. Turn thy eyes around thee, look, and reflect. Remember that the kingdoms of the Romans, of the English, and of Spain, environ thee on every side. Think of their power, valor, the multitude of their white shirts, and thou wilt at once see that it was not the time, and the day to attack, and wound us and the Church, by such tricks. Judge thyself what must have been the thoughts of the Apostolic see, when, during the very time

that we were occupied with inquiring into and discussing the miracles attributed to the invocation of thy grandsire of glorious memory, thou has sent us gifts such as provoke God's wrath, and merit, I do not say our indignation only, but that of the Church herself. . . .

"When have thy ancestors and thyself had recourse to this see, and your petition has remained unheeded? And did a serious need again threaten thy kingdom, not only would the holy see grant thee reliefs at the hands of prelates and churchmen, but were the need urgent, it would lay its hand even on the chalices, crosses, and sacred vessels, rather than not thoroughly protect a kingdom so dear to the Holy See, and so long devoted to it. . . . We exhort, then, thy royal Serenity, and pray and entreat thee to receive with respect the medicaments offered thee by a paternal hand, to heed advice healthful to thee and thy kingdom, to correct thy errors, and not to suffer thy soul to be seduced by a false contagion. Preserve our good will and that of the Holy See, preserve a good reputation among men, and compel us not to have recourse to other and unusual remedies, which, though justice should force us to use them, and make it our duty, we should only employ regretfully and despite ourselves."

These grave words, blinding gentleness with menace, must have made an impression. Hitherto, no pontiff had been more partial to our kings than Boniface. It is true, he had been made pope by the house of France, but then he had, so far as depended on him, made it green. He had invited Charles of Valois into Italy, and until he could give him the Latin empire of Constantinople, had created him count of Romagna, captain of the patrimony of St. Peter, and lord of the march of Ancona. He obtained the throne of Hungary for French princes, and did all that lay in his power to procure for them the imperial throne, and that of Castile. And in 1298, when chosen as arbitrator by the French and English kings, he endeavored to bring them together by means of marriage, and, by a conditional award, deferred the restitutions which Philippe was to make to the Englishman.

Aged as the Papacy already was, it still appeared to be the arbiter of the world. Boniface VIII had been invited to judge between France and England, between England and Scotland, between Naples and Aragon, between the emperors Aloysius of Nassau and Albert of Austria, was not all this enough to blind the pope as to his real strength?

His station on had reached its height when, in the year 1300, Boniface promised remission of their sins to all those who would repair to visit for thirty days the churches of the Holy Apostles. This jubilee recalled at once that of the Jews, and the secular festivals of pagan Rome. The Mosiac jubilee, which returned every fifty years, was to restore the slave to

\* Edward I. wrote to pope Innocent III. in 1213, and the pope, in the reply, expressed a wish that he should suppress the order of the Knights Templars, who were then in the height of their power, and of the Knights Hospitaller, who were then in the decline of theirs. Innocent III. died in 1216, and the pope who succeeded him, Honorius III., died in 1227, and the pope who succeeded him, Gregory IX., died in 1241. The pope who succeeded him, Clement IV., died in 1268, and the pope who succeeded him, Nicholas III., died in 1280. The pope who succeeded him, Martin IV., died in 1285, and the pope who succeeded him, Celestine V., died in 1294. The pope who succeeded him, Boniface VIII., died in 1303. The pope who succeeded him, Benedict XII., died in 1334. The pope who succeeded him, Clement VI., died in 1352. The pope who succeeded him, Innocent VI., died in 1362. The pope who succeeded him, Urban V., died in 1370. The pope who succeeded him, Gregory XI., died in 1378. The pope who succeeded him, Sixtus IV., died in 1484. The pope who succeeded him, Julius II., died in 1533. The pope who succeeded him, Paul III., died in 1549. The pope who succeeded him, Pius IV., died in 1565. The pope who succeeded him, Pius V., died in 1572. The pope who succeeded him, Gregory XIII., died in 1585. The pope who succeeded him, Sixtus V., died in 1590. The pope who succeeded him, Urban VI., died in 1623. The pope who succeeded him, Gregory XIV., died in 1644. The pope who succeeded him, Clement IX., died in 1669. The pope who succeeded him, Clement X., died in 1676. The pope who succeeded him, Innocent XII., died in 1699. The pope who succeeded him, Benedict XIII., died in 1705. The pope who succeeded him, Clement XI., died in 1721. The pope who succeeded him, Innocent XIII., died in 1724. The pope who succeeded him, Benedict XIV., died in 1758. The pope who succeeded him, Pius VI., died in 1792. The pope who succeeded him, Pius VII., died in 1800. The pope who succeeded him, Paul I., died in 1801. The pope who succeeded him, Pius VIII., died in 1820. The pope who succeeded him, Gregory XVI., died in 1831. The pope who succeeded him, Pius IX., died in 1846. The pope who succeeded him, Pius X., died in 1903. The pope who succeeded him, Benedict XV., died in 1922. The pope who succeeded him, Pius XII., died in 1958. The pope who succeeded him, John XXIII., died in 1963. The pope who succeeded him, Paul VI., died in 1968. The pope who succeeded him, John Paul I., died in 1978. The pope who succeeded him, John Paul II., died in 2002. The pope who succeeded him, Benedict XVI., died in 2013. The pope who succeeded him, Francis, died in 2013. The pope who succeeded him, Pope Francis, died in 2013.

liberty, and alienated estates to their original possessors: it was, if I may so speak, to annul history and undo time in the name of the only Eternal. Ancient Rome, in quite a different point of view, borrowed from the Etrusci the doctrine of Ages;\* but it was not to recognise in it the fluctuations of this world, the mortality of empires. Rome believed herself God; judged herself immortal as well as invincible; and on the return of each century, solemnized her eternity.

In the year 1300 faith was still great. Prodigious was the crowd which flocked to Rome.† The pilgrims were counted by the hundred thousand, and counting soon became impossible. Neither the houses nor the churches could contain them; and they encamped in the streets and squares, under places of shelter hastily run up, under stretched cloths, tents, and the arch of heaven. One would have thought that the end of time had come, and that the human race had assembled before its Judge in the valley of Jehoshaphat.

To have an idea of the effect of this prodigious spectacle, one must have seen Rome, fallen as she is, during Passion Week, and on the glorious festival of Easter: on these great days, one almost forgets that sorrowing Rome is before one, the widow of two antique worlds.

Whatever may have been Boniface's motive, whether fiscal or political, I owe him no grudge for this beautiful invention of the jubilee. Thousands of men, I feel assured, have thanked him for it in their hearts. Who but would wish thus to be able to lay a stone in the path of time, to find a resting-place in his life between the regrets of the past, and the hopes of a better, a less to be regretted future? Who but would wish to pause while scaling the rude steep, to breathe a little at mid-day, *Nel mezzo cammin di nostra vita*?‡ Great is our need of a resting-place midway, of a station,§ of a jubilee.

And wherefore deride those fair souls who believed that evil could be fled by change of place, that one could travel from sin to sanctity, that the devil could be laid aside with the dress which we replace by the pilgrim's? Is it not something to escape from the influence of places and habits; to quit one's accustomed shores and sail to a new life? Is there not an evil power, strong to blind and infatuate, in those spots to which the heart roots itself—whether it be the Charmettes of Jean Jacques,

or the Pinada of Byron, or that Lake of An-la-Chapelle, with which, according to tradition, Charlemagne was bewitched.

Let us not marvel at our ancestors' love of pilgrimages, and their attributing a regenerative virtue to visiting distant sanctuaries. The aged man, all white and hoary, tears himself from the spots where he has pursued his career, and from his alarmed family who see themselves deprived of a cherished father.—Old, weak, panting, he drags himself forward as he can, helped on by his good-will, overcome as he is by years, and by the fatigue of the journey.—He comes to Rome to see the image of Him whom, dwelling on high, he hopes soon to behold again in heaven.”\* . . . .

But there are who arrive not, who sink by the way. . . . Most of our readers will recollect that little painting of Robert's,† where the Roman pilgrim is seated in the arid campagna; she heeds neither her bleeding feet nor her nursing on her knees, panting with thirst, provided she reach the blessed hill which breaks the far distant horizon, *Monte di gioia*!

And when the end of the journey is Rome—when at the birth of a new century, at the solemn moment that an hour of the world's life has struck, we reach the great city, and see and touch those antique memorials and tombs, before only heard of and famed in our minds—and then, finding ourselves contemporary with all ages, both with consuls and with martyrs, and having, from station to station, from the Coliseum to the Capitol, and from the Pantheon to St. Peter, lived all history over again, having seen all death and all ruin—we depart, and retrace our steps towards our country, towards the natal tomb, but with less regret, and recollected beforehand to die!

The Church, like those thousands of men who came on pilgrimage to her, found in this Jubilee of the year 1300, the sublime and culminating point of its historic life. From that hour its descent began. In the very multitude there collected, mingled the formidable men who were about to open a new world: some, cold and implacable politicians, like the historians, John Villani; others, disappointed and haughty, like Dante, who was about to have his own Jubilee. The pope had summoned all the living to Rome; Dante, in his *Commedia*, convened all the dead—revised the world that had closed, classified it, judged it. The middle age, as well as antiquity, appeared before him. Nothing was hidden from him. The secret of the sanctuary was told and profaned: the seals were taken off and broken, nor have they since been found. The middle age had lived; life is a mystery, which perishes the moment it has revealed itself. The revelation of the middle age was the *Divina Commedia*, the cathedral of

\* See my *Histoire Romaine*, t. i. p. 73.

† The concourse was so great as to produce a famine. See the work of cardinal St. George, Boniface's nephew, entitled *De Jubileo*, in *Bibl. Max. Patrum*, xiv. p. 930.

‡ “In the middle path of our life.”—The opening line of Dante's *Inferno*.—TRANSLATOR.

§ (A “station” is one of the churches or chapels, where the pilgrim is bound to repeat certain prayers, or perform certain acts of devotion. The twelve *Basilice* of Rome—being twelve of the earliest Christian churches in Rome, and so called from having been the Halls, so called, used by the ancients, or else built on their model—were the stations appointed to be visited during the jubilee.)—TRANSLATOR.

\* Petrarcha, son. 14.

† (A French artist of high talent, whose untimely death has been a serious loss to art.)—TRANSLATOR.





"the king was guardian of the kingdom of France."\*

The quarrel had already been begun with regard to church property; but other causes of irritation existed. Boniface had decided between Philippe and Edward, not as a friend and private person, but as pope. The count of Artois, indignant at the pontiff's partiality for the Flemings, snatched the bull from the legate's hands, and tossed it into the fire. By way of reprisal, Boniface favored Albert of Austria against Charles of Valois, who aspired to the imperial crown. On his side, Philippe seized on the vacant revenues of Laon, Poitiers, and Reims; and countenanced the mortal enemies of Boniface, the Colonna—those rude Ghibelines and leaders of the Roman brigands against the popes.

A possession evilly acquired, and which for a century had been a bone of contention between the pope and the king, was the immediate cause of the explosion—I allude to that bloody spoil, Languedoc. Boniface VIII. paid for Innocent III. The archbishop loudly claimed the right of homage from Narbonne, (A. D. 1300,) for which the viscount did homage direct to the king, but showed a disposition to come to terms, when the pope threatened him with excommunication if he entered into treaty without the sanction of the Holy See. He summoned to Rome the king's *man*, (the viscount of Narbonne;) and, moreover, menaced Philippe, if he did not renounce the countship of Melgueil, of which his officers had despoiled the church of Maguelone.†

This was not all. In Philippe's despite, the pope had created in Languedoc—a land full of hazard to France, lying as it did at the very gates of the count of Foix and of the king of Aragon—a new bishopric, cut out of the diocese of Toulouse, the bishopric of Pamiers. The new bishop was a creature of his own, Bernard de Saisset; and this individual he selected as his envoy to the king, to remind the latter of his promise to undertake the crusade, and to summon him to set at liberty the count of Flanders and his daughter. Philippe-le-Bel was not to be addressed in such fashion with impunity.

Thus Saisset, who delivered his message with excess of boldness, had been already named to the king by the bishop of Toulouse,‡ as the originator of a vast conspiracy to deprive the French of the whole of the South. Saisset belonged to the family of the ancient viscounts of Toulouse; and was the friend of all the distinguished men and municipal nobility of this great city.§ His dream was the foundation of

a kingdom of Languedoc,\* in favor of the count of Foix, or of the count of Comminges, who sprang from the Raymonds of Toulouse, a deeply regretted by their ancient subjects.†

These great lords of the South had not the power, or the patriotism, or the lofty courage required for such an undertaking. The count of Comminges crossed himself when he heard such bold proposals, and exclaimed, "The Saisset is a devil rather than a man."‡ The count of Foix played a more odious part. He received all Saisset's confidential disclosures, but only to communicate them to the king through the bishop of Toulouse.§ He made known to Saisset designed to seek the hand of the daughter of the king of Aragon, who, he said, was his friend, for the son of the count de Foix, that, moreover, he had said, "The French can never do any good, but rather harm to the country."¶ and that he would not arrange the disputes regarding his bishopric with the count of Foix, except on condition of his coming to an arrangement with the counts of Armagnac and of Comminges, and so combining the whole country under his influence.

Several bitter sayings against the king were attributed to Saisset:—"Your king of France" he was reported to have said, "is a false coiner. His money is only dirt. . . . The Philippe *le Bel* is neither a man nor even a beast, he is an image, nothing more."\*\* The birds, says the fable, chose the *duc* for their king, a large and fine bird, it is true, but the most worthless of all. The magpie came one day to complain to the king of the sparrow-hawk, and the king made no answer, (*sed quod flavit*.) There is your king of France to you; he is the finest man one can lay eyes on, but he can only stare at people.†† . . . The

\* "He had heard the said bishop of Pamiers say to the count of Foix, 'Come to terms with me, and you shall see the town of Pamiers, and shall be king, for that there was formerly a kingdom there as noble as the kingdom of France; and afterwards I will make you count of Toulouse as I have many very noble and very powerful friends in this city and land of Toulouse.'" . . . Ibid. p. 643. See also the testimony of the first witness, p. 633, and that of the sixteenth, p. 640.

† "The bishop himself had always loved the count of Comminges and all his family, and particularly because he was on one side lineally descended from the count of Toulouse, and the people of the said land were attached to the aforesaid count for this reason." Ibid. Evidence of the seventeenth witness, p. 642.

‡ "Quibus auditis dictus comes signavit se, dicens: 'Iste non est homo, sed diabolus.'" Ibid. p. 644, and p. 650, where is given the evidence of the count himself, which comprises all the charges sworn to by the rest.

§ This bishop of Toulouse was detested in his diocese as being a Frenchman, and unacquainted with the language of the country. . . . "For he is of a tongue, which of necessity is hostile to our tongue, (Quia ex de lingua que in meitur lingua nostra ab antiquo.)" Ibid. p. 643.

¶ Ibid. First witness, p. 634.

\*\* Ibid. p. 645.

†† Ibid. Twenty second witness, p. 646; and the twenty third witness, p. 649.

\*\* "Aves antiquitus fecerunt regem, ut narratur in fabula, et fecerunt regem de quadam ave vocata *duc*, que est magna et inter aves major et pulchrior, et abscondit nihil valet uno est vilior avis quam sit. . . . Talis rex Francie, quod erat pulchrior homo mundi, et nihil aliud se facere nisi respicere homines." Ibid. pp. 643, 644.

\* "Antiquum essent clerici, rex Francie habebat custodiam regni sui et poterat statuta facere." Dupuy, Pr. p. 178.

† Dupuy, Id. ib. p. 9.

‡ "For there was anciently a count and viscount of Toulouse, and he was descended from the viscounts who governed a certain part of the state of Toulouse." Id. ibid. p. 640.

§ "Because all the best families of Toulouse are akin to me, and will do as I desire." Ibid. p. 643.

world is now-a-days dead and destroyed through the evil nature of this court.\* . . . But St. Louis has told me more than once, that the French monarchy would perish with its tenth king, reckoning from Hugh Capet.†

"Two of Philippe's commissioners, a layman and a priest, coming into Languedoc to institute proceedings against Saisset, he felt his danger, and was for flying to Rome: but the king's men did not allow him time. They took him, by night, in his bed, and carried him off to Paris together with his servants, who were put to the torture. The king then sent to the pope, not to exonerate himself for having violated the privileges of the Church, but to require the bishop's degradation, before he had him executed. The king's letter breathes a strange thirst of blood:—the king requires the sovereign pontiff to apply such remedy, and so to exercise the duty of his office as that this man of death, (*dictus vir mortis*), whose life sullies the very spot he inhabits, be degraded from his order, and stripped of every clerical privilege; and so that the lord king may of this traitor to God and man, this man plunged into an abyss of iniquity, hardened and beyond hope of correction—that the king may, by the execution of justice, make an excellent sacrifice. So steeped is he in sin, that all the elements must fail him in death, since he is offensive to God and to all creatures."‡

The pope claimed the bishop, suspended the privilege the French kings enjoyed of exemption from excommunication, and summoned the clergy of France to attend at Rome on the 1st of November, of the year following. Finally, he addressed to the king the bull *Ausculta fili*, "Hearken, my son, to the counsels of a tender father." The pope began by these irritating words, which his adversaries well knew how to turn to their advantage: "God has set us, although unworthy, above kings and kingdoms, imposing on us the yoke of apostolic servitude, to root out and pull down, destroy, disperse, scatter, and to build and to plant in his name and by his doctrine.§ . . ." Altogether, the bull was, under a paternal form, a recapitula-

tion of all the griefs of the pope and of the Church.

Pierre Flotte, the chancellor, undertook to bear the answer of the pope. The answer was, that the king would not release his prisoner, that all he would do was to intrust him to the safeguard of the archbishop of Narbonne: that gold and silver should no more be allowed to quit France, and that the prelates should not repair to Rome. It was a rude insult for the pope, still triumphant from his Jubilee, to be addressed so freely by this little one-eyed lawyer.\* The altercation was violent. The pope took the high tone:—"My power," he said, "embraces the two." Pierre Flotte replied by a sharp *distinguo*:—"Yes, but your power is verbal, the king's real."† The Gascon Nogaret, who was associated with Pierre Flotte, could not contain himself. He denounced violently, and with all the impetuous vehemence of the South, the abuses of the pontifical court, and the conduct of the pope himself.‡ And so they quitted Rome, raging in their professional hatred of priests, having insulted the pope, and certain of perishing if they did not anticipate him.

To arouse the general indignation against Boniface, it behooved to extract some very clear and very offensive consequences from the affected babble in which the court of Rome loved to drown its meaning. So they drew up between them a brutal summary or petty bull, (*petite bulle*), in which the pope was made to express all his pretensions in the bluntest terms. At the same time they circulated a false answer to the false bull, in which the king addressed the pope with vulgar violence and grossness. This answer, of course, was not intended to be sent, but to produce two results. In the first place, it degraded the sacrosanct power, on which this dirt was thrown with such impunity; and, in the second place, it intimated that the king felt himself strong, which is the way to be really so.

"Boniface, bishop, servant of the servants of God, to Philippe, king of the Franks: fear God and keep his commandments. We will thee to know that thou art subjected to us in temporal as well as spiritual matters; that collation to benefices and prebends belongs not to thee; that if thou hast the keeping of vacant benefices, it is to reserve their fruits for those who succeed to them; that if thou hast collated to any, we declare the collation invalid, and revoke it, if it have been executed, declaring all those who think otherwise heretics. Given at the Lateran, on the nones of December, in the seventh year of our Pontificate." This is the date of the bull, *Ausculta fili*.§

\* Ibid. The twenty second witness, p. 640.

† Ibid. p. 633, and the twenty first witness, p. 640. See, also, p. 651.

‡ Ibid. p. 633. This is a pedantic imitation of a passage in O'Brien's *de rebus Anglicanis*. (*Pro Rebus Anglicanis*) relative to the punishment of perjury.

§ *Preuves du Infernal*, pp. 40-50.

¶ The words of the bull, quoted in the text, are those addressed to Jeremiah, in respect to his prophetic mission (Jerem. c. i. v. 10). They had been advanced in support of the papal pretensions long before the time of Boniface, as for instance in the letter of Innocent III., written in 1205, to Louis of France.

¶ *Ausculta fili*, the two first words of this bull, have alluded to its historical name. It was published in December, 1303, and was preceded only two days by another constitution of Boniface, called *Admirator Mundi*, by which he suspended all favours and privileges which had been accorded by his predecessors to the kings of France, and in all their subjects, whether lay or clerical, who abjured Philip-Faust VIII., sec. 37." Waddington's History of the Church, vol. II. notes to p. 635.—TRANSLATOR.

\* Noted illa, Petrus Flotte, contrivens corpus, monitus minister excomunicatus. Bulle de Bonif. aux prelates de France. Dapuy, Prouven, p. 65.

† Dapuy, Hist. du Delf. p. 11.

‡ Ibid.

§ Dapuy, Prouven, p. 66.

" Philippe, by the grace of God, king of the French, to Boniface, who gives himself out for pope, little or no greeting. Let thy very great silliness know that we are subject to no one in temporal matters; that collation to vacant churches and prebends belongs to us of royal right; that the fruits are ours; that the collations made and to be made by us, are valid both for past and future; that we will maintain those in possession with all our power, and that we hold all who think differently, fools and madmen."

These strange words, which, a century before, would have armed the whole kingdom against the king, were well received by the nobility, and by the towns. A step further was then taken; and the nobility directly compromised with the pope. On the 11th of February, 1302, the *petite bulle* was burnt, in presence of the king and of a crowd of barons and knights, in the midst of the Parisians, and the act was then proclaimed by sound of trumpet throughout the capital.\* Yet two hundred years—and a German monk will do of his own private authority, what Pierre Flotte and Nogaret are now doing in the name of the king of France.

But it was requisite to engage the whole kingdom in the quarrel; and an unusual measure was resorted to. The pope had convoked the prelates to Rome for the 1st of November; the king convoked the states for the 10th of April—no more the states of the clergy and nobility, no more the states of the South, as assembled by St. Louis, but the states both of South and North, the states of the three orders, of the clergy, the nobility, and the burgesses of the towns. This assembling of the States-General by Philippe-le-Bel constitutes the national era of France, its baptismal register; and the place of its baptism was the basilica of Notre-Dame, for there the states first met. In like manner as the Holy See, in the time of Gregory VII., and of Alexander III., had relied on the people; so did the enemy of that see now summon the people to his aid. These burgesses, mayors, sheriffs, consuls of towns, under whatever humble and servile form they now assemble to speak as directed by king and nobles, were, nevertheless, the first visible manifestation of the people.

Pierre Flotte opened the states (April 10th, 1302) in bold and able style. He attacked the first words of the bull, *Ausculta fili*:—"God has set us over kings and kingdoms." . . . Then he asked whether the French could without cowardice allow their kingdom, always free and independent, to be thus placed in vassalage to the pope! This was adroitly confounding

moral and religious, with political dependence, touching the feudal string, rousing the warrior's contempt of the priest. The fiery count of Artois, who had already snatched from the legs and torn in pieces the bull *Ausculta*, took up the word, and said, that if the king chose to endure or to overlook the pope's designs, the barons would not.† This coarse flattery, wearing the guise of freedom and boldness, was applauded by the nobles. At the same time, they were induced to sign and seal a letter, written in the vulgar tongue, not to the pope, but the cardinals. This letter was probably written beforehand by the care of the chancellor, for it is dated the 10th of April, the very day on which the states met. In this lengthy epistle, the barons, after wishing the cardinals "constant increase of charity, love, and all the good they can wish themselves," declare, that as to the evils which "he who at present is in the seat of the government of the Church," alleges to have been committed by the king, they have no wish, "neither they, nor the universities, nor the people of the kingdom, to have them corrected or amended by any other than by our said lord the king." They accuse "him who at present sits in the seat of the government of the Church," of drawing large sums from the collation of archbishops, bishops, and other beneficiaries, "so that the people, who are subjected to them, are oppressed and fleeced; nor can the prelates confer the benefices in their gift on the noble clerks, and other well-born and well-learned men of their dioceses, by whose predecessors churches were founded."‡ Indisputably, the barons subscribed with all their heart to this last sentence, in which the able framer of the epistle insinuated, that benefices, mostly founded by their ancestors, should be given to their younger brothers, or their creatures, as has been the practice in England, more particularly since the Reformation. By this stroke of policy the discomfiture of the pope was identified with the restoration of the vast estates of which the barons had stripped themselves to bestow on the Church in the ages of religious fervor.‡

\* Dupuy, Hist. du Diff. p. 12.

† Id. Provoca. pp. 66-68.

‡ The letter went on to say, in the name of the nobles:—"And were it the case that we, or that any of us, should choose to suffer it, neither our said lord the king, nor the common people of the said kingdom would allow of it; and to our great grief and sorrow, we will yet to know by the holder of these letters, that there are not things pleasing to God, or which ought to please any right-principled person, nor ever did such things enter man's heart, nor would nor could they be looked for, except by Antichrist. . . . Wherefore we pray and entreat you with all earnestness and affection . . . that all the evils which have been created be altogether done away with, and that for the emperor which he has been in the habit of committing, he be so punished that the state of Christendom be restored to and may remain in peace, and on these matters give us to know by the bearer of these letters your pleasure and intention; for it is for this we send him specially to you, and we will you to be assured that neither for life nor for death we will desert, or wish to desert this quarrel, and that we do now according to the pleasure of our lord the king. . . . And because it would be too long and troublesome, we end of us

\* Id. p. 59.—Fuerunt littere ejus (pape) in regno Francie circum pluribus concremate, et sine honore remissæ. Chron. Rothomagensis, ann. 1302; and Appendix Annalium. II. Strenis Althensis. The manuscript quoted by Dupuy, (Preuv. du Diff. p. 59.) and which he alone has seen, is not, therefore, as M. Simond de la Londe says, the only authority for the fact. Hist. des Franç. t. ix. p. 68.

lge by the reply of the cardinals, the citizens was modelled on that of . . . But it has not been preserved; it was thought unworthy of the care, it was feared that the last of the three would afterwards advance pretensions of language which it had been allowed this occasion.

ster on behalf of the clergy is quite o these by its moderation and mildness.ressed "Sanctissimo patri ac domino mmo," to their most holy father and ord the pope. . . . They set forth the riefs, and claim independence for him is temporal matters. They state that e done all in their power to soften him; they have besought him to allow them themselves at the feet of the apostolic : but that king and barons have an- hat they would on no account be suf- quit the kingdom. They are bound, , by their oath to the king, to defend n, his honors, and liberties, as well as s of the kingdom—and so much the umbers of them *hold duchies, counties, and other fiefs*.<sup>\*</sup> Finally, in this their essary, they throw themselves on the e of his sanctity, "with words full of l of soba mixed with tears, imploring al clemency,"<sup>†</sup> &c.

ster, different as it is from that of the vertheless equally puts forward the evance of the nobility—"The prelates : have ought to give, nor even where- *nake restoration to, the nobles, whose ounded churches.*"<sup>‡</sup>

sal to the present letters, written by our common e, Lays, (Louis, son of the king of France, count of Evreux.) Robert count of Artois; Rob- Bourguigne, (duke of Burgundy.) Jean dui de laka of Brittany.) Ferry dui de Lorraine; Jean du de Hainaut et de Hollande; Henry count of g; Guis count of St. Pol; Jean count of Lèves; ma de la Marche, Robert count of Boulogne; de Nivern et de Retel; Jean count of Eu; Ber- de Comminges; Jean count of Aulmarie; Jean count of Valerian count of Perigore; Jean count of count of Auvergne; Aymars de Poitiers count of ; Estracans count of Sancerre; Renault count iart; Euperrant sire (lord) de Coercy; Godefroy ; Raoul de Clermont, constable of France; Chastanvilain; Jourdain sire de Lille; Jean de Darlay; Guillaume de Chavigny sire de Chae- Richard sire de Beaupre; et Amaury vicomte de Narbonne, have put at the request, and in the l, and for all the rest, our seals to these present ren at Paris, the 10th day of April, the year of

Front quidam nostrum qui ducatus, comitatus, sals et alia membra dicti regni tenentes . . . eidem debitis consilio et auxilio opportuno. "And we act thus, conscious that difficulties multiply when laymen shrink from acting with d. Froves, p. 70.

he is dated, or, more probably, antedated, March, *caldis die Martis prodicio*" (the afternoon day of r, no day is previously mentioned; but they late from the day on which the king summoned n, since they had not complied with the pope's

lati dum non habent quid pro meritis tribuant, moti, nobilibus, quorum proprietate ecclesie t, et aliis literatis personis, non inveniant cor- ap. Froves, p. 69.

While the struggle was thus going on with the pope, a momentous and fearful circumstance occurred, which widened the breach. The states assembled on the 10th of April. But, on the 21st of March, a repetition of the Sicilian Vespers had taken place at Bruges—where four thousand French had been massacred.

The barons had met for the opening of the states, and were easily persuaded to direct their army against Flanders, filled with wrath as they were and swollen with feudal pride; a victory over the Flemings would be a battle gained over the pope. Pierre Flotte, deeply involved in the issue, would not lose sight of the king. Chancellor though he was, and one of the long robe, he mounted his horse with the men-at-arms.

Cruelly punished were the Flemings for their having called in the French. From the very first day, a mutual ill-will had sprung up between them. Edward having left the count to his own resources, in order that he might devote himself to the war with Wallace, the French drove him from place to place, and persuaded him to give himself up to Philippe, who would treat him well. This good treatment was throwing him into the prison of the Louvre, where his daughter had already died.

The French king had only to take peaceable possession of Flanders. He himself even had no idea of the importance of his conquest. When he led his queen with him to visit the rich and famous cities of Ghent and Bruges, they were dazzled and alarmed. The Flemings thronged to meet them in vast numbers, curious to see a king. They sallied forth with their huge, fat persons, richly arrayed, and wearing heavy chains of gold, thinking to honor and pleasure their new lord.<sup>\*</sup> It was quite the contrary. The queen could not forgive their being so bravely attired, especially the women: "Here," she said with spite, "I see only queens."<sup>†</sup>

Châtillon, an uncle of the queen of France, the governor appointed by Philippe, set about curing them of this pride and insolence of wealth. He deprived them of their municipal elections and the management of public business, which was setting the rich against him: and then struck at the poor by assessing the workman in a quarter of his daily wages. The Frenchman, accustomed to harass our petty communes, did not know the risk he ran in putting in motion these prodigious ant-hills, these formidable waspe-nests of Flanders. The crowned lion of Ghent which sleeps, its head on the Virgin's lap,<sup>‡</sup> slept badly and awakened often.

\* - The leading men wore garments of two entirely opposite colors: the multitude added a third." Meyer, *ann.* 1384, p. 69.

† Ego rati sum colam me esse reginam: at his secretis conspectis. *Ibid.*

‡ - The city arms are a virgin, within a wooden sailing, in whose lap rests a lion with the standard of Flanders. . . . *Standard, Gendev. Rec. l. i. p. 21.*

Roland's bell sounded oftener for tumult than for fire—*Roland! Roland! tingle, 'tis a fire; peal, 'tis a rising!*\*

The result was not difficult to be foreseen. The people began to whisper together, and to assemble at nightfall.† The Sicilian Vespers had taken place but twenty years before.

At first, thirty of the heads of the trades appeared before Châtillon to complain that the works undertaken by royal order had not been paid for.‡ The high and mighty lord, accustomed to the rights of *corvée* and purveyorship, was indignant at their insolence, and threw them into prison. The people flew to arms, set them free, and some lives were lost, to the great alarm of the wealthier classes, who declared for the royal officers. The affair was brought before the parliament. Here we have the parliament of Paris sitting in judgment on Flanders, as it but recently did on the king of England.

The decree of the parliament was that the heads of the trades were again to be thrown into prison. Among them were two men loved by the people; the deacon of the butchers and the deacon of the weavers. The latter, Peter Kœnig, (Peter King,) was a poor man, of wretched appearance, little, and one-eyed; but a man of head, and a popular mob and street orator.§ He led the trades out of Bruges; and they massacred all the French in the neighboring villages and castles, returning by night. They stretched chains across the streets to hinder the French from *scouring the town*; and each burghess was pledged to remove the saddle and bridle of the knight lodged with him. On the 21st of March, 1302, all the lower classes sound the alarm on their caldrons;|| a butcher strikes the first blow; in every direction the French are attacked and cut down. The women were the most furious in throwing them out of the windows; or they were led to the market-places, where they were put to death. The massacre continued for three days; and twelve hundred knights and two thousand foot-soldiers fell victims.

After this plunge, it remained but to conquer or die. The men of Bruges marched at first to Ghent, in the hope of being joined by its citizens. But these were held back by the large manufacturers;¶ and, perhaps, by the jealousy

Ghent had of Bruges as well. The men of Bruges had with them, besides their own lands, only Ypres, l'Écluse, Newport, Berghes, Furnes, and Gravelines, which followed them either willingly, or perforce. They had placed at the head of their militia one of the sons of the count of Flanders, (the young Guy of Dampierre,) and one of his grandsons, (William of Juliers,) who was a priest, but who unfrocked himself in order to fight along with them.\*

They were in Courtrai, when the French pitched their camp in front of it. These mechanics, who had seldom fought in the open country, would, perhaps, have willingly retired: but retreat was dangerous in a large plain, and before so numerous a cavalry.† They waited for the attack bravely. Each man had fixed in the ground before him his *guttertag*, or stake shod with iron. Their device was the fine motto, *Scilt und Vriendt*, "My friend and my buckler."‡ Mass was celebrated, and they wished to take the communion together; but as they could not all receive the eucharist, each man stooped down, and raised to his lips a morsel of the turf at his feet.§ The knights who were with them dismounted and dismissed their horses; and at the same time that they thus converted themselves into foot-soldiers, they dubbed the heads of the trades knights. All knew that the day of grace was past. Rumors, too, ran from man to man, that Châtillon had brought casks filled with ropes to hang them with;|| and that the queen had counselled the French when they were killing the Flemish boys, not to spare the sows.¶

The constable, Raoul de Nesle, proposed a manœuvre by which the Flemings would have been turned, and cut off from Courtrai. But the king's cousin, the Count d'Artois, who commanded the army, brutally asked him, "Are you afraid of these rabbits, or have you any of their skin about you?" The constable, who had married one of the count of Flanders' daughters, felt the insult, and haughtily answered, "If your highness will ride even with me to-day, you will ride far enough!" At the same time he commanded and led an impetuous charge in a cloud of July dust. (It was the 11th of July, 1302.) As each man-at-arms strove to follow him closely through shame of being

\* The inscription on the great bell—

"Roelandt, Roelandt, als ick kleppe, dan 1st brandt,  
Als ick luyt, dan 1st storm in Vladerlandt."

Id. l. ii. p. 115.

† Convenire, conferre, colloqui Inter se sub crepusculum noctis multitudo. Meyer.

‡ Villani, l. viii. c. 54, p. 82.

§ Primus ausus est Gallorum obsistere tyrannidi Petrus cognomento Rex, homo plebeius, unoculus, etate sexagenarius, opificio textor pannorum, brevis vir statura, nec facie admodum liberali, animo tamen magno et feroci, consilio bonus, manu promptus. Flandriæ quidem linguâ compræhens scundus, Gallicæ ignarus. Meyer, p. 91.

|| "Not daring to force their way to the city bell, they struck upon their caldrons (*polcecs*), . . . as a signal for a general rising." Id. p. 90.

¶ "The chief men of the city, and those who had in-

fluence either by virtue of their office or their wealth, followed the Lilies, dreading the royal power, and fearing for their property." Id. p. 91.

\* Sismondi, t. ix. p. 98.—G. Villani, l. viii. c. 55, p. 284.

† (The Flemings, too, were anxious to save the city.)—TRANSLATOR.

‡ (This was the Shibboleth used by the Flemings at the massacre of Bruges. Sentinels were posted at the city gates, with orders to put every one to death who could not pronounce words so impossible to all but a native tongue, as *Scilt und Vriendt*. Meyer, p. 92.)—TRANSLATOR.

§ G. Villani, l. viii. c. 55, p. 285. See my *Synonymes de Droit*.

|| Vasa vinaria portasse rectius plene, et phibere singulararet. Meyer, p. 92.

¶ Ut apud quidem, hoc est virtus, hæc, et omne verbum confederant. The men also would have spared the women spitted, "being," says Meyer, "particularly hostile to the latter on account of the heaviness of their apparel," p. 92.

among the hindmost, the rearward pushed on the leading files, who, when near to the Flemings, found themselves upon what is found in every direction in this canal-cut country, a fosse, five fathoms wide.\* The cavalry were thus precipitated into it; and the fosse being in the shape of a crescent they could not file off on the wings. In this fosse the whole chivalry of France were buried—Artois, Châtillon, Neale, Brabant, Eu, Aumale, Dammartin, Dreux, Soissons, Tancarville, Vienne, Melun, and a host of other nobles, and with them the chancellor, who, undoubtedly, did not count on perishing in such glorious company.

The Flemings slew these dismounted knights at their ease, choosing their men in the fosse; and when they found their mail impervious to trenchant weapons, they brained them with leaden or iron balls.† A number of working monks‡ were with the Flemings, who went about this bloody business as if it were so much task-work. One of these monks boasted of having brained forty knights and fourteen hundred foot-soldiers—evident rhodomontade. Four thousand gilt spurs (another authority says seven hundred) were suspended in the cathedral of Courtrai; unlucky trophies to the city, since eighty years afterwards when Charles VI. saw them hanging there, he put all the inhabitants to death.

This terrible defeat which had exterminated the entire vanguard of the French army, that is to say, most of the great barons,—this battle which made room for so many new possessors, and turned over so many fiefs to minors, wards of the king, undoubtedly weakened for the time his military power, but abated none of his vigor against the pope. In one sense, the monarchy was rather strengthened by it. Who knows whether the pope might not have found the means of turning against the king some of those great feudatories who had signed, it is true, the famous letter; but who, returning rich and victorious from the Flemish war, would have the less feared the king?

He forbore confounding the two powers, as he had appeared desirous to do till then: but when the news of Philippe's defeat at Courtrai reached Rome, the pontifical court changed its language, and a cardinal wrote word to the duke of Burgundy that the king was excommunicated for having hindered the prelates from repairing to Rome, that the pope could not write to an excommunicated person, and that, above all, it was requisite that the king should do penance. Meanwhile, the prelates rallied round the pope by the king's reverse.

left for Rome to the number of forty-five. The king lost at one blow all his bishops, just as he had recently lost almost all his barons at Courtrai.\*

But this administration of lawyers displayed extraordinary vigor and activity. On the 23d of March, a grand ordinance, conceived in a very popular spirit, was published for the reformation of the kingdom, in which the king promised good government, equal justice, repression of venality, protection of ecclesiastics, respect of the privileges of the nobles, security of person and of property, and observance of all established customs.† He promised gentleness, and secured the command of force, recruiting the Châtelet and its armed police, its sergeants, foot-sergeants, horse-sergeants, ordinary sergeants, and sergeants of the watch.‡

#### THE POPE ATTACKED BY THE KING.

The two adversaries, close upon collision, desired to leave nothing behind them, and sacrificed every thing in the interest of this great struggle. The pope made up his quarrel with Albert of Austria, and recognised him as emperor: he had need of some one to oppose to the king of France. The king purchased peace from the English by the enormous sacrifice of Guyenne, (May 20th.) What must have been his pang, on restoring to his enemy this rich country, this kingdom of Bordeaux!§

But it had come to that point, that it was necessary to "do or die."¶ On the 13th of

\* A fortnight before the battle of Courtrai, the pope held language to the cardinals which strongly savoured of a wish for reconciliation. Among other things, he observed that in Philippe-Auguste's time the French king's revenue was eighteen thousand francs, but that now, thanks to the munificence of the church, it amounted to more than forty thousand. Pierre Plote, he added, is blind bodily and mentally, and so God has punished him in this world: this man of gall, this man of the devil, this Abithophe, is supported by the counts of Artois and of St. Pol; he has falsified or forged a letter of the pope's, in which he makes him tell the king that he ought to acknowledge that he holds his kingdom of him. He went on to say, "We have now been a doctor of law for forty years, and know that both powers are ordained of God. Who then can believe that we ever uttered such nonsense! . . . But it is not to be denied, that the king and all others of the faithful are subjected to us, as regards . . . What the king has done lately, fully, we wish him to do henceforward lawfully. There is no favor that we will grant him. Let him send us honest men like the dukes of Burgundy and Brittany: and where they point out to us that we have erred, we will amend the same. As long as I was cardinal, I was French; and since, we have loved the king more. Without us, he would not have a foot on his throne; the English and the Germans would be up in arms against him. We know all the secrets of the kingdom. We know how the Germans, the Burgundians, and the people of Langueuse love the French—"Assurance meanwhile about his own power. (How love you who love him,) says St. Bernard. Our predecessors have deposed three kings of France, and after all that they did, we could depose him like a poor boy, (sicut unum parvulum,) with pain, indeed, and great sorrow, if the necessity should arise." Dupuy, Preuves, pp. 77, 78. (Withstanding the immorality of these latter words, the whole discourse is a concession on the pope's part, a step backward.

† Ordonna. l. p. 234.

‡ Id. ibid. p. 232.

§ Rymer, Act. Publ. R. pp. 982, 984. Ransomed, i. is p. 107.

¶ A Norman, Master Peter Dubois, attorney to the bull-

\* Oudegherott makes no mention of the fosse: undoubtedly, to exalt the glory of the Flemings.

† Incredible narratio est quanta robore, quantaque fortia, edidit hunc exercitum in fossa hunc nostrum excoptis, milleis ferreis plumbeisque mactaverunt. Meyer, p. 54.

‡ Id. p. 77.—See, above, a note at p. 234.

§ Guillelmus cognominis ab Helinge. . . . Tantum vires duxerunt et equites 60 praetoresque, hincque alii 1400 ex jugalibus gloriatis etc. Id. p. 56.

March, the king's man, Pierre Flotte's successor, the bold Gascon, Nogaret, read and signed a furious manifesto against Boniface :—\*

"The glorious prince of the apostles, the blessed Peter, speaking in the spirit, has told us that as in former times, so in those to come, there will arise false prophets who will sully the way of truth, and who, in their avarice, and by their deceitful words, will traffic in us, after the example of that Balaam who loved the wages of iniquity. Balaam had for correction and warning a brute creature, who, gifted with human speech, proclaimed the folly of the false prophet. . . . These things, which were announced by the father and patriarch of the Church, we see with our own eyes realized to the letter. In truth, there sits in the chair of the blessed Peter that master of lies, who although *Maleficent*, (*Mal-faisant*), in every possible way, is yet called *Beneficent*, (*Boniface*).† He did not enter through the gate

into our Lord's sheepfold, nor as a shepherd and laborer, but rather as a robber and thief. . . . Though the true bridegroom be alive, (*Celestine V.*) he has dared to wrong the bride by unlawful embraces. The true bridegroom has been no party to this divorce. In fact, as human laws say, *Nothing more opposed to consent than error*. . . . He cannot marry, who, while a worthy husband lives, has sullied marriage by adultery. Now, as what is committed against God is a wrong and injury to all, and as with regard to so great a crime, the testimony of the first comer ought to be received, *even that of the wife, even that of an infamous woman*—I, then, like the beast which, through the power of God, was gifted with the voice of a real man in order to reprove the folly of the false prophet who longed to curse the blessed people, address to you my supplication, most excellent prince, our Lord Philip, by the grace of God king of France, that after the example of the angel who presented the naked sword to this curser of God's people, you, who are anointed for the execution of justice, would oppose the sword to this other and more fatal Balaam, and hinder him from consummating the evil which he is preparing for the people."

No decisive step was taken. The king kept still tacking about. He allowed three bishops to justify his prohibition of the prelates' leaving the kingdom. The pope sent a legate to France, no doubt to feel the pulse of the clergy, and see if they would stir. Not one budged. The king told the legate that he would leave the question to the arbitrement of the dukes of Brittany and Burgundy, which was at once to flatter the nobility and secure their good-will, and to yield nothing. On this the pope addressed a bull to the legate, in which he declared the king excommunicated by the act of hindering the prelates from repairing to Rome.

The legate left the bull, and fled. The king seized two priests who had accompanied the legate when he brought it, and the ecclesiastics who copied it. The bull bore the date of the 13th of April. Two months afterwards—day for day—the two lawyers who succeeded Pierre Flotte, took the field against Boniface : Plasians was the accuser, Nogaret the executor. The first brought his charge against Boniface before the barons assembled in the states at the Louvre, and cited him to appear at a forthcoming council. Plasian added the charge of heresy to the previous charges;\* the king signed the citation; and Nogaret set out for Italy.

wick of Contances, had already been brought forward; and the opinion he delivered against the pope's claims is barbarous and fantastical in style, erudition, and logic to the extreme of pedantry. The following is the substance of this strange pamphlet of the fourteenth century.—After laying down the impossibility of a universal monarchy, and refuting the pretended instances of the Indian, Assyrian, Greek, and Roman empires, he quotes the law of Moses against covetousness and theft. "Now the pope covets and would take away the supreme liberty of the king, which is, and ever has been, to be subject to no one, and to command throughout his kingdom without fear of human control. Moreover, it cannot be denied, that since the recognition of *domains*, the usurpation of things possessed, especially of those which enjoy the prescription of an immemorial possession, is a mortal sin. Now the king of France has possessed the supreme jurisdiction and franchise of his temporalities above a thousand years. Likewise, the said king, since the time of Charlemagne, from whom he is descended, as may be seen in the canon *Antecessores*, possesses and has collated to prebends and the fruits of the custody of churches, not without title and through right acquired by occupancy, but by gift from pope Adrian, who, with the consent of the general council, conferred on Charlemagne these rights, and many others almost incomparably greater, to wit, that he and his successors might choose and nominate whomsoever they would, popes, cardinals, patriarchs, prelates, &c. . . . Besides, the pope can only claim supremacy over the kingdom of France as sovereign pontiff: but, did the supremacy belong of right to the papacy, it would have belonged to St. Peter and his successors, who have not claimed it. The king of France has a prescriptive right of twelve hundred and seventy years. Now a hundred years' possession, without a title, creates—according to a new constitution of the said pope—a prescriptive right against him and against the Roman church, and, according to the imperial laws, even against the empire. Therefore, if the pope or the emperor had had any right of servitude over the kingdom, which is not the case, their right would be extinct. . . . Besides, if the pope should rule that prescription does not hold against him, no more will it hold against others, and especially against princes, who own no superiors. Therefore the emperor of Constantinople, who endowed him with all his patrimony, (the donation being excessive, as being executed by a simple administrator of the goods of the empire,) as donor, or the emperor of Germany, as his surrogate, can revoke this donation. . . . And so the papacy would be reduced to its primitive poverty of the times anterior to Constantine, since this donation, null in law as to its principle, might be revoked but for the prescriptive right of long possession, *longissimi temporis*." Dupuy, pp. 13, 17.

\* He signs himself *Chancelier et Venerable Professeur en Droit*. He had, indeed, been knighted by the king in 1297; but he did not dare in an assembly of the nobles to style himself by so laughable a title. Dupuy, Preuves, p. 56.

\* Selet in cathedra beati Petri mendaciorum magister, sciens se, cum sit omnifario maleficus, Bonifacium nominari. Ibid. . . . Nec ad ejus excusationem . . . quod ab aliquibus dicitur post mortem dicti Celestini . . . car-

dinales in eum denuo convenire: cum ejus ante conatus non potuerit quam, primo viro vivo, fide digno congerere, constat per adulterium polluisse. Ibid. p. 57. . . . Ut nec angelus Domini propheta Balaam . . . occurrat gladii evaginatio in via, sic dicto postifero vos evaginatio gladii occurrere velit, ne possit malum perficere populo quasi intendit. Ibid.

\* "I, Guillaume de Plasians, knight, say, advocate, and affirm that Boniface, who now occupies the holy see, will be found a perfect heretic, according to the heresies, pernicious facts, and perverse doctrines hereafter mentioned"—*Ist*,

To support this definitive step the king was not contented with the consent of the states collectively, but addressed letters to each of the prelates, and to every church, city, and university. These letters were borne from province to province by the viscount of Narbonne and by the accuser himself, Plasian—\* "The king prays and requires your concurrence in the decision of the council—*nos requirunt consentire*."† It would not have been safe to have refused the accuser to his face. He brought back more than seven hundred signatures.‡ Every one signed, even those who the preceding year, after the king's defeat at Courtrai, had in his despite repaired to the pope. The seizure of the temporalities of the forty-five had been enough to bring them over to the king's party. With the exception of Cîteaux, which the pope had gained

over by a recent favor,\* and which was divided, all the monasteries gave Plasian letters of adhesion to the council.

Those bodies which had been the most favored by the pope—the university of Paris, the Dominicans of the same city, and the Minorites of Touraine, declared for the king. Some, indeed, as a prior of Cluny and a templar, adhere, but under protest, "*sub protestationibus*."‡

They still had a great dread of the pope; and the king was obliged, in return for their adhesion, to grant them letters by which he, the queen, and the young princes undertook to protect such, or such a one, who had adhered to the council.§ The monarch and the public bodies of the kingdom had as it were exchanged letters of guarantee with each other in this strait.||

On the 15th of August, Boniface issued a bull, to the effect that the pope alone had the right of summoning a council. He answered the charges of Plasian and of Nogaret; in particular, that of heresy, observing in regard to it, "Who ever heard of there being a heretic, I do not say in our family, but in our natal country, in Campania!"¶ This was an indirect reproach on Plasian and Nogaret, who came from the country of the Albigeois. It was even said that Nogaret's grandfather had been burnt.

The two accusers well knew all they had to fear. The pope's fury against Pierre Flotte must have enlightened them. Before the battle of Courtrai he had, in his address to the cardinals, thrown all the blame on the latter, and announced that he reserved to himself his spiritual and temporal punishment:\*\* which was offering the king a means of finishing the quarrel by the sacrifice of the chancellor. He perished at Courtrai; but how much the more had not his two successors to fear after their audacious accusations! And, accordingly, on the 7th of March, five days before the first manifesto, Nogaret had procured from the king

he does not believe in the immortality of the soul: 3d. he does not believe in life everlasting, for he says that he would rather be a dog, ass, or any other brute than a Frenchman; which he would not say, did he believe that a Frenchman has an eternal soul.—He does not believe in the real presence, for he adorns his throne more magnificently than the altar.—He has said that to humble his majesty and the French, he would turn the whole world topsy turvy.—He has approved of Arnaut de Villeneuve's book, condemned by the bishop and the university of Paris.—He has had silver statues of himself erected in the churches.—He has a familiar demon: for he has said that if all mankind were on one side, and he alone on the other, he could not be mistaken either in point of fact or of right, which presupposes a diabolical art.—He has advanced in his public preaching that the Roman pontiff cannot commit simony; which is heretical to say.—Like a confirmed heretic, who claims the true faith as his alone, he has termed the French, notoriously a most Christian people, *Papistes*.—He is a sodomite.—He has had many clerks killed in his presence, saying to his guards if they did not kill them at the first blow, "Strike, strike, kill, kill!"—He has compelled priests to violate the secrets of the confessional.—He observes neither vigils nor fasts.—He invigils against the college of cardinals, the orders of black and white monks, and of the preaching brothers and brothers minor, often repeating that the world was being ruined by them, that they were false hypocrites, and that nothing good would happen to whosoever confessed to them.—Seeking to destroy the faith, he has conceived an old aversion against the king of France, in hatred of the faith, because in France there is and ever was the splendor of faith, the grand support and example of Christendom.—He has raised all against the house of France, England, Germany, confirming to the king of Germany the title of emperor, and proclaiming that he did so to destroy the pride of the French, who boasted that they were subject to no one in temporal things, adding that they lied in their throat, perdition! and declaring that if an angel should descend from heaven, and say that they were subject neither to him nor the emperor, it would be anathema.—He has allowed the Holy Land to be lost . . . converting to other uses the money destined to its defence.—He is publicly recognized as a simoniac, much more, as the source and basis of simony, selling benefices to the highest bidder, imposing on the church and on the bishop worthless and the *taille*, in order to enrich his family and friends with the patrimony of the Church, and to make them marquises, counts, barons.—He dissolves marriages . . . he annuls the vows of nuns . . . he has said that he will shortly make all the French martyrs of simony." &c. (Dupuy, *Preuves*, pp. 166-167, and also pp. 226-246, 350-362.)

\* The prior and monks of the brother preachers of Montjoie objecting that they could not sign without the express orders of their prior general who was at Paris, the king's agents said that they wished to have the resolution of each, individually and secretly *en particulier et en secret*. The monks still declining they were ordered to leave the kingdom within three days. They drew up a formal statement of the facts and entered a protest against the proceedings. (Dupuy, *Preuves* p. 124.)

† *Id. ibid.* p. 166.

‡ *Id. ibid.* du Duff. p. 19.

\* Dupuy, *Preuves*, p. 85.

† In 1265, Boniface released them from all ecclesiastical jurisdiction, without any regard to the desecration of the French clergy. (Bulson, iii. 511.) He was ever increasing their privileges. *Ibid.* pp. 516, 545.—As regards the university, Philippe le Bel had gained it over by repeated favors. *Ibid.* pp. 546, 544. And so he had its support in all his fiscal measures against the clergy. From the very beginning of the struggle, it was forced to the king's side by Boniface himself—"Universitates que in his culpabilibus hereticis, ecclesiasticis supplicium interdictum." We put under interdict of the church all universities which have erred in these matters. Bull, *Gerarda Lances*. Accordingly, the university declared loudly for the king—"We give in our adhesion to the king's appeal and commit ourselves and our university to the divine providence, and to the decision of the universal general council, and of the future true and lawful pope." (Dupuy, *Preuves* pp. 117, 119.)

‡ *Id. ibid.* pp. 124-127.

§ *Id. ibid.* pp. 112, 114.

|| See all these Acts in Dupuy, *Preuves*, pp. 119-140.

¶ *Quis nescit de cognatione nostra (sunt de toto Christianismo) unde cognatione distinet, nescit hoc nescire?* *Id. ibid.* p. 166.

\*\* *Et videmus quod hic Achilles, iste Priamus, pantheus temporaliter et opportuniter, sed regimine Deum quod regit, ut cum nobis pantheus dicitur justum est.* *Id. ibid.* p. 77.



full powers; in fact, a *carte-blanche* to treat and to do whatever was requisite.\* He started for Italy with this weapon, personally interested in employing it for the destruction of the pope. He hurried to Florence, to the French king's banker, who was to furnish him with whatever money he required; and having as his companion the Ghibeline of Ghibelines, Boniface's exile and victim, a man sworn to damnation to compass the pope's death, Sciarra Colonna, an invaluable man for a sudden stroke. This king of the Sabine mountaineers, of the *banditti* of the Roman campagna, was so well aware of what he had to expect from the pope, that when he fell into the hands of corsairs, he preferred toiling at the oar for years to telling his name at the risk of being sold to Boniface.†

After the bull of the 15th of August, it was to be supposed that Boniface would launch the sentence which had dethroned so many kings, and declare Philippe's subjects released from their oath to him. Being reconciled with the emperor Albert, he had a king ready for France. Perhaps, he was for renewing in the house of Capet the tragic history of the house of Swabia. The bull was, indeed, prepared by the 5th of September. It was necessary to anticipate it, and to blunt this weapon in the pope's hands by apprizing him of the appeal to the council; and, moreover, to apprise him of it at Anagni, his natal city, where he had taken refuge in the midst of his relatives and friends, and of a population that had just dragged in the mud the flag and lilies of France.‡ Nogaret was no warrior; but he had money. He gained over some of the inhabitants who supplied him with intelligence, and Supino, captain of Ferentino, a city hostile to Anagni, sold himself to him for ten thousand florins, (the receipt is extant,§) "covenanting to pursue Boniface alive or dead."|| Colonna, then, and Supino, with three hundred horse, and a large body of infantry, either their own "following," or French soldiers, introduced Nogaret into Anagni with cries of "Death to the pope; long live the king of France!"¶ The townsmen ring the alarm-bell; but having chosen for their captain one of Boniface's enemies,\*\* he holds out the right hand of fellowship to

the assailants, and turns to plunder the palace of the cardinals; who make their escape by the windows. The townsmen, unable to hinder this pillage, join in it. The pope, finding his palace about to be forced, obtains a moment's truce and sends notice to the townsmen, who plead their inability to assist him. On this this once haughty man applied to Colonna himself; who insisted on his abdicating and surrendering at discretion. "Alas!" exclaimed Boniface, "these are hard words."¶ Meanwhile, the assailing party had burnt down a church which covered the palace. The pope's own nephew deserted him, and made terms for himself. This last stroke broke down the aged pope—bowed with the weight of eighty-six years, and he gave way to tears.† While these things are going on, the doors are burst open, the windows dashed in, and the crowd enters. They threaten and insult the old man. He makes no reply. They summon him to abdicate. His answer is, "Here is my throat—here is my head."‡

According to Villani, he exclaimed as his foes drew near, "Betrayed like Jesus, I shall die, but I will die pope;" and arraying himself in the mantle of St. Peter, placing the cross of Constantine on his head, and holding in one hand a crucifix, in the other the keys, he awaited them, seated on his pontifical throne.§

It is said that Colonna struck the old man on the cheek with his iron gauntlet.|| Nogaret addressed him in words as sharp as a sword—"O thou sorry pope, confess and acknowledge the goodness of my lord, the king of France, who, far as is his kingdom from thee, preserves and defends thee through me."¶ The pope's courageous answer was, "Thou comest of a heretic family, and I expect martyrdom at thy hands."\*\*

quidem . . . illis ignorantibus, dominus papa exivit capitalis inimicus. Dupuy, Preuves, p. 194; Walsingham, Eccl. ann. 1303.

\* "Heu me; durus hic sermo!" Ibidem.

† Tandem Marchio, nepos pape . . . reddidit se Sciarre et capitaneo memorato, ad conditione ut vitam ipsius et filii sui salvarent servientiumque suorum. Quibus auditis pape flevit amare. Ibidem.

‡ Raptis ostiis et fenestris palatii pape, et pluribus locis igne supposito, per vim ad papam exercitum est ingressus. quem tunc permultis verbis contumeliosis sunt aggraves. uine etiam et a pluribus sunt illata. Sed pape nihil respondit. Enimvero cum ad rationem positus esset, an vellet renunciare papatu, constanter respondit non, immo citius vellet perdere caput suum, dicens in suo vulgari—"Ecco il collo, ecco il capo." Ibidem.

§ "De che per tradimento como Jesu Christo voglio essere preso, convenianni morire, almeno voglio morire come papa." E di presente si fece parare dell' armato di suo Piero, e con la corona di Constantino in capo, e con le chiavi e croce in mano e posati a sedere come in sedia papale. Villani, l. viii. c. 62.

|| The chronicler of St. Denys says, (Dupuy, Preuves, p. 191,) "And he would have been twice struck by one of the Colonna, (d'un des chevaliers de la Colonna.) had not a French knight interfered. . . ." Nicolas Gilles (1647) adds, "The pope was twice on the point of being slain by one of the Colonna, had not these present prevented it; however, he struck him on the face with his gauntleted hand until the blood streamed down." Ap. Dupuy, Preuves, p. 190.

¶ Chron. de St. Denys, ap. Dupuy, Preuves, p. 191.

\*\* Dupuy, Hist. du Mif. p. 52.

\* Philippus, Del gratia . . . Guillelmo de Nogareto . . . plenam et liberam rerum presentium committimus potestatem, ratum habituri et gratum, quicquid factum fuerit in premissis, et ea tangentibus, seu dependentibus ex eadem. . . . Id. ibid. p. 175.

† Petrus, Ep. 4, l. ii. ad Famil. ap. Dupuy, Hist. du Mif. p. 6.

‡ Ut conditionem fecerint eidem domino Guillelmo et equitibus suis, ac trahere fecerunt per Anagninam vexillum ac insignia dicti domini Regis favore et adiutorio illius Bonifacii. Dupuy, Preuves, p. 175.

§ Id. ibid. pp. 694-610.

|| Guillelmus, predictus aueruit dictum dominum Raynaldum de Supino, esse benevolum, sollicitum et fidelem . . . tam in vita ipsius Bonifacii quam in morte . . . et ipsum dominum Guillelmum recepit tam in vita quam in morte Bonifacii predicti. Id. ibid. p. 175.

\*\* "Mora pape Bonifacio, e viva il Re di Francia." Villani, l. viii. c. 63.

¶ Pulcra communi campana, et tractatu habito, elegerunt sibi capitaneum quendam Arnulphum. . . . Qui

Colonna would willingly have put Boniface to death, had not the mass of the law interfered,\* fearful of being too deeply compromised by so sudden a death. He did not choose the prisoner to die in his hands. But, on the other hand, it was hardly possible to take him with him into France.† Fearful of poison, Boniface refused all food; and persisted in so doing for three days, at the end of which time the people of Anagni, perceiving how few the strangers were, rose up, expelled the French, and delivered their pope.

It was too late; the blow had been fatal to the old man. He was borne into the public square, weeping like an infant. "He thanked God and the people for his deliverance, and said, 'Good people, you have seen how my enemies have carried off all that I had, as well as all that belonged to the Church, and have left me poor as Job. I tell you truly that I have nothing either to eat or to drink, and have remained fasting up to this hour. If there be any good woman who will bestow on me alms of bread, or wine, or of a little water if she have no wine, I will bestow on her God's blessing and mine. Whoever will bring me the least thing to relieve my wants, I will give him absolution for all his sins.' . . . Then all the people began to cry out, 'Long live our holy father;' and the women hastened in crowds to the palace, bearing bread, wine, or water, and, not finding vessels, they poured all into a coffer. . . . All could enter and speak with the pope, as with any other poor man.‡

"The pope gave the people absolution for all their sins, saving for the plunder of the goods of the Church and of the cardinals. His own property he let them keep; however, a part of it was restored to him. He afterwards protested before all, that he desired peace with the Colonnas and all his enemies. Then he set out for Rome, with a great guard of armed men." But when he arrived at St. Peter's and was no longer supported by the sense of danger, the fear and the fasting which he had undergone, the loss of his money, the insolent triumph of

his enemies, and the feelings of infinite humiliation sustained by an infinite power, rushed simultaneously to his mind, his aged brain could not bear the tumult of his thoughts, and he lost his reason.

He had thrown himself into the hands of the Orsini, as being the enemies of the Colonna; but he was, or thought that he was, still in their power. Whether they sought to conceal from the people the scandal of an heretical pope, or had come to an understanding with the Colonna to keep him prisoner, it so happened that when Boniface was about to repair to other barons, the two cardinals Orsini barred his passage and forced him to go back. His madness was wound up into phrensy; he foamed at the mouth and gnashed his teeth, and from this moment refused all food. And when one of his friends, Jacobo of Pisa, said to him, "Holy father, recommend yourself to God and to the Virgin Mary, and receive Christ's body," Boniface gave him a box on the ear, and exclaimed, confounding Latin with Italian—*Allonta de Dio et de Sancta Maria! nolo, nolo.* (Away with God and Holy Mary! I won't, I won't.) He drove from his presence two Minim friars who brought him the viaticum, and expired an hour afterwards without having communicated or confessed. Thus was verified his predecessor, Celestine's, saying of him—"Thou hast clomb like a fox, thou shalt reign like a lion, thou shalt die like a dog."§

Other details relative to his death have come down to us, but more suspicious still, in a memoir breathing furious hate against him, and which would seem to have been fabricated by the Plasians and Nogareti, to spread among the populace immediately on that event—"The life, state, and condition of Pope Malefice, related by people worthy of credit. On the 9th of October, Pharaoh, aware that his hour drew nigh, confessed that he had entertained commerce with familiar demons, who had been the instigators of all his crimes. On the following day and night such loud thunders were heard, accompanied by such fearful tempests, and such numbers of black birds were seen clamoring with fearful cries, that all in alarm kept crying out, 'Lord Jesus, have mercy, have mercy upon us.' All believed these birds to be demons from hell, who had come for this Pharaoh's soul. On the 10th, when his friends related to him what had taken place, and warned him to think of his soul . . . possessed by the devil, he threw himself upon the priest, all raging and gnashing his teeth, as if to devour him. The priest fled as hastily as possible to the church. . . . Then, without saying a word, he turned himself on the other side . . . As he was borne to his chair he was seen to cast his eyes on the stone of his ring, and he exclaimed—"Oh, you evil spirits enclosed in this stone, you who have seduced me, why do you abandon me now?"

\* *Lettres Justificatives de Nogaret, Dupuy, Prevost, p. 264.*

† Nogaret had threatened to take him bound hand and foot to Lyons, there to be judged and deposed by a General Council. Villani, l. viii. c. 63, ap. Dupuy, Prevost, p. 187.

‡ *Tunc populus fecit papam deponit in magnam phylaxem, ubi papa lacrymando populo predicavit, inter cunctas gratias agens Deo et populo Anagnino de vita sua. Tandem in fine sermonis dicit: "Bonum habetis et audieris, constat vobis qualiter istum meum venientem et absterendum omnia fecimus, et non tantum meum, sed et omnia bona Ecclesie, et me illi pauperem sicut Job fecerit desiderant. Propter quod dico vobis veraciter, quod istum habetis ad commendandum vel liberandum, et populus remanet usque ad presentem. Et si est aliqua bona mulier que me velit de sua pecunia elemosynare, la puer vel virum, et si vultis non habuerit, de aqua perambulans, dabit et benedictionem Dei et ceterum." . . . Tunc cunctos hoc et sic papa clamavit: "Virgo, Mater sancta! Et nunc cunctos mulieres currete corripit ad palatium, ad liberandum illum papam, virum vel aquam. . . . Et cum omnia invenerunt vacua ad palatium illud, frustrentur virum et aquam in terra cunctos, in magna quantitate. Et tunc prout quique ingreditur eum papa loquit, sicut cum alio paupere. Walsingham, ap. Dupuy, Prevost, p. 188.*

§ Dupuy, Prevost, p. 265.

And he threw his ring from him. His malady and his rage increasing, and hardened in his iniquity, he confirmed all his acts against the king of France and his servants, and published them anew. . . . His friends, to sooth his sufferings, had brought him the son of Master James of Pisa, whom he was wont to love to hold in his arms, as if to boast of his sin . . . but at the sight of the child, he threw himself upon him, and would have bit off his nose, had he not been taken from him. Finally, the said Pharaoh, encompassed with tortures by the Divine vengeance, died on the 12th, unconfessed, and having given no sign of faith; and on this day, there were so many thunderings, tempests, and dragons in the air vomiting flames, so many lightnings and prodigies, that the Roman people thought that the whole city was on the point of sinking into the abyss."<sup>1</sup>

Dante, notwithstanding his violent invective against the murderers of this pontiff, gives him a place in his hell. In the 19th canto of the *Inferno*, Nicholas III., plunged head downwards in flames, hears a voice, and exclaims— "Art thou, then, already up there, thou, already, Boniface! I have been misled as to thy fate by many years. Art thou, then, so soon satiated with what thou hast not feared feloniously to ravish, with the beautiful Spouse, to lay waste and ruin her!"<sup>2</sup>

Boniface's successor, Benedict XI., a man of mean birth, but of great merit, whom the Orsini had made pope, did not feel himself very strong on his accession. He received with a good grace the congratulations of the king of France, brought by Plasian, the accuser of the last pope. Philippe felt that his enemy was not so far dead, but that he might strike some new blow. He carried on the war à l'outrance, so that the pope a memorial against Boniface which might pass for a bitter satire on the court of Rome,<sup>3</sup> and wrote to himself by his lawyers a *Supplication of the French people to the king against Boniface*. This important paper, drawn up in the vulgar tongue, was rather an appeal from the king to the people, than a supplication of the people to the king.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Dupuy, Preuves, p. 5. Walsingham, writing under a contrary influence, exaggerates the crimes of Boniface's enemies. According to him, Colonna, Supino, and the French king's seneschal seized the pope, placed him on a horse without a bridle, and set him off until the breath was nearly out of his body; after this, they would have starved him to death but for the people of Anagni. Walsingham, ap. Dupuy, Preuves, p. 135.

<sup>2</sup> . . . Per lo qual non temesti torre a inganno  
La bella donna e di poi farne strazio?"

*Inferno*, c. xix.

<sup>3</sup> The mode in which this memorial is drawn up is whimsical. Each charge is preceded by an eulogium on the court of Rome, as follows:—"The holy fathers used not to hush up treasure, but distributed to the poor the goods of the churches. Boniface, on the contrary," &c. This formula prevails throughout the whole paper. One might doubt whether the king could be in earnest in attributing thus to one pope all the abuses of the papacy. Dupuy, Preuves, pp. 209, 210.

<sup>4</sup> "Most noble prince, our sire, by the grace of God king of France, we, the people of your kingdom, supplicate and beseech you, since it is needful, to preserve the sovereignty

On the contrary, Benedict had shown himself at first inclined to hush up this great business by issuing pardons to all involved in it, with the exception of Nogaret only. But to pardon them was to declare them guilty; and this offensive clemency would have affixed a stigma on the king, the Colonna, and the prelates who had repaired to Rome on Boniface's summons.

Philippe, overwhelmed at the time by his war with Flanders, had much to fear. The great number of the cardinals refused to adhere to his appeal to the council; the pope threatened, and the king was constrained to seek the absolution which he had at first disdained. Was he serious in seeking it? One would be tempted to doubt this on seeing that Plasian and Nogaret were the messengers who bore his application to the pope. Probably, Nogaret had secured the mission in order to break off an arrangement which could only be perfected at a

(sovereign franchise) of your kingdom, according to which you recognise no temporal sovereign on earth except God, and to proclaim that pope Boniface manifestly erred in committing deadly sin, to wit, by issuing bulls to the effect that he was sovereign over your temporalities. . . . Likewise . . . to proclaim the said pope, heretic. . . . It can be proved beyond dispute, so that no one can give a reply to the contrary, that the pope was never your temporal lord (seigneur). . . . When God the Father had created heaven and the four elements, and had made Adam and Eve, he said to them and their descendants, "Where your foot shall tread, that shall be thine," (Quod calcaverit pes tuus, manebit). . . . That is to say, he willed that each man should be the lord of what ground he should occupy. So the sons of Adam divided the land, and were its lords three thousand years and more before Melchisedek, who was the first priest that was king, as history tells: but he was not king of all the world; and the people being obedient to him as king over temporal things, and not as priest, he was as much king as priest. After his death it was a long time, six hundred years or more, before any other became priest. And God the Father, who gave the Law to Moses, made him ruler over his people Israel; and commanded him to make his brother Aaron high-priest, and his son after him. And Moses trusted and committed when he was about to die, by God's commandment, the lordship of temporal things not to the high-priest his brother, but to Joshua, without demur from his brother or his son after him; but they left the tabernacle. . . . and they aided each other in defacing the temporal kingdom. . . . That God who knows all things, present and to come, commanded their prince Joshua, to divide the land between these eleven tribes, and ordered that the tribe of priests should have instead of their share the tithes and first fruits of all, and should remain without land, so that they might the more profitably serve God and pray for this people. And then, when this people of Israel asked a king from our Lord, or asked through the prophet Samuel, he did not give them the high-priest Saul for king, but Saul, who was taller than all the people by the head and shoulders. . . . (an allusion to Philippe-le-Bel.) So that there was no king in Jerusalem over the people of God who was priest, but they had a king and a high priest distinct from each other, and the one had enough to do to govern the petty people in temporal things, and the other spiritual, and all the priests were obedient to the king in temporal matters. Afterwards, our Lord Jesus Christ was High Priest, and we do not find it written that he had ever any temporal possessions. . . . After Him, St. Peter . . . Great admiration was it to hear that this Boniface, as regards God's saying to St. Peter, "What thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven," understood this which was spoken spiritually, perversely, like a Bulgarian (heretic) of temporal things. Greater need was there that he should know Arabic, Chaldee, Greek, Hebrew, and all other languages, of which there are many Christians who do not think like the Church of Rome. . . . You, noble king . . . defender of the faith, destroyer of Bulgarian, can, and ought, and are bound to require and to procure that the said Boniface be held and judged as a heretic, and punished after what fashion can and should be devised after his death." Dupuy, Hist. du Diff. pp. 214-218.

ie. The choice of such an ambassador minister look. The pope's wrath burst and he issued a furious bull of excommunication—"Forasmuch as shocking wickedness cursed crime have been perpetrated by accursed men, who have nefariously of- against the person of Pope Boniface of pious memory.\* . . ."

the bull seemed to include the king. It published on the 7th of June, (1304.) By the 1st of July, Benedict was a corpse. It is said that a veiled lady, who stated herself to be sister attached to the convent of St. Peter at Perugia, presented to him, while at a basket of *figues-fleurs*,† (figs, the earliest produce of the season.) He partook largely of fruit, of which he was known to be fond, and, in a few days, died. No inquiry instituted by the cardinals, who feared that their person might be too easily discovered, death happened opportunely for Philippe, led to extremity by the war with Flanders. He had been unable to hinder the Flemings from leaving France, burning Terouanne, and laying to Tournai,‡ (A. D. 1303,) which town was saved by asking a truce and releasing Count Guy—on the condition, however, that he was to return to prison if peace was not concluded. The old man thanked his Flemings, blessed his sons, and returned in his eightieth year, in his prison of Regne.

1304, at the very time the pope died so usefully for him, Philippe made a desperate attempt to end the war. He had raised some money by the sale of privileges, particularly in Flanders, thus favoring the communes of the North in order to crush those of the South. He had Genese mercenaries into his pay, and had a naval victory with their galleys, in the English Channel, (August.) This did not lower the pride of the Flemings, who reckoned themselves a brave thousand, Flanders having for the first time assembled all her forces in common; the towns of all the towns—Ghent, Bruges, Ypres, and Courtrai—being collected into one.

At its head were the old count's three sons, his cousin, Guillaume de Juliers, and Count of the Low Country and German Flanders. Philippe, having forced the passage of the Scheldt, found them furmida- bly intrenched in a double line of baggage-cars and pro- wags, near Mons-en-Puelle. Taught by the battle of Courtrai, he attacked them, not with his *gendarmes*, but with his Gascon

foot-soldiers,\* who all day long kept them so on the alert under a burning sun, that they had not a moment to eat or drink: their provisions were in the wagons. Exasperated by this long fast, they lost all patience, and, when evening came, sallied out on the French by their three sally-posts. The latter were in their quarters not thinking of them; and the king was without his armor, and preparing to sit down to table. At first, this onset of wild-boars overthrew every thing. But when the Flemings entered the tents and saw so many good things to take, they could not be kept together: each was for coming in for his share. Meanwhile the French rallied; and their cavalry made a fearful slaughter of the plunderers, leaving six thousand dead on the field.

The king proceeded to lay siege to Lille; not doubting of the submission of the Flemings. He was exceedingly astonished by the reap- pearance of their sixty thousand men, as if they had not lost a single soldier in the late conflict.† "It rains Flemings," was his ex- clamation. The French nobles, who did not care to fight with these head-long men, advised the king to come to terms with them. He had to restore them their count, the son of the aged Guy, and to promise his grandson the county of Rethel, his wife's inheritance; but he kept French Flanders, and was to receive two hundred thousand livres.

There was nothing definitive in all this. It was not specified whether he was to retain the province‡ as a security, or in perpetuity: and the money was not paid down, (it was to be furnished by instalments.) On the other hand, too, the affair of the pope was embroiled rather than settled. After all, the sudden death of Benedict XI. was but an unlucky piece of good fortune.§

\* Meyer, folio 104.

† This army had been organized and admirably equipped in less than three weeks. The wealthy manufacturers, abandoning their looms and furnaces, had enrolled themselves in it in defence of the property which they were sure would be restored with the loss of their liberty.—TRANSLATOR.

‡ French Flanders consisted of those districts beyond the Scheldt in which the French language was vernacularly spoken; to which the treaty added the cities of Douai and Lille, with their dependencies.—TRANSLATOR.

§ Benedict drew a just and easy comparison between the quarrels of Philippe-le-Bel and those of Louis XIV. with the Holy See: "Each of these quarrels was carried on with three popes, successively. The first, with whom the difference originated, died in the very thick of the quarrel, (Boniface VIII.—Innocent XI.) The second (Benedict XI., Boniface's successor, and Alexander VIII., Innocent's suc- cessor) meeting with consciousness on the part of France, patched up the dispute with due reserves, however, so as to save the pretensions of the court of Rome. The third (Clement V. and Innocent XII.) concluded the business. On the part of France, our king saw each quarrel end from beginning to end, (Philippe-le-Bel—Louis XIV.) Each quarrel seems to have originated on account of a bishop of Flanders. The prerogative of the crown had something to do with both; and in both, appeals were made to a future council. . . . In both, the attachment of the members of the Gallian Church to the king was almost equal. The clergy, the universities, the monks, and the mendicants blen- ded themselves with the king's interests, and espoused in the appeal. In each quarrel, ambassadors were excom- municated, and their masters threatened. The banishment

glossum scilicet et excoletum flagitium quod quidem debet videri, cumque excoletis debet in personam excoletur Bonifacius VIII. . . . Id. ibid. pp. 292, 293. nom. Hist. des Français, t. II. p. 147. Id. Rep. Ital. 292. Villani, l. viii. c. 90. p. 410. &c. A terrible year, 1303, is characterized by the silence registers of parliament. We read, under the year 1303, *propter guerram Flandrie non fuit curia*. (No parliament was held that year on account war with Flanders.) Otton, III. folio viii. Archives vives, section Justiciere.

A famine, the imprudent imposition of a maximum on the price of corn, and a forcible search for it, roused the discontent of the people. They began to talk. A clerk of the university talked loud, and was hung. A poor Beguine of Metz, who had founded an order of nuns, was vouchsafed a revelation of the chastisements which Heaven reserved for wicked kings. Charles of Valois had her taken up; and, to compel her to say that her inspiration had been from the devil, had her feet burnt.\* But all believed in the prophecy when in the year following a comet of unusual splendor made its appearance.†

Philippe-le-Bel had returned a victor and a ruined man. He repaired in solemn procession to Notre-Dame, amidst a famished people, murmuring curses. He entered the church on horse-back, and in thanks to God for his escape when the Flemings surprised him, he made a devout offering of an equestrian statue of himself, armed at all points: it was to be seen in Notre-Dame, shortly before the revolution, by the side of the colossal St. Christopher.

Nogaret did not forget himself; but triumphed after his own fashion. Receipts of his are ex-  
tant—proving that his salary was raised from five to eight hundred livres.‡

### CHAPTER III.

#### GOLD.—THE TREASURY.—THE TEMPLARS.

"GOLD," says Christopher Columbus, "is an excellent thing. With gold, one forms treasures. With gold, one does whatever one wishes in this world. Even souls can be got to Paradise by it."§

The epoch to which we are come, must be considered the advent of gold. We are coming in presence of the god of the new world.—Philippe-le-Bel hardly ascends the throne be-

fore he removes the priests from his council; install the bankers there.\*

Far be it from us to speak ill of gold. Compared with feudal property, with land, gold is a superior form of wealth. Of small compass, exchangeable, divisible, easily handled and concealed, it is wealth subtilized—I was about to say, spiritualized. So long as wealth was unmoveable, man, bound and, as it were, rooted to the spot by it, had scarcely any more scope for movement than the mere soil over which he crawled. Ownership was a dependency on the soil: the land took possession of the man. It is the reverse now-a-days: man carries of the land, concentrated and represented by gold. The docile metal subserves transactions of all kinds: facile and fluid, it adapts itself to every kind of circulation, commercial and administrative. Government, obliged to act rapidly at distant points, in a thousand different ways, finds the precious metals its most efficient agents. The sudden creation of a government at the beginning of the fifteenth century, created a sudden and insatiable want of gold and silver.

With Philippe-le-Bel is born the monster, the giant,—the exchequer; thirsty, hungry, and sharpset. It cries out as it is born, like Rabelais' Garagantua—meat, drink. This fearful infant, whose ravenous hunger cannot be satisfied, will, at need, eat flesh and drink blood. It is the Cyclops, the ogre, the devouring *gorguille* of the Seine.† The grand council is the monster's head; its long claws are the parliaments; its stomach, the chamber of accounts, (*Chambre des Comptes*.) The only food that can satisfy it, is precisely that which the people cannot provide it with. Treasury and people have but one cry—gold.

See, in Aristophanes, how the blind and inert Plutus is teased by his worshippers. They prove to him, without any trouble, that he is the God of gods. All the gods give way to him. Jupiter confesses that without him he would die of hunger.‡ Mercury quits his trade of God, enters Plutus' service, turns the spit, and washes the dishes.

This enthronement of gold in the place of God, is renewed in the fourteenth century. The difficulty is to draw out this lazy gold from the obscure nooks in which it slumbers. The history of the *thesaurus* would be a curious one, from the time that it kept itself buried under the dragon of Colchis, of the *Hyperides*, or of the *Nibelungen*; from its sleep in the temple of Delphos, and in the palace of Persepolis. Alexander, Carthage, Rome wakes

of the Jews, and the destruction of the Templars by Philippe-le-Bel present, too, a certain analogy with the extirpation of the Huguenots and the destruction of the nuns of the Enfance." Baillet, *Hist. des Démones*, &c.

\* Contin. Nangli, p. 37.

† This is Halley's comet, which re-appears at intervals of from seventy-five to seventy-six years. It is supposed to have appeared for the first time at the birth of Mithridates, 130 years before the Christian era. Justin (l. 37) says that for eighty days it almost eclipsed the sun. It re-appeared c. n. 330; and in 530, when Rome was taken by Totila. It was of extraordinary brilliancy in 1305; and, in 1456, its tail extended two-thirds of the space between the horizon and the zenith; in 1682, its tail was still thirty degrees long; in 1750, it was so reduced as only to attract the notice of astronomers. These facts appear to warrant the supposition that comets grow fainter until they finally disappear. Halley's comet was last seen in 1835. *Annuaire du Bureau des Longitudes*, pour 1835. See, also, a paper on this comet by M. de Pontécoulant.

‡ D. Vaissette, *Hist. du Languedoc*, t. iv. note xi. p. 117.

§ Columbus's Letter to Ferdinand and Isabella, after his fourth voyage. Navarette, *Histoire*, t. iii. p. 152.

\* Throughout his reign Philippe-le-Bel retained amongst his ministers the two Florentine bankers, Biondo and Nicolo, sons of Guido Franceschi. Raymond, *Hist. des Français*, t. viii. p. 430.

† See, above, p. 165.

‡ 'Αφ' οὗ γὰρ δὲ Πλούτος αὐτὸς ἐξάρτε βαλάντιον, Ἀπόλλων' ἐνὸς ἡμερῶν.

Aristoph. *Plutus*, v. 1176.

See, also, verses 123, 133, 1158, and 1160-1169.

use it.\* In the middle age it has fallen in ancient slumber—but, in the churches, to secure its better rest, it takes a form; cross, cope, or reliquary. Who is bold enough to drag it thence; who is light enough to deary it in the earth which it loves to bury itself! What magi-ill evoke, will profane this sacred thing, is worth all things, this blind omnipo-which gives nature!†

middle age cannot so soon attain the modern idea—*man can create wealth*; he does, by changing a worthless man into a costly object, and gifting it with wealth which he has in himself, that of art, of an intelligent will. At first he wealth less in form than in matter; and desperately on this matter, tormented with a furious love, asked her—all that she the beloved object, for life, for immity.‡ But, despite the marvellous for- of the Lullys and Flamels, the gold, so bound, only showed itself to take to flight, saving the bellows-blower out of breath: melted away without pity, and melted the blower's substance, his soul, his life, at the bottom of the crucible.§

unhappy wretch, abandoning now all hope in power, denied himself and renounced f, soul and God. He evoked ill—the King of the subterranean abysses, the was beyond doubt the king of gold. See

h of the great revolutions of the world has been by a sudden influx of gold. The Phœceans draw it to the temple of Delphi; Alexander out of the palace pools; Rome forces it out of the hands of the last of her successors; and Caries wrenches it from Amench of these periods, was, is marked by a sudden not only in the price of provisions, but in ideas and as well. But, however violently gold may be into Europe, it is also strangely attracted elsewhere. A flux and reflux. Asia, whatever we may do, calls to herself. Rome paid her, in tributes to luxury, as its tax-gatherers forced away. In our time, as Asia will only take gold in exchange for her mus- the gold which England pumps out of Europe or is gradually buried in Asia. American pirates into Louis, Napoleon, and sovereigns, are fated to lading the pagodas and idols of China and Japan. Ampère's article on M. Abel Bonumet, *Revue des* London, 1833.

a original is "cette toute puissance aveugle qui a nature"—should it be *gave*, "given or yielded by"—TRANSLATOR.

ultimate object of alchemy was not so much to find to obtain pure gold, potable gold, the beverage of dity. The wonderful tale went round of a Sicilian us, who, having found, buried in the earth, in king's time, a flask of gold, drank the liquor, and was to youth. Roger Bacon, (*opus Majus*, p. 688)

Raymond Lully, so ran the traditions of the sea, crossed over to England, and made six millions in the tower of London. It was coined into rose which are still called *Raymond's nobles*. It is said *Monstrum Thotomatum*, published under his name, at one operation, converted fifty thousand pounds of mercury, lead, and tin into gold.—Pope John to whom Pagi attributes a treatise on *The Art of nitrate*, tells in it that at Avignon he had trans-1000 ingots, each weighing a quintal, that is to say, pounds weight of gold. Was this his way of say- for the enormous wealth heaped up in his cellars? ver, they were compelled to grant to each other that d, which they obtained in quintals, had nothing of the color.

at Nôtre-Dame de Paris, and on so many churches besides, the melancholy representa- tion of the poor man who gives his soul for gold, who enfeoffs himself to the devil, kneels before the Beast, and kisses the velvet paw. . . .

The devil, persecuted along with the Mani- cheans and the Albigeois, and, like them, ex- pelled from the towns, lived then in the desert. He pranced over the heath with Macbeth's witches. Witchcraft, the disgusting abortion of the old conquered religions, had, however, the merit of being an appeal, not only to nature, like alchemy, but to will; it is true, to bad will, to the devil. It was an ill mode of industry, which, unable to extract from will the treas- ures that it contains by its alliance with na- ture, essayed to gain by violence and crime what labor, patience, and intelligence, alone can give.

In the middle age, he who knows where gold is, the true alchemist, the true witch, is the Jew; or the demi-Jew, the Lombard.\* The Jew, the unclean man, the man who can touch neither food nor woman, but both must be burnt, the man born for insult, and on whom the whole world spits,† is the man to be applied to.

Foul and prolific nation, endowed with all others with the multiplying force, with the force which engenders, which fecundates at will Ja- cob's sheep or Shylock's sequins! During the whole of the middle age, persecuted, expelled, recalled, they were the indispensable interme- diaries between the exchequer and its victim, between the doer and the sufferer, pumping out gold from below, and pouring it out above into the king's hands with frightful grimaces.‡ . . . But some of it always stuck by them. . . . Patient, indestructible, they have conquered by lastingness.§ They have resolv-

\* As regards money, the Jews are said only to have limited the Lombards, their predecessors. Maratori, *Antiquit.* vi. 371.

† At Toulouse, they had their ears bored three times a year, to punish them for having formerly delivered up that city to the Saracens. They claimed relief from this degradation from Charles the Bald, but unsuccessfully.—At Sebeas, they were pined with one chained exemption from this du Langueador, l. iii. p. 303.—In the reign of Philip Ag- tina, they began to wear the badge of yellow, (a round of stigmata on all Jews through- out Christendom by the con- sider of London, (Quon 98.)

‡ They were often the w- It is enacted in an ordin- of 1230, "that none in our kingdom shall retain and one shall find his Jew he a *quon proprovo coram*.) h- on the lands of another lord." It is clear, indeed, from the Establishments that the moveables of the Jews belonged to the barons. Gradually, the Jew became the king's own, like coin and other fiscal rights.

§ Pottius, *quin errorum*. (Patient, become eternal.) . . . It is customary for the Jews to place themselves in the way of each new pope, and present to him a copy of their law. Is this homage, or a reproach from the mother to the daughter?—On the day of his coronation, pope John XXIII. rode, miter, from street to street, in the city of Bologna the Fat, making the sign of the cross, even over the Jews dwell, who offered him a cup of wine with his own hand—then, as soon there it belied him, saying, "Your law is good, but ours is better than it." And, on setting out again, the Jews

ed the problem of volatilizing riches; and made freedmen by the invention of bills of exchange, they are now free, they are masters; from buffets to buffets they are now on the throne of the world.\*

To force the poor man to apply to the Jew, to induce him to approach his small, sombre, infamous dwelling, to compel him to speak to that man who, it is said, crucifies little children,† no less a power is needed than the horrible pressure of the exchequer. Between the exchequer, which seeks his marrow and his blood, and the devil, who seeks his soul, he will repair to the Jew as a medium.

When, then, he had exhausted his last resource, when his bed was sold, when his wife and children, lying on the bare ground, shook with fever or cried out in agony, then, with drooping head, and bowed more than if he had his load of wood on his back, he slowly turned his steps towards the hateful house, and stood long at the door ere he knocked. The Jew, having carefully opened the small wicket, a dialogue ensued, a strange and a perplexing one. What says the Christian? In the name of God! Thy God—the Jew has killed him! For pity's sake! What Christian ever pitied a Jew! Words are of no avail here: a pledge is the only language understood. What has he to give, who has nothing! The Jew will speak him mildly—"My friend, in obedience to the ordinances of our lord the king, I lend neither upon bloody dress nor ploughshare.‡ . . . No, the only pledge I require is yourself. I am not your brother, my law is not the Christian law. It is a more ancient law—in *partes secanto*. Your flesh shall be answerable. Blood for gold, as life for life. A pound of your flesh which I am about to feed with my money, only a pound of your fair flesh!"§ The gold lent by the murderer of the Son of man can only be a murderous, anti-human, anti-divine gold, or to use the language of the time, *Anti-Christ*. Here we have gold *Anti-Christ*; just as Aristophanes has showed us in Plutus the *Anti-Jupiter*.

followed him, presumptuously trying to confute him, and all the trappings of his horse were torn; and the pope scattered money in all the streets which he passed through, to wit, pennies called Florence quatrins and mailles; and, before and behind him, rode two hundred men at arms, each with a leathern mace in his hand, with which they battered the Jews in a manner delightful to behold." Monstrelet, ii. 315, ann. 1409.

\* In October, 1834, I saw the following notice in an English paper—"Little business was done on the Stock Exchange to-day, it being a holiday with the Jews."—But they have not only the superiority in wealth. One would be tempted to grant them a far higher one, when we see that the greater number of the men who now do most honor to Germany are converted Jews.

† See the Ballads published by M. Francisque Michel.

‡ Ordoun. i. 36.

§ Shakespeare, *The Merchant of Venice*, act I. scene 3. "Let the forfeit be nominated for an equal pound of your fair flesh, to be cut and taken, in what part of your body pleaseth me."—About thirty years since, Sir Thomas Munro bought at Calcutta a manuscript containing the original story of the pound of flesh, &c. Only, instead of a Christian, it is a Mussulman whose life is sought by the Jew. See Asiatic Journal.

#### PROSECUTION OF THE TEMPLARS.

This Anti-Christ, this Anti-God, will be God, that is to say, the Church—the secret church, or the priests and the pope; and the regular church, or the monks and Templars.

By the scandalously sudden death of Benedict XI., the Church falls into the hands of Philippe-le-Bel; enabling him to make a pope of his own, to draw the papacy out of Rome, and to bring it into France, in order to make it work in this jail for his advantage, to dictate to it lucrative bulls, open up and work infidelity, and turn the Holy Ghost into a scribe and publican to the house of France.

After Benedict's death the cardinals had to settle themselves up in conclave at Perugia. But the two parties, the Gallican and Anti-Gallican, were so equally balanced that neither could carry the day. The townsmen in their haste, in their Italian impatience and *furie* to have a pope elected at Perugia, could hit upon no other scheme than that of starving out the cardinals. It was at last agreed that one of the two parties should fix upon three candidates, out of whom the other party was to make its choice. It fell to the French party to choose; and they elected a Gascon,\* Bertrand de Gott, archbishop of Bordeaux. Bertram had previously shown himself hostile to the king; but he was known to love his own interest above all other things, and there was little doubt of his being soon brought over.

Philippe, informed of every thing by his cardinals, and fortified with their letters, gives a meeting to the future pope in a forest, near St. Jean D'Angely. Villani describes the particulars of this interview as if he had been present at it; his narrative is of cutting simplicity:—

"They heard mass together, and mutually swore secrecy. The king then began to parley with him in fair terms, in order to reconcile him with Charles of Valois. He went on to say, 'See, Archbishop, I have it in my power to make thee pope, if I will, and it is for this that I have come to meet thee; for if thou givest me thy word to do me six favors which I shall ask of thee, I will secure thee this dignity, and here are the proofs that I have the power.' On this, he showed him the letters and missives from both colleges. The Gascon, full of covetousness, seeing thus all of a sudden that it depended altogether on the king to make him pope, threw himself, out of his wit with joy, at Philippe's feet, and said—'My lord, I now see that thou lovest me more than all others, and wishest to return me good for evil. It is thine to command, mine to obey; and thou shalt find me ever willing.' The king raised him, kissed his mouth, and said—'The following are the six special favors I have to ask of thee: firstly, that thou wilt thoroughly reconcile me with the Church, and issue my par-

\* (As a Gascon, he was a subject of the king of England. He had been an *élève* of Boniface's).—TRANSLATION.

don for my error in arresting Pope Boniface; secondly, that thou wilt restore me and mine to the privilege of the communion-table; thirdly, that thou wilt grant me the tenths of the clergy of my kingdom for five years, to contribute towards the expenses I have been at in my war with Flanders; fourthly, that thou wilt anathematize the memory of Pope Boniface; fifthly, that thou wilt restore to the dignity of cardinal master (messer) Jacobo and master Piero della Colonna, and fully reinstate them, and in the creation of new cardinals remember certain friends of mine. As to the sixth favor and promise, I reserve it for another time and place, for it is a great and secret thing.\* The archbishop bound himself to do all these things by an oath on the eucharist, and gave, moreover, his brother and two nephews as hostages. The king, on his side, promised and swore that he would get him elected pope.†

Philip-le-Bel's pope, publicly admitting his state of dependence, declared his intention of being crowned at Lyons, (Nov. 14, 1305.) This coronation, with which the captivity of the Church began, was fully solemnized. A wall, covered with lookers-on, falls down as the procession is passing, hurts the king, and kills the duke of Brittany. The pope was thrown down, and the tiara fell from his head. Eight days afterwards, at a banquet given by the pope, a quarrel arises between his people and those of the cardinals, and a brother of his is slain.

The disgraceful bargain became public. Clement paid ready money. He paid in what was not his, by exacting tithes from the clergy: tithes for the king of France; tithes for the count of Flanders, that he may redeem his engagements to the king; tithes for Charles of Valois, to supply him with the means of a crusade against the Greek empire. A strange motive was advanced for this crusade; the poor empire, according to the pope, was weak and unable to secure Christendom against the infidels.

Having paid, Clement thought he was quits, and had only to enjoy as purchaser and proprietor, to use and abuse. Just as a baron made progresses (faisait *cherachee*) round his domains, in order to keep in exercise his rights of lodging and purveyorship, Clement took a tour through the Church of France. From Lyons he bent his course towards Bordeaux;

but taking Mâcon, Bourges, and Limoges by his way, in order to plunder a larger extent of country. On he went, consuming and devouring, from bishopric to bishopric, with a whole army of familiars and servants. Wherever this swarm of locusts alighted, the place was left clear. With his rancorous feelings, as formerly archbishop of Bordeaux, he deprived Bourges of its primacy over the capital of Guienne, and lodged himself with his enemy, the archbishop of Bourges, like a tax-gatherer's bailiff or kitchen grub, (comme un garnissaire, ou *mangeur* d'office.)\* And here he lodged after such a sort, that he left him utterly ruined; and the primate of the Aquitaines would have perished of hunger, had he not come to the cathedral among his canons to receive his share of the Church's allowance.†

Of all Clement's robberies, the largest share went to a woman who sacked the pope, as he did the Church. The lovely Brunissende Talleyrand de Perigord was the true Jerusalem who absorbed the money intended for the crusade; and cost him, it is said, more than the Holy Land.

Clement was soon to be cruelly disturbed from this pleasing enjoyment of the goods of the Church. The tithes in perspective did not satisfy the actual wants of the royal treasury. The pope gained time by handing over the Jews to him, and authorizing him to seize them. Not one, it is said, escaped. Not content with selling their goods, the king took it upon himself to pursue their debtors, averring that their books were sufficient proofs of debt, and that a Jew's handwriting was enough for him.

The Jew not yielding enough, Philippe fell back on the Christian. He again altered the coin, increasing the nominal value, and diminishing the weight—so with two livres, he paid eight. But where he had to receive, he would only take a third of the sum in his own coin: thus committing two bankruptcies in an inverse sense. All debtors profited by the occasion; and innumerable quarrels arose out of this money of different values, though the same denomination. It was a Babel, where none understood the other. The only thing in which the people agreed, (take notice, there is a people now,) was to revolt. The king took shelter in the Temple. Here they would have followed him, had they not amused themselves by the way with plundering the house of Etienne Barbet, a financier who bore the odium of having recommended the alteration of the coin. Here the revolt stopped; and the king had some hundreds of men hung on the trees bordering the roads round Paris. His alarm

\* (Dupuy positively refers this sixth condition to the condemnation of Boniface. Raymond refers it to the election of Charles of Valois to the imperial crown. (Where is clue to make it relate to the suppression of the Templars.)—TRANSLATOR.

\* G. Villani, l. viii. c. 60, p. 417.—The feeling of the time is well represented in the burlesque verses quoted by Walsingham—

*Exilem nunc titulat, regni quis clavis  
Errat. Rex, Papa, forti sunt unica capta.  
Hoc fecerat, de, deo, Plinio hic, alio Herodes.  
Walsing p. 456, ann. 1305.*

The bark of the Church staggers, because the key of the kingdom wanders. King and pope are become one cap. or head. They play at 'ca me, 'ca thee—the one, Plinio, the other, Herod.)

\* These terms were synonymous in the language of the day.

† In the original—"recedit ad distributionem ecclesiasticam in portum congrui." The "portum congrui" was the allowance that the owner of the great tithe was obliged to give the parish priest for his subsistence.—TRANSLATOR.

—Gudin. G. de Noailles, ed. ann. 1305.



led him to propitiate the nobles; to whom he restored the privilege of judicial combat, or, in other words, the right of impunity. This was a blow to kingly authority. The king of the legists renounced the law, in order to recognise the decisions of force: a sad and doubtful position in legislature as well as in finance. Driven from the Church to the Jews, from the latter to the communes, from the Flemish communes he fell back on the clergy.

The least used of all Philippe's treasures, his patrimony to draw upon, the funds on which he could count, was his pope. If he had bought this pope, and had fattened him on theft and robbery, it was not, not to make use of him, but to turn him to account, to levy upon him, like the Jew, a pound of flesh from whatever part he chose.

He possessed an infallible instrument for pressing and squeezing the pope, an all-powerful bugbear, to wit, the condemnation of Boniface VIII., which was to ask the papacy to cut its own throat. If Boniface were a heretic and a mock pope, then all cardinals of his creation were mock cardinals, Benedict XI. and Clement, elected by them, were, in their turn, mock and illegal popes, and not only they, but all those whom they had appointed or confirmed to ecclesiastical dignities, and not only these appointments of theirs, but their public acts of every kind. The Church would have been enmeshed in interminable illegality. On the other hand, if Boniface were true pope, as such he was infallible; his sentences would hold good, and Philippe-le-Bel would remain a condemned man.

Hardly was he enthroned before Clement had to hear the sharp and imperious requisition of Nogaret, enjoining him to pursue the memory of his predecessor. Hardly was the bargain concluded, before the devil demanded his payment. The servitude of the sold man begun; his soul, once fagoted by the bonds of injustice, and having received the curb and bit, was to be wantonly ridden, even up to damnation.

Rather than thus kill the papacy in point of law, Clement preferred delivering it up in point of fact. He created twelve cardinals devoted to the king, in one batch: the two Colonnas, and ten Frenchmen or Gascons. These twelve, joined to those who remained of the twelve of the same party, whom Celestine had been surprised into creating, secured the king the election of popes to all futurity. Clement thus placed the Papacy in Philippe's hands; an enormous concession, which, however, did not suffice him.

He thought to soften his master by going a step further. He revoked Boniface's bull *Clericis laicos*, which closed the purse of the clergy to the king. The bull *Unam Sanctam* contained the glorious and sublime expression of the Pontifical supremacy. Clement sacrificed it; and this was not enough.

He was at Poitiers, uneasy, and sick in body

and in mind. Philippe-le-Bel visited him there and with fresh demands in his mouth. The king required a sweeping confiscation; that of the richest of the religious orders, the order of the Temple. The pope, hemmed in between two dangers, endeavored to divert him from his purpose, by heaping on him all the favors in the power of the holy see. He helped his son, Louis Hutin, (the Quarrelsome,) to establish himself in Navarre; and appointed his brother, Charles of Valois, leader of the crusade. And lastly, he endeavored to secure himself the protection of the house of Anjou, by releasing the king of Naples from an enormous sum he was indebted in to the Church, canonizing one of his sons, and awarding the other the throne of Hungary.

Philippe was ever ready to receive: but did not relax his hold. He besieged the pope with charges against the Temple; and even found in Clement's own house a Templar to accuse his order. In 1306, the unhappy pope excuses himself from receiving commissioners when the king was about to dispatch to him to bring him to a decision, on the following childish pretext; "By the advice of our physicians, we intend in the beginning of September to take some preparatory drugs, and then a purge, which, according to the said physicians, will, with God's aid, be very useful to us."<sup>6</sup>

He would have gone on forever with these frivolous evasions, had he not suddenly learned that the king was arresting Templars in every direction, and that his confessor, a Dominican monk and grand inquisitor of France, was proceeding against them without waiting for his authorization.

What, then, was the Temple—let us say briefly to describe it.

The Temple, at Paris, comprised the whole of that large, gloomy, and thinly-peopled quarter, which still goes under its name:† a third of the Paris of that day. In the shadow of the Temple, and under its powerful protection, lived a swarm of servitors, familiars, affiliated members, and also criminals—the houses of the order having the right of asylum: a right of which Philippe-le-Bel had himself taken advantage in 1306, when he was pursued by the revolted populace. There still remained at the epoch of the Revolution a memorial of this royal ingratitude, in the large tower with four turrets, built in 1333; and which was the prison of Louis XVI.

The Paris Temple was the centre of the order, its treasury; and the chapters-general

<sup>6</sup> Baluze, *Acta Vet. ad Pap. Av.* pp. 73, 76. . . . *Quidam preparatoria sumere, et postmodum purgationem accipere. quæ secundum predictorum physiorum iudicium auctore Domino, valde utilis nobis erit.*

† The *Centrale* (enclosure ?) of the Temple, contiguous to that of St. Germain, comprised almost the whole domain of the Templars, which extended along the street of the Temple, from the street St. Croix, or from near the street de la Verrière, to beyond the walls, the houses, and the gate of the Temple. Sauval, t. i. p. 72.

were held there. All the *provinces* of the order were its dependencies—Portugal, Castile and Leon, Aragon, Majorca, Germany, Italy, Apulia and Sicily, England and Ireland. In the north, the Teutonic order was an offshoot of the Temple: just as in Spain other military orders were formed out of its ruins. The large majority of the Templars were French, particularly the grand masters; and the knights went by their French designation of *Frères du Temple* (Brothers of the Temple) in several tongues, as *Frieri del Tempio*, in Italy, in Greece, *φίλοι του Τεμπλου*.\*

Like all the military orders, that of the Temple derived its origin from Cîteaux; and St. Bernard, the reformer of Cîteaux, gave to the knights their enthusiastic and severe rule with the same pen with which he wrote his commentary on the Song of Songs. This rule was—exile and the Holy War unto death. The Templars were never to decline battle, even with one to three; never to ask quarter or to give ransom, *not so much as a piece of wall or inch of land*. They had no rest to hope for; and were not allowed to pass into less rigid orders.†

"Go happy, go in peace," said St. Bernard to them; "drive out with stout heart the enemies of the cross of Christ, well assured that neither in life nor in death ye will be beyond the love of God, in Christ Jesus. In the hour of danger, repeat to yourselves the words, '*Living or dead, we are the Lord's*.' . . . Glorious as conquerors, happy as martyrs."‡

Here is his rough sketch of the Templar:—"Locks close shorn, shaggy hair, begrimed with dust; black with iron, weather-beaten, and sunburnt. . . . They love fiery and swift chargers, but not adorned, tricked out, caparisoned. . . . The pleasing feature in this crowd, in this torrent ever flowing towards the Holy Land, is that you see there only villains and reprobates. Christ erects his enemy into a champion; of the persecuting Saul, he makes a holy Paul. . . . Then, in an eloquent itinerary, he leads the penitent warriors from Bethlehem to Calvary, from Nazareth to the Holy Sepulchre.§

The soldier has glory, the monk rest: the Templar abjured both. His life combined the hardest portions of their lot—danger and abstinence. The grand business of the middle age was the Holy War, the crusade: the ideal of the sentiment seemed realized in the order of the Temple. It was the crusade become fixed and permanent; the noble image of that spiritual crusade, of that mystic war which the Christian wages to the hour of his death with his internal foe.

Associated with the Hospitallers in the de-

fence of the holy places, they differed from them in war's being more particularly the object of their institution.\* Both performed the greatest public services. What a blessing to the pilgrim who travelled on the dusty road from Jaffa to Jerusalem, and who fancied every moment that the Arab brigands were upon him, to meet one of these knights and recognise the sign of suocor in the red cross on the white cloak of the Templar. In battle, the two orders took by turns the van and the rear—those who had newly taken the cross and were unaccustomed to Asiatic warfare, being stationed between them. The knights surrounded and protected them, as one of them proudly remarked, *as a mother did her child*.† Zeal was in general but badly requited by these temporary auxiliaries; who were rather in the way of the knights than of use to them. Arriving full of pride and fervor, and certain of a miracle's being wrought expressly in their favor, they were constantly breaking truces, dragging the knights into useless dangers, provoking battle, and would then take their departure, leaving them to bear the whole brunt of the war, and with complaints of having been badly supported by them. The Templars composed the vanguard at Mansourah, when that young madman, the count of Artois, would continue the pursuit, against their advice, and enter the town: they followed him out of a sense of honor, and were all slain.

It had been thought, and reasonably, that enough could never be done for so devoted and useful an order; and the amplest privileges had been heaped upon them. First and foremost of these was their right to be judged by the pope alone. No distant a judge, and placed on so high an eminence, was seldom appealed to. Thus, the Templars became judges in their own causes. They were allowed, too, to be witnesses in the same: so perfect was the trust reposed in their honor. They were prohibited from granting their commanderies at the solicitation of king or noble; and were exempt from all customs, toll, and tribute.

All were naturally desirous of participating in such privileges. Innocent III. himself sought to be affiliated to the order; and Philippe-le-Bel asked it in vain.

But, though the order had not possessed such great and magnificent privileges, men would have crowded to enter it. The Temple had an attraction of mystery and of vague terror for the mind. The ceremony of reception took place in the churches of the order, at night, and with closed doors—the inferior brethren being carefully excluded. It was said that if the king of France had found his way in, he would never have found it out.

The form of reception was borrowed from the fantastical dramatic rites, from the myste-

\* Stow, *Rep. Ital.* l. iv. p. 285. Puchmyer, *Hist. Androm.* l. v. c. 12. t. i. 111. p. 235.

† Dupuy, *Preuves*, p. 115.

‡ St. Bernard, *Robert, ed. Milton* *Templ.* l. 344-368.

§ "Viva est militis super irrem." (*Life is a warfare upon earth*.)

\* See, further on, the letter of Jacques Molay.

† *Great master's instruction*. Dupuy, *Preuves*, p. 178.

ries with which the ancient church did not fear to envelope holy things. The candidate was introduced as a sinner, a bad Christian, a renegade. He denied, after the example of St. Peter; and the denial, in this pantomime, was expressed by an act\*—that of spitting on the cross. The order charged itself with rehabilitating this renegade, and raising him the higher in proportion to the depth of his fall. Thus, in the festival of fools, (*fatuum*), man offered the homage of his own imbecility and infamy to the Church which was to regenerate him. These sacred comedies, daily less understood, became, therefore, daily the more dangerous, and the more likely to scandalize a prosaic age, which saw only the letter, and had forgotten the meaning of the symbol.

Here was another danger. The pride of the Temple might suffer an impious equivocal to remain in these forms. The candidate might suppose that the order was about to reveal to him a higher religion than the Christianity of the multitude, and to open to him a sanctuary behind the sanctuary. The Temple was not a sacred name to Christians only. If it expressed to them the holy sepulchre, it suggested to Jews and Mussulmans the temple of Solomon.† The idea of the Temple, higher and more general still than that of the Church, soared in some sort above all religions. The Church had a date; the Temple, none. Contemporary with all ages, it was as a symbol of the perpetuity of religion. Even after the ruin of the Templars, the Temple subsists, as a tradition at least, in the teaching of numerous secret societies down to the Rosicrucians and the Freemasons.‡

The Church is the house of Christ; the Temple, that of the Holy Ghost. The Gnostics chose for their grand festival, not Christ-

mas or Easter, but Pentecost—the day of the descent of the Holy Ghost. What remains may there have been of these ancient acts in the middle age? Were the Templars affiliated to any of them? Questions such as these, notwithstanding the ingenious conjectures of the moderns, will ever remain obscure through want of data.\*

These esoteric doctrines of the Temple seem at once to covet the light, and concealment. We fancy that we detect them either in the strange emblems sculptured on the fronts of some churches, or in the last epic cycle of the middle age, in those poems in which chivalry, purified, is no more than an Odyssey—an heroic and pious voyage in search of the Graal†—the name given to the holy cup which received our Saviour's blood, the mere sight of which prolongs life for five hundred years, which can be approached by children only without death's being the consequence, and round the Temple containing which, the Templars, or knights of the Graal, watch all in arms.

This more than ecclesiastical chivalry, the cold and too pure ideal which was the close of the middle age and its last revery, was, by its very loftiness, a stranger to the real, and inaccessible to the practical. The Templar remained in the poems a figure shrouded in clouds, and approaching the divine. The Templar buried himself in brutality.

I would not be thought to ally myself with the persecutors of this great order. The enemy of the Templars, without wishing it, has washed them white; the tortures by which he wrung disgraceful confessions from them seem presumptive proofs of innocence. We are tempted to attach no credit to the self-accusations of wretches on the rack; and, if there are stains, we are tempted to believe them effaced by the flames of the fiery pile.

Grave confessions, however, are on record obtained without the question or any torture. And even the very points which were not proved, are not the less probable to one who knows human nature, and who seriously revels in the situation of the order in its latter days.

It was natural that relaxation from the severity of the rule should creep in among a body of half monks, half warriors, younger sons of the nobility, who sought adventures far from Christendom, often far from the eyes of their chiefs, in the midst of the dangers of a war to the death, and of the temptations of a burning climate, of a country of slaves, of the luxurious Syria. Pride and honor supported them, as long as there was a hope of the Holy Land. Let us be grateful to them for having so protracted their resistance when their hopes so sadly vanished with each crusade, when every

\* Further on, I explain my reasons for considering this point as beyond doubt.—Probably, the fourteenth century saw only a suspicious singularity in the adherence of the Templars to the ancient symbolical traditions of the Church—for instance, in their predilection for the number three. The candidate had three questions put to him before he was introduced into the chapter. He asked three times for bread, water, and the fellowship of the order. He made three vows. The knights observed three grand fasts. They took the sacrament three times a year. Alms were distributed by all the houses of the order three times a week. They ate meat on three days of the week only. On fast days, they were allowed to have three different dishes. They worshipped the cross solemnly, three stated times a year. Each swore not to turn his back on three enemies. They flogged, three times in full chapter, those who had deserved the chastisement, &c., &c. The same holds good of the charges brought against them. They were accused of denying three times, of spitting three times on the cross, (*Ter abnegabant, et horribili crudelitate ter in faciem spuebant crucem*). Circul. de Philippe-le-Bel, du 14 Septembre, 1307. "And they made him thrice deny the prophet, and thrice spit upon the cross." Instruct. de l'Inquisiteur Guillaume de Paris. Rayn. p. 4.

† In some English monuments the order of the Temple is styled *Militia Templi Salomonis*. MS. Biblioth. Cottonianæ et Bodleianæ. They are called *Fratres Militie Salomonis* in a charter of 1197. Ducange, Rayn. p. 2.

‡ Possibly, the Templars who escaped may have founded secret societies. All these have disappeared in Scotland with the exception of two. Now, it has been observed that the most secret mysteries of freemasonry are believed to have emanated from Scotland, and that the highest grades bear Scotch names. See Grouvelle, and the writers whom he has followed, Munter, Moldenhawer, Nicolai, &c.

\* See Hammer, *Mémoire on Two Questions*, p. 2. See, also, his *Mémoire on the Mines of the East*, with M. Raynouard's reply. Michaud, *Hist. des Croisades*, et 1828, t. v. p. 573.

† See, above, p. 321.

on was falsified, and the promised miracle ever adjourned. Not a week passed the bell of Jerusalem giving warning, the Arabs were descried in the desolate and it was always the Templars and others who had to mount on horseback forth from the walls . . . At last, Jerusalem : then, St. Jean d'Acre. But soldiers, lost sentinels, can we wonder in the evening of this battle, fought two centuries, their arms dropped by the side?

And, after great efforts, is ever a serious trial the soul, which has soared so high in holiness and sanctity, falls heavily indeed on the earth . . . Sick and fevered, it plunges into a world with a savage hunger, as if to punish itself for having believed.

It would appear to have been the fall of the Temple. All that was holy in the order, its aim and stain. After having soared from God, it turned from God to the beast.\* Its religious love-feasts, and heroic fraternization, its filthy, monkish amours.† They added their infamy, by plunging further into the mire. It found its account in this, too. A race, utterly reproduced, without family or carnal connection, by election and the spirit, could show of its contempt for woman?—all turned to itself, and loving nothing beyond

they did without women, so did they priests; sinning, and confessing among themselves.‡ And they did, too, without God. They had eastern superstitions : Saracen magic first, symbolical, the denial became they abjured a god who did not give vicarious atonement as a faithless ally who betrayed him, insulted him, spat upon the cross. The order itself, it would seem, became their God, they worshipped the Temple and the

our popular saying of "To drink like a Templar" English had another—"In his boyhood, the boys all met commonly and publicly to each other, 'Take as the Templars' him.'" (Cont. Britann. p. 300. Evidence 94th witness.

the rule which the order received on its foundation on its fall like a fearful charge—"Let not a house be without light, lest the enemy in the night . . . Let them sleep in their shirts and drawers, never must sleep without a light until the . . . Acts of the Council of Troyes, 1129. Appendix, pp. 99-102.

the Processus contra Templarios, MS. in the Bibliothèque Royale. What we find there in the Articles of Imputation with regard to their relations with women, the masters made brothers and sisters of the Temple. MS. folios 10, 11, must be understood of its members, who were of both sexes, (see Dupuy, l. c.) but I do not remember reading any confession that, even in the depositions must hostile to the order, the confessions turn rather on a revolting crime. . . . manner of holding a chapter and of the ceremony. After the chapter, the master or whoever the chapter will say—"My good lords and brothers, as given by our chapter is on this wise, he who is taken by the arms of the house wrongfully, or has done anything in his own name, shall have neither pardon from our chapter. But all things that you say for shame of the flock, or fear of the justice of the lord, pray God for his sweet mother's sake to pardon sinners of Anglaterra, edit. 1737, t. ii. p. 303.

Templars, their chiefs, as living Temples; and they symbolized by the filthiest and most disgusting ceremonies their blind devotion and complete abandonment of will. The order, closing itself in on this wise, sank into a fierce worship of itself, into a Satanic egotism. The most eminently diabolical feature of the devil, is his worshipping himself.

These, it will be said, are but conjectures. But, they proceed too naturally from numerous confessions obtained without recourse to torture; particularly in England.\*

That this was the general character of the order, or that its statutes had become, in express terms, disgraceful and impious, I am far from affirming. Things of the kind are not committed to writing. Corruption invades an order by mutual and tacit connivance. The forms remain, but with a changed meaning, and perverted by a criminal interpretation which no one openly acknowledges.

But though all these infamous and impious things had been true of the whole order, this would not have been sufficient to have drawn down ruin upon it. The clergy would have screened and hushed up its abuses, as they did so many other ecclesiastical corruptions. The cause of the ruin of the Temple was that it was too rich and too powerful. There was another and a nearer cause; which I will presently speak of.

In proportion as the furor of holy wars cooled down in Europe, and crusading became less popular, greater gifts were showered on the Temple by way of discharging the debt of conscience. The numbers affiliated to the order were numberless: a payment of two or three deniers yearly was all that was required. Many made offering of all their property, and even of their persons. Two counts of Provence made this wholesale offering of themselves. A king of Aragon, (Alphonso-le-Batailleur,† 1131-32.) left them his kingdom; but the kingdom did not choose to be so willed away.

The vast number of the Templars' possessions may be inferred from that of the castles, farms, and ruined strongholds, which still bear the name of Temple in our cities and provinces. They are said to have possessed more than nine thousand manors in Christendom.‡ In a single

\* The filthiest evidence, and which would appear with most probability to have been dictated by torture, is that given by the English witnesses, who, however, were not subjected to it—"After returning thanks, the chaplain of the order of the Temple would say to the brethren, 'Devil turn you,' (Diabolus convertat vos,) or something of the kind. . . . And he saw the brethren drive out of the brethren of the Temple, and him standing with his face to the west and his back to the altar. . . . 329. And a crucifix was shown him, and he was told that as he had before honored, he should now revile and spit upon it; which he did. He was also told to let down his breeches and turn his back on the crucifix; which he did, with tears." . . . Ibidem, 303, col. 1.

† The Fighter.

‡ Hubert Templeton in Christianitate novem milia reddituum. . . . Math. Paris, p. 417. At a later period the Chronicle of Flanders gives them 10,000 manors. In the reign of Philip Augustus, the order had bought, within

Spanish province, in the kingdom of Valentia, they had seventeen fortified places. They purchased the kingdom of Cyprus for ready money: it is true, they could not keep it.

With such privileges, wealth, and possessions, it was very difficult to remain humble.\* Richard Cœur-de-Lion said on his death-bed, "I leave my avarice to the Cistercians, my luxury to the Gray friars, and my pride to the Templars."

In default of Mussulmans, this restless and untameable militia warred on Christians. They warred on the king of Cyprus and the prince of Antioch. They dethroned the king of Jerusalem, Henry II., and the duke of Croatia. They laid waste Thrace and Greece. All the talk of the crusaders who returned from Syria was of the treachery of the Templars and their league with the infidels.† They were notoriously in communication with the Assassins of Syria;‡ and the similarity of their costume with that of the Old Man of the Mountain was noticed with fear. They had received the Soldan in their houses, allowed the Mahometans the exercise of their worship, and given the infidels warning of the arrival of Frederick II.§ In their furious rivalries with the Hospitaliers, they had even shot a flight of arrows into the Holy Sepulchre.|| It was said that they had slain a Mussulman chief who desired to turn Christian in order to escape from paying them tribute.

The house of France, in particular, thought it had subject of complaint against the Templars. They had slain Robert de Brienne at Athens; had refused to contribute towards the ransom of St. Louis;¶ and, lastly, they had

declared for the house of Aragon against that of Anjou.

However, the Holy Land had been definitively lost in 1191, and the crusades were over. The knights returned useless, formidable, and hateful. They brought back into the heart of this drained kingdom, and under the eyes of a starving king, a monstrous treasure of a hundred and fifty thousand golden sciaas and ten mules' load of silver.\* What were they about to do in the midst of peace with such troops and such wealth? Would they not be tempted to create a kingdom for themselves in the West, as the Teutonic knights have done in Prussia, the Hospitaliers in the islands of the Mediterranean, and the Jesuits in Paraguay?† Had they joined the Hospitaliers, no monarch in the world could have resisted them.‡ There was no state in which they did not possess fortresses. They were allied with all noble families. In all, they were not, it is true, more than fifteen thousand knights; but they were experienced warriors in the midst of a population that, since the cessation of the wars of the barons with each other, had become disused to arms. They were admirable horsemen, who rivalled the Mamelukes, and were as intelligent, agile, and rapid, as the heavy feudal cavalry was cumbersome and inert. They were seen proudly prancing about in every direction on their beautiful Arab horses, each followed by a squire, a page, and an armed servitor, without counting black slaves. They could not vary their dress; but they displayed costly weapons of eastern manufacture, swords of the finest temper, and gorgeously inlaid.

They were conscious of their strength. The English Templars had dared to say to Henry III., "You shall be king, as long as you shall be just;" a saying which, in their mouths, was a threat. All this set Philippe-le-Bel on thinking.

He bore a grudge to several of them for having signed the appeal against Boniface only with reservation, *sub protestationibus*. They had refused to receive the king into their order; and had subjected him both to refusal

forty years, to the value of 10,000 livres of yearly rental.—T. e. priory of St. Giles alone had fifty-four commanderies. Grouvelle, p. 196.

\* In their ancient statutes we read, *Regula pauperum communitonum Templi Salomonis*, (The rule of the poor fellow-soldiers of the Temple of Solomon.) Rayn. p. 2.

† "And Acre, a city, they betrayed of their treachery." Chron. St. Denys, ap. Dupuy, p. 26.

‡ See Hammer, *Hist. des Assassins*.

§ Dupuy, pp. 5, 6.

|| This animosity was pushed to such excess in the year 1259, that a battle took place between them in which the Templars were hewn in pieces. The writers of the time state that only one of them escaped.

¶ Joinville, p. 81, ap. Dupuy, *Preuves*, pp. 163, 164.—"Towards evening of the Sunday, the king's servants, occupied in payment of the ransom, sent him word they still wanted thirty thousand livres. . . . I said to the king it would be much better to ask the commander and marshal of the Knights Templars to lend him the thirty thousand livres to make up the sum, than to risk his brother longer with such people. Father Stephen d'Outrecoart, master of the Temple, hearing the advice I gave the king, said to me, 'Lord de Joinville, the counsel you give the king is wrong and unreasonable; for you know we receive every farthing on our oath; and that we cannot make any payments but to those who give us their oaths in return.' The marshal of the Temple, thinking to satisfy the king, said, 'Sire, don't attend to the dispute and contention of the lord de Joinville and our commander. For it is as he has said, we cannot dispose of any of the money intrusted to us, but for the means intended, without acting contrary to our oaths, and being perjured. Know, that the seneschal has ill-advised you to take by force, should we refuse you a loan; but in this you will act according to your will. Should you, however, do so, we will make ourselves amends from the wealth you have in Acre.' When I heard this menace from

them to the king, I said to him, that if he pleased I would go and seek the sum, which he commanded me to do. I instantly went on board one of the galleys of the Temple, and seeing a coffer of which they refused to give me the keys, I was about to break it open with a wedge in the king's name; but the marshal, observing I was in earnest, ordered the keys to be given me." Joinville, pp. 162, 163, of *Joinville's* translation.

\* *Audivil diel a Delphino predicto quod cum pugnaret venit de ultra mare, portavit secum centum et quingentes milia florenorum aureorum et decem milia annorum turreorum grossorum.* Arch. de Valican, Rayn. p. 43.

† These equally powerful orders were equally attacked. The Livonian bishops brought fully as serious charges against the Teutonic knights. From the time of John XXII. to that of Innocent VI., the Hospitaliers had to sustain similar attacks. The Jesuits were crushed by the like charges. See Grouvelle, p. 220.

‡ See further on.—In Spain, the Templars, Hospitaliers and knights of St. John had entered into a treaty of mutual protection against the king himself. Munier, p. 22.

and to service on their part—a twofold humiliation. He owed them money;\* the Temple was a kind of bank, just as the temples of antiquity often were.† . . . When, in 1306, he found an asylum with them against the fury of his insurgent people,‡ it no doubt gave him an opportunity of admiring the treasures of the order. The knights were too confiding and too haughty to conceal any thing from him.

It was a strong temptation for the king.‡ His victory at Mons-en-Puelle had ruined him. Already compelled to surrender Guyenne, he had been also forced to let go his hold on Flemish Flanders. His pecuniary distress was extreme; and yet he had to repeal a tax against which Normandy had risen up. So strung was the excitement of the people, that no meeting of more than five persons was allowed. The king had no other means of extricating himself from this desperate state of affairs, than some sweeping confiscation. Now, having expelled the Jews, the blow could only be struck at the priests or the barons, or else at an order appertaining to one or the other, but which for this very reason, as belonging exclusively neither to the one nor the other, would be defended by neither. So far from it, indeed, the Templars were rather attacked by their natural defenders. The monks persecuted them. The barons, the greatest nobles of France, gave in their written concurrence to the prosecution of the Templars.

Philippe-le-Bel had been educated by a Dominican. His confessor was a Dominican. The Dominicans had long been on terms of friendship with the Templars; to such an extent, indeed, that they had bound themselves to solicit from every dying person they should be called to confess, a legacy for the Temple.§ But the two orders had gradually become rivals. The Dominicans had a military order of their own, that of the *Cavaliers Gaudents*,¶

which made no great progress. To this accidental cause of rivalry, must be added a fundamental cause of hate. The Templars were noble; the Dominicans, the Mendicants, were mostly plebeians, although in their third order they reckoned illustrious laymen and even kings.

Among the Mendicants, as among the legists, Philippe-le-Bel's counsellors, there existed a common feeling of malevolence, a leaven of levelling hate against the nobles, the men-at-arms, the knights. The legists hated the Templars in their capacity of monks; the Dominicans detested them as men-at-arms, as worldly monks, in whom were combined the profits of sanctity and the pride of military life. The order of St. Dominic, inquisitorial from its birth, might believe itself conscientiously called upon to destroy in its rivals—unbelievers, who were doubly dangerous from their importing Saracen superstitions, and from their connection with the Western mystics who paid adoration to the Holy Ghost alone.

It has been erroneously affirmed that the blow came unexpectedly.\* The Templars had ample warning of it. But their pride destroyed them; they always thought that it would not be dared.

And, in fact, the king did hesitate. He had at first tried indirect means. For instance, he had sought admission into the order. Had he been received, he would probably have made himself grand master, as Ferdinand the Catholic did of the military orders of Spain. He would have applied the revenues of the Temple to his own uses, and the order would have been preserved.

Since the loss of the Holy Land, and even before, the Templars had been given to understand that it would be expedient for them to effect a union with the Hospitallers.† United

\* "He hated the master of the order on account of his impudent solicitation of the money he had lent him for the marriage of his daughter, Isabella." Thomas de la Moer, in Vita Edwardi II. ap. Bolmar, Pap. Aven., note, p. 180.—The Temple had been used at various periods as a place of security for the royal treasures. Philip-Augustus (A. D. 1180) ordered that all his revenues, while he was beyond sea, should be taken to the Temple and locked in coffers, in which his agents were to have one key and the Templars another. Philip the Bold had all the public savings deposited there.—The treasurer of the Templars was styled Treasurer of the Templars and of the king, and even Treasurer of the king at the Temple. Buvart, li. 27.

† See Michard's History of Greece.

‡ See, above, p. 268.

§ See, in Dupuy, a pamphlet privately addressed to Philip by his own orders, headed—*Optima cunctatione prodest regi Philippo ad regnum illius, et Cypri acquisitionem per alios illorum status, ac de levatione regni Egypti et de dispositione honorum ordinis Templariorum.* (The counsel of a certain wise man to king Philip to secure the kingdom of Jerusalem and of Cyprus for one of his sons, and respecting the levation of the kingdom of Egypt and the disposal of the goods of the order of the Templars.)—See, also, Walsingham.—The idea of applying their wealth to the service of the Holy Land was Raymond Lully's. Buhar, Pap. Aven.

¶ Statutes of the chapter-general of the Dominicans, in 1213. Gruvelin, p. 25.

‡ See the history of this order by the Dominicans: Frederic, 1292. They profited, however, by the wealth of the

Temple: many Templars went over to their order. Gruvelin, p. 118.

"This order was founded about the year 1123, under the title of the order of the Glorious Virgin Mary. It was confined to young men of family, who associated themselves by the style of *Cavaliers Gaudents*—*Les Freres Joyeux*—or the *Joyous Brothers*—for the defence of the injured, and the preservation of public tranquillity. They took vows of obedience and conjugal chastity, and solemnly pledged themselves to the protection of widows and orphans." Waddington, Hist. of the Church, note to p. 267.—TRANSLATION.

\* They entertained gloomy premonitions. An English Templar, meeting a newly-admitted knight, addressed him as follows:—"I am your brother admitted into the order." The latter replied in the affirmative. On which he went on to say: "Should you sit on the top of the tower of St. Paul's at London, you could not behold greater misery than will be your lot before you die." Council. Bds. p. 267, col. 2.

† This union had been proposed by the council of Saltisbury, held in 1172, and by several other ecclesiastical assemblies. Rayn. p. 18.

(The order of the Knights Templars was established in 1118 by the patriarch of Jerusalem; and originally consisted of nine poor knights, who lived in community near the site of the ancient Temple, and took on themselves the voluntary obligation of watching the roads in the neighborhood of the city, and of protecting the pilgrims from the insults of robbers and infidels.)

The order of St. John of Jerusalem, or the knights of the Hospital, took its rise in the establishment of an *Hospitium* or house of entertainment for pilgrims at Jerusalem, about

with a more docile order, the Temple would have offered little resistance to kingly power.

They would not listen to the proposition. Jacques Molay, the grand master, a poor knight of Burgundy, but an old and brave soldier, with his laurels fresh from the last battles fought by the Christians in the East, replied, that it was true that St. Louis had formerly proposed a junction of the two orders, but that the king of Spain had withheld his consent; that for the Hospitallers to be received by the Templars they must largely reform themselves; that the Templars were more exclusively founded for purposes of war.\* He concluded with these haughty words:—"We find many desirous of depriving the religious orders of their possessions, compared with those who seek to increase them. . . . But if the proposed union of the two orders were to be effected, this religion would become so strong and powerful that it would be able to defend its rights against the whole world."†

While the Templars were thus proudly resisting all concession, sinister rumors about them gained strength—partly, indeed, owing to their own imprudence. One of the knights told Raoul de Presles, one of the most seriously-disposed men of the time—"That in their chapter-general of the order there was one thing so secret, that if for his misfortune any one saw it, were it the king of France, no fear of torments would prevent those forming the chapter from putting him to death, as they best might."‡

A newly-admitted Templar lodged a protest against the form of admission with the judge of the bishop's court of Paris.§ Another sought absolution for it from a Franciscan friar, who enjoined him, as a penance, to fast every Friday for a year, without his shirt.|| A third, who belonged to the household of the pope, "ingenuously confessed to him all the evil he had witnessed in his order, in presence of one

of his cousins, a cardinal, who took down his deposition in writing on the spot."\*\*

At the same time, ominous reports were spread of the terrible prisons into which the masters of the order flung refractory members. One of the knights deposed, "that an uncle of his had entered the order healthy and high-hearted, with dogs and falcons, and that in three days he was a corpse."†

These reports were greedily swallowed by the populace, who considered the Templars both too rich‡ and niggardly. Although the grand master in his evidence boasts of the munificence of the order, one of the charges against this wealthy corporation was, "that it did not distribute fitting alms."§

Things were ripe. The king invited the grand master and heads of the order to Paris; caressed them, loaded them with favors, and lulled them to sleep. They walked into the net; like the Protestants at the massacre of St. Bartholomew.

The king had just added to their privileges. He had asked the grand master to stand godfather to one of his children. On the 12th of October, Jacques Molay, together with twelve other persons of high rank, had been named by him to hold the pall at the burial of his sister-in-law.¶ On the 13th he was arrested, together with the hundred and forty Templars who were at Paris. Sixty were arrested, the same day, at Beaucuire; and then, a host of others throughout the kingdom. The ascent of the people and of the university had been secured.\*\* On the day of arrest, the citizens were summoned to the royal garden in the city, by their parishes and trades—and here monks held forth to them. The violence of their discourses may be inferred from that of the royal letter, which ran through all France:—

\* Dupuy, p. 13.

† *Sensus of hilaris cum avibus et canibus, et turba de sequenti mortuus fuit.* Conc. Brit. p. 38.

‡ "Tous ces chevaliers sans vendre . . .

Tant va pot à eau qu'il brise."

Chron. en vers, quoted by Rayn. p. 7.

(They were ever buying, never selling. . . . The pitcher that goes often to the well is at last broken.)

§ They were reproached in Scotland with want of hospitality as well as avarice: "Liberalis deponit animi, sed they did not willingly show hospitality to the poor, but, and that for fear, to the rich and powerful only; and that they were insatiable in grasping by any means the property of others, for their own order." Concil. Brit. Evidence of the fortieth Scotch witness, p. 308.

|| It is curious to observe with what predilection of praise and of favors he invited them into France, in 1204—"Philip, by the grace of God, king of the French—The works of mercy, the magnificent plentifulness conveyed by the holy order of the knights of the Temple, of divine institution, far and wide throughout the world . . . deserve that we should extend the right hand of royal liberality to the aforesaid order of the Temple, and its brethren, whom we sincerely love, and towards whom we are pleased to show special favor." &c. Rayn. p. 44.

\*\* B. June. Pap. Avea. pp. 306, 301.

\*\* The king studiously made it a charge in both the inquiry into this affair and the responsibility. Next, and the indictment (acte d'accusation) to the university, which met the day after the arrest; and the grand master, and some others, were interrogated before another assembly of all the masters and scholars of each faculty, held in the Temple. They were examined a second time, in a third assembly.

the year 1048. This became a hospital annexed to a church, and Godfrey de Bouillon, when he took the city in 1099, endowed it, erected it into a religious order, and obtained its confirmation, with a rule for its observance from Rome. The brethren subsequently added military to their religious duties. The Hospitallers became afterwards celebrated as the knights of Rhodes, and then as the knights of Malta.)—TRANSLATOR.

\* Si unio fieret, multum oporteret quod Templarii laxarentur, vel Hospitalarii restringerentur in pluribus. Et ex hoc posset animum periculum provenire. . . . Religio hospitaliariorum super hospitalitate fundata est. Templarii vero super militia proprie sunt fundati. Dupuy, Preuves, p. 140.

† Ibidem, p. 141.

‡ Ibidem, p. 139.—Another said, "Suppose that you were my father and could be made grand master of the order, I would not have you enter it, seeing that we have three articles among ourselves, in our order, (quia habemus tres articulos inter nos, in nostro ordine,) which none will ever know, save God, the devil, and we, brethren of the order." Evidence of the fifty first witness, p. 361.—See the reports that were circulated of people who had been put to death for having witnessed the secret ceremonies of the Temple. Concil. Brit. ii. 361.

§ Dupuy, Preuves, p. 307.—This is the first of the 140 witnesses. Dupuy has mutilated the passage. See the MS. in the Archives of the kingdom, K. 413.

|| Ibid. p. 341.



"A bitter thing, a deplorable thing, a thing horrible to think of, terrible to hear! a thing execrable for wickedness, detestable for infamy! . . . A mind endowed with reason, compassionate and suffers in its compassion, when beholding a nature which exiles itself beyond the bounds of nature, which forgets its principle, which does not recognise its dignity, which, prodigal of itself, makes itself like unto the senseless brutes—what do I say! which exceeds the brutality of the brutes themselves!"\* . . . One may judge of the terror and astonishment with which such a letter was received by all Christendom. It sounded like the trumpet of the last day.

The letter went on to give the heads of the charges—the denial and betrayal of Christianity to the profit of the infidels, the disgusting intimation, mutual prostitution, and, finally, height of horror, the spitting on the cross!†

Templars themselves had denounced all these crimes. Two knights, a Gascon and an Italian, imprisoned for their misdeeds, were said to have revealed all the secrets of the order.‡

What made the deepest impression on men's minds, were the strange reports abroad of an idol that the Templars worshipped. The rumors were various. According to some, it was a head with a beard; according to others, a head with three faces. Its eyes were said to sparkle. Some said it was a human skull; others made it out to be a cat.§

\* Dupuy, pp. 196, 197.

† See the numerous articles of the indictment. Dupuy is curious to compare it with another document of the same kind—Gregory the Ninth's bull to the electors of Hildesheim, Lubrecht, &c., against the Madingheuse, (Raynald, ann. 1234, tit. pp. 446, 447.) With more coherence, it is precisely the indictment against the Templars. Will this coincidence prove, as M. de Hammer seeks to establish, the admission of the Templars with those sectaries?

‡ Beluzar, Pap. Aves. pp. 99, 100.

§ According to the majority of the witnesses, it was a frightful head with a long white beard and sparkling eyes, (Rayn. p. 261.) which they were charged with worshipping. In the instructions furnished by Guillaume de Paris to the provisors, he ordered inquiry to be made—"our une ydol qui est en forme d'une teste d'homme a une grande barbe." (wearing an idol in the form of a man's head with a great beard.) The indictment (acts d'accusation) published by the court of Rome set forth, art. 16,—"that in all the provinces they had idols, that is to say, heads, some of which had three faces, others but one; sometimes, it was a human skull," art. 47, &c. "That in their assemblies, and especially in their grand chapters, they worshipped the idols as a god, as their avowal saying that this head could save them, that it bestowed on the order all its wealth, made the trees flower and the plants of the earth to spring forth." (Rayn. p. 267. Numerous depictions of the Templars in France and Italy, and much indirect evidence in England, bore on this count, with additional circumstances. The head was worshipped as that of a saviour—"quendam regem cum barba, quasi admodum et virant salvatorem suum." (Rayn. p. 269.) Thomas Jalet, admitted into the order at Poitiers, deposes that he saw admitted him showed him a head, or idol, which seemed to him to have three faces, telling him,—"This you must worship as your saviour, and the saviour of the order of the Temple," and that he, the witness, adored the idol, saying,—"Blessed be he who will save my soul," (pp. 267 and 268.) (Cetui Regne, admitted at Rome, in a room of the palace of the Lateran, deposes that he was told, when shown the idol—"Command thyself to it and pray to it, bless thee with health," (p. 265.) According to the first of the Florentine witnesses, the brethren addressed it in the Christian formula,—"Thou, adores me," (O God, grant me thy aid.) and he added that this adora-

Whether these reports were true or false, Philippe-le-Bel lost no time. On the very day of the arrest, he established himself personally in the Temple with his treasure and the archives of the kingdom, (Trésor des Chartes,) and with an army of lawyers to draw up warrants and inventories. This lucky seizure had made him a rich man all at once.

## CHAPTER IV.

CONTINUATION OF THE PRECEDING CHAPTER.  
DESTRUCTION OF THE ORDER OF THE TEMPLE, A. D. 1307-14.

THE pope's astonishment was extreme when he learned that the king had done without him

tion was a rite observed by the whole order, (p. 294.) And, indeed, in England, a Minster star deposed to having heard from an English Templar that there were four principal idols—one in the sacristy of the Temple of London, one at Bristol, one at Birmingham, and the fourth beyond the Humber, (p. 297.) The second Florentine witness adds a new circumstance; he declares that in a chapter one brother said to the rest, "Worship this head; it is your god and your Mahomet." (p. 253.) Goussier de Montpessan states it to have been made in the likeness of *Begeom*; and Raymond Rubei deposes that he was shown a wooden head, on which were painted the words *Figura Begeom*, adding, "Et illam adoravit circumdando eam pedes, dicent patre, verum Begeomus." (he worshipped it by kissing his feet and shouting patre, a Saracen word.)

M. Raynaud (p. 261) considers the word *Begeom* in these two depositions, as an alteration of that of Mahomet, mentioned by the first witness; and sees in it a desire on the part of the examiners to confirm the charges of a good understanding with the Saracens, as generally reported of the Templars. In this case, we must admit that all these depositions are utterly false, and forced by torture only, since nothing can be more absurd than to make the Templars more Mahometan than the Mahometans themselves, who do not worship Mahomet. But the depositions on the point are too numerous, and, at once, too unanimous and too different (Rayn. pp. 232, 237, and 296-297) to suppose this. Besides, they are far from being derogatory of the order. The Templars admit nothing more serious than that they have felt alarm, that they have fancied they saw a devil's head, a serpent's head, (p. 266.) that in these ceremonies they have seen the devil himself under the shape of a cat, or of a woman, (pp. 232, 294.) Without wishing to see in the Templars, in all points, a sect of Gnostics, I would rather, with M. de Hammer, trace in this the influence of these Eastern doctrines. *Begeom*, in Greek, (after, it is true, a very doubtful etymology,) is the God who baptizes; the Spirit, he of whom it is written,—"He shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost and with fire." (St. Matthew, iii. 11.) He was to the Gnostics, the Paraclete, who descended on the Apostles in the shape of "cloven tongues like as of fire." In fact, the Gnostic baptism was with fire. Perhaps, we must see an allusion to some ceremony of the kind in the reports spread among the people against the Templars,—"qu'un enfant nouveau engendré d'un Templier et d'une pucelle esloit cut et rusty au feu, et traite en greslieu d'huile et de cello esloit sacré et ointe leur idole." (that a new-born infant, legitimated of a Templar and a maid, was coiled and smothered by the fire, and all the grease roasted out, and their idol consecrated and anointed with it.) Chron. de St. Denis, p. 28. Might not this pretended idol have been a representation of the Paraclete, whose festival, that of Pentecost, was the highest solemnity of the Temple? It is true, these heads, one of which ought to have been found in each chapter, were not found, with the exception of one; but it bore the number LIII, engraved upon it. The publicity and importance given to this count no doubt decided the Templars to get rid quickly of every proof of it. As to the head seized in the chapter of Paris, they declared it to be a relic, the head of one of the eleven thousand virgins. (Rayn. p. 299.)—It had a large head of silver.



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\* Id. pp. 340-352. The commission consisted of the archbishop of Narbonne, of the bishops of Bayeux, Meaux, and Limoges, of the three archdeacons of Rouen, Troyes, and Maguelonne, and of the provost of the church of Aix. The Southerners, who were most in the pope's interests, were, we see, the majority.

seated in Avignon, before he learns that Philippe is bringing upon him a whole army of witnesses from beyond the Alps; and at their head that captain of Ferentino, that Raynaldo di Supino who had been engaged in the affair of Anagni—Nogaret's right arm. But when within some three leagues of Avignon, the witnesses fell into an ambuscade which had been laid for them. Raynaldo, with much difficulty, escaped to Nîmes; where the king's lawyers drew up his statement of this trick on the pope's part.\*

The pope wrote at once to Charles of Valois, soliciting his good offices with his brother. To the king himself he wrote, (the 23d of August, 1309,) that if the witnesses had been delayed by the way it was not his fault, but that of the king's people, who should have looked to their safety.† Philippe upbraided him with indefinitely postponing the examination of the witnesses, who were old and infirm, and of waiting for their death; stating reports that some of them had been killed, or tortured by partisans of Boniface, and that one had been found dead in his bed. The pope replies that he knows nothing of all this; all that he knows is, that during this long process the affairs of kings, prelates, and of the whole world, go to sleep and wait; that one, too, of the witnesses said to have disappeared, happens to be in France, and with Nogaret.

The king complained to the pope of certain injurious letters. The pope replies that both their Latinity and orthography prove that they could not have emanated from the court of Rome, and that he has ordered them to be burnt: as to pursuing their authors, *recent experience has proved that these sudden processes against important personages, have a sad and dangerous issue.*‡

This letter of the pope's was an humble and timid profession of independence of the king—a revolt, kneeling. Its concluding allusion to the Templars, indicated the hopes conceived by the pope from the troubles in which this process would involve Philippe.

The pontifical commission, assembled on the 7th August, 1309, at the bishop's palace, Paris, had long been at a stand-still. The king was no more desirous of seeing the Templars justified, than the pope of condemning Boniface. The witnesses for the prosecution in Boniface's affair were maltreated at Avignon; those for the defence in that of the Templars, were tor-

tured at Paris. The bishops paid no attention to the orders of the pontifical commission, and would not send the prisoners to it.\* Every day the commission was opened by hearing mass, and then sat. A crier proclaimed at the door of the hall, "Whoever has witness to bear on behalf of the knights of the Temple, may enter:" none presented themselves. The commission adjourned to the next day, when the same farce would be repeated.

At last, the pope having issued a bull, (13th September, 1309,) authorizing the process against Boniface to be proceeded with, the king, the following November, allowed the grand master of the Temple to be produced before the commissioners.† The old knight showed at first great firmness. He said, that the order had received its privileges from the holy see, and that it was very surprising to him that the Roman Church should seek its sudden destruction, when it had suspended the deposition of the Emperor Frederick II. for two-and-thirty years.

He also said, that he was ready to defend the order to the best of his ability; that he should consider himself a wretch did he not defend an order which had so highly honored him; but that he feared that he had not wisdom or understanding for the task, that he had not four deniers to expend on the defence, and had no other counsel than a serving-brother;‡ that, to conclude, the truth would be made apparent, not only by the testimony of the Templars, but by that of kings, princes, prelates, dukes, counts, and barons, in all parts of the world.

Should the grand master proceed to defend the order in this strain, he would greatly strengthen the defence, and undoubtedly compromise the king. The commissioners advised him to deliberate reflection, and had his deposition before the cardinals read over to him. This deposition had not emanated directly from

\* *Processus contra Templarios*, MS. The commissioners wrote another letter in which they said that, apparently, the prelates had thought that the commission was to proceed against the order in general, and not against its members; that it was not so: that the pope had deputed it to try the Templars.

† "The same day, he being present, (22d November,) there came before the bishops one, in layman's attire, who gave his name Jehan de Melot, (not Melay, as Raynourd and Dupuy have it,) and stated himself to have been a Templar for ten years, and to have left the order, although he had, he said, seen no harm in it. He avowed that he came to do and say whatever they desired, (il déclarait venir pour faire et dire tout ce qu'on voudrait.) The commissioners asked him if he wished to defend the order, that they were ready to give him patient hearing. He answered, that he had come for that only, but that he first wished to know what they wanted to do with the order, adding, 'Do with me what you please, but let my needs be supplied, for I am very poor.' (Ordonnez de moi ce que vous voudrez; mais faites-moi donner mes nécessités, car je suis bien pauvre.)—The commissioners perceiving by his appearance, words, and gestures, that he was a simple man, of weak intellect, went no further, but dismissed him to the bishop of Paris, who, they said, would receive him kindly, and supply his wants." *Processus*, MS. folio 8.

‡ "Nisi unum fratrem servientem, cum quo consilium habere posset. Prædicti domini commissarii disrunt prædicto Magistro, quod bene et plene deliberaret super dicta defensione ad quam se offerbat." *Ibid.* p. 318.

\* Dupuy, *Hist. du Diff.* p. 298.

† *Ibid.* pp. 293-295.

‡ Then, passing on to another matter, the pope declares that he had suppressed as useless a clause of the convention with the Flemings, which either through hurry of business or carelessness he had signed at Poitiers, to the effect that if the Flemings brought upon themselves the papal censure by violating the convention, they were only to be absolved on the king's request—the which clause might lead to inferences against the sound sense of the pope. Every excommunicated person who makes satisfaction may be absolved, even without the consent of the adverse party. The pope cannot dissuade himself of the power of granting absolution.

himself. From modesty, or some other reason, he had referred the cardinals to a serving-brother, whom he ordered to speak for him.\* But when he was before the commission, and the churchmen read to him with loud voice the miserable avowals which had been set down, the old knight could not coolly hear such things repeated to his face. He crossed himself, and said, that if the lords commissioners of the pope† had not been who they were, he would have had something to say to them. The commissioners answered, that they were not persons to take up a gauntlet thrown down by way of challenge. "That is not what I mean," said the grand master; "but would to God that in such things we followed the custom of the Saracens and Tartars, who cut off the heads of the wicked or saw them in two."‡

This provoked the commissioners from their usual mild demeanor, and they answered with cold sternness. "Those whom the Church finds to be heretics, she condemns as heretics, and abandons the obstinate to the secular tribunal."

Philippe-le-Bel's man, Plasian, was present, though uninvited, at this hearing. Jacques Molay, alarmed at the impression which his words had made on the priests, thought that he would do better to trust himself to a knight.§ He asked permission to confer with Plasian, who advised him as a friend not to ruin himself, and persuaded him to solicit an adjournment of the hearing till the following Friday; a delay at once granted, and which the bishops would have been heartily glad to have extended to a much longer period.]

On Friday, Jacques Molay was again produced; but an altered man. No doubt, Plasian had worked upon him in his prison. When again asked whether he undertook to defend the order, he submissively replied, that he was but a poor illiterate knight; that he had heard an apostolic bull read, by which the pope reserved to himself the trial of the heads of the order, and that at present he asked nothing more.

The question was expressly put to him—Did he wish to defend the order? He said, No; he only begged that the commissioners would write to the pope to summon him as soon as possible to his presence, adding, with the sim-

licity of impatience and of fear, "I am mortal, as others are; the present moment only is ours."¶

The abandonment of the defence by the grand master deprived it of the unity and strength it might have received from him. He only asked to say three things in favor of the order. Firstly, that in no churches was divine service more honorably performed than in those of the Templars. Secondly, that he knew no religion in which greater alms were bestowed than in that of the Temple—alms being given thrice a week to all who presented themselves. Lastly, that so far as he knew, no manner of people had shed so much blood for the Christian faith, or were more feared by the infidels; that at Mansourah, the count of Artois had stationed them in the vanguard, and that if he had hearkened to them . . . .

Here a voice interrupted him: "Without faith, all this leads not to salvation."

Nogaret, who was present, also took up the word: "I have heard say, that in the chronicles, preserved in the abbey of St. Denys, it is written, that in the time of the sultan of Babylon, the master of that day, and the other heads of the order, did homage to Saladin; and that the said Saladin, when he heard of a great reverse sustained by the Templars, had publicly said that it had befallen them as a punishment for an infamous vice, and for their prevaricating with their law."

The grand master replied, that he had never heard tell of any such thing; that he only knew that the grand master of that day had observed the truce, since, otherwise, he could not have retained possession of certain castles. Jacques Molay concluded by humbly praying the commissioners, and the chancellor Nogaret, to allow him to hear mass, and to have his chapel and his chaplains. Thus they promised him, commending his piety.

Thus the two processes of the Temple and of Boniface VIII. were begun at the same time; presenting the strange spectacle of an indirect war between the king and the pope. The latter, constrained by the king to pursue the memory of Boniface, was avenged by the depositions of the Templars for the barbarity with which the king's servants had at first proceeded against them. The king cast dishonor on the papacy; the pope on the monarchy. But the king had power on his side. He prevented the bishops from sending the imprisoned Templars to the pope's commissioner, and, at the same time, he directed on Avignon swarms of witnesses who were picked up for him in Italy. The pope, in some sort besieged by them, was condemned to listen to the most fearful depositions against the honor of the pontificate.

\* Ibid. p. 302.

† M. Raynouard says "the cardinals," but incorrectly.

‡ Abscondit caput porverius inventa, vel abscondit oem per medium. Dapuy. p. 318.

§ "Quam idem Magister rogavit nobilium virum, dominum Guillelmum de Plasian . . . qui ibidem venerat, et non de mandato dictorum dominorum commissariorum, accedendum quod dixerat . . . et dictus dominus Guillelmus fecerat ad partem locutus cum eodem Magistro, quem, dicit accubant, diligebat et dilexerat, quia utroque milites erant." Ibid. p. 319. (The same master requested the noble man, lord William de Plasian . . . who had come thither, but not at the command of the said lords commissioners, as they gave out . . . and the said lord William spoke apart with the same master . . . asserted, he loved and had loved, because they were both soldiers.)

¶ Quam dilectione concurrebant eodem, majorem etiam ex dictis accubant, et ubi placeret et volebat. Ibid. p. 319.

\* Requiesce eodem, quod cum ipso, dicit et alii hominem, esset mortalis, nec habere de tempore alii sunt, placeret eodem dominis commissariis significare Dominus Pape quod ipse Magister quam citius posset ad eum presentem evocaret. . . . Ibid.

Many of the witnesses confessed their own infamy, and detailed at length the abominations in which they had shared with Boniface.\* One of the least revolting of their confessions, one which admits of being translated, is, that Boniface had murdered his predecessor. One of these wretches deposed that he had said to him, "Come not again into my presence till thou hast slain Celestine."† Another stated, that Boniface had held a *sabat*, and done sacrifice to the devil.‡ What is most probable of the things related of this old Italian legist, this countryman of Aretine's and Machiavel's, is, that he was skeptical, and often used impious and cynical expressions. . . . On one occasion, when some were expressing their fears in a storm, and saying the end of the world had come, he is reported to have observed, "The world ever has been, and ever will be." When questioned as to the resurrection, he replied by asking, "Did you ever see any one rise again?"

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There is no clear proof of these horrible buffooneries. What is better proved, and was, perhaps, more fatal to him, is his toleration. A Calabrian inquisitor had once observed, "I fancy the pope favors heretics, for he will not let us perform the duties of our office."¶ At another time an abbot having been charged by his monks with heresy, and found guilty by the Inquisition, the pope contemptuously said, "You are idiots; your abbot is a learned man, and of riper judgment than you: away, and believe as he believes."\*\*

After being nauseated with all this testimony, Clement V. had still to endure, face to face, the insolence of Nogaret, (March 16th, 1310,) who repaired to Avignon, but accompanied by Plaisan, and a trusty escort of men-at-arms. For this petty Luther of the fourteenth century, this was his triumph, his diet of Worme—with this difference, that Nogaret, having the king

and the sword with him, was the oppressor of his judge.

We find the substance of what he probably said to the pope in the numerous *factums* (memorials) which he had issued on the subject, and in which we find a mixture of humility and insolence, of monarchical servility, classic republicanism, pedantic erudition, and revolutionary audacity. I was in the wrong to compare him to Luther. The bitterness of Nogaret does not recall the fine and simple bursts of wrath of the good man of Wittenburg, in which were blended the child and the lion, but rather, the bitter and concocted bile of Calvin—that hatred raised to the fourth power. . . .

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Boniface, he goes on to say, having declined to submit to the judgment of a council, and refused to call one, was therefore to be considered contumacious and guilty. Nogaret had not a minute to lose in fulfilling his commission. In default of the ecclesiastical or civil law, it behooved that some Catholic should defend the body of the Church—every Catholic is bound to expose his life for the Church. I, then, William Nogaret, a private man, and not simply a private man, but a knight, bound by the duty of chivalry to defend the republic, it was permitted me, it was imposed on me, to resist the said tyrant for the Lord's truth.—Likewise, just as each is bound to defend his country, *even to the deserving of a recompense, if, in such defence, he should slay his father,\** it was lawful for me,—what do I say!—it was obligatory upon me to defend my country, the kingdom of France, which had to fear ravage, the sword, &c.

Since, then, Boniface raged against the Church and himself *more furiosi*, (like a madman,) it was necessary to bind fast his hands and feet. This was not the act of an enemy, quite the contrary. . . .

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|| "Tace, miser, non credimus in aianam nec in pullum ejus." Ibid. p. 6.

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people in whom he could confide to prepare the pope's victuals. Boniface, on account of his deliverance, gave him absolution. And at Anagni itself, Boniface had preached to a large multitude, that all which had befallen him through Nogaret or his people, had been the Lord's doing.

Meanwhile, the process of the Temple had commenced with great parade, despite the desertion of the grand master. On the 23d of March, 1310, the commissioners had brought before them in the garden of the bishop's palace those knights who had expressed their willingness to defend the order—the hall would not have held them, for they were no fewer than five hundred and forty-six. The counts of the indictment were read to them in Latin; but when they were about to read them in French, the knights cried out that it was quite enough to have heard them in Latin, and that they did not want to be disgusted with such vile slanders in the vulgar tongue.\* Being so numerous, they were told, in order to avoid confusion, to appoint attorneys, and choose some of themselves to speak for the rest. All wanted to speak, so much had their courage revived:—"You should, then," was their cry, "have tortured us by attorney."† However, they delegated two to act for the rest, brother Raynaud de Pruin, a knight, and brother Pierre de Boulogne, a priest, the order's notary in the pontifical court, with some others to act as assistants.

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details, forming a painful contrast with the far-celebrated haughtiness and wealth of the order! . . . These unhappy men, out of their poor pay of twelve deniers a day, were obliged to pay for the boat which bore them to undergo their examinations in the city, and to pay besides the man who unlocked or riveted their chains.

At last the defenders entered a solemn protest in the name of the order. In this singularly strong and bold document, they declare that they cannot undertake the defence without the grand master, or before any other tribunal than a general council. They maintain "that the religion of the Temple is holy, pure, and immaculate before God and his Father.\* Regular institution, salutary observance of the rule, have ever been, and still are kept up in it in pristine vigor. All the brethren have but one profession of faith, which throughout the world has been, and is ever observed of all, from its foundation to the present day. And whoso says or believes otherwise, errs totally, sins mortally." It was a bold affirmation, indeed, to maintain that all had remained faithful to the rules of the primitive foundation; that there had been no deviation, no corruption. Though "the just man sins seven times a day,"

sages, ordonnés de par notre père l'Apostolle pour le fait des Templiers li furent, liquides sont en prison à Paris en la maison de Turen—Bismar et reverencie. Comme votre commandement fust a nous ce jeudi prochainement passé et nos fust demandé se nos volens defendre la Religion des Templiers descendre, tuit diarent cil, et disons que ele est bone et leal, et en tout sans mancoise et traïson tout ce que nos l'en met nos, et sommes prest de nous defendre chacun pour soy en tous ensemble, en telle maniere que droit et saine Eglise et vos en regarderont, come cil qui sont en prison an mois très a copie li. Et sommes en voire fides occire toutes les suites.—Hent nos vos fessons à savoir que les gages de cil deniers que nos avons se nos souffriront, mais. Car nos convient point nos li, li denier par jour chascun lit. Longe de cuisine, napot, toutes par fonctions et autres choses, li soit vi denier li semaine. Item pour nos serger et desferger, puisque nos sommes devant les auditoires, li soit. Item pour lever dras et robes, linges, chascun xv. jours xviii. denier. Item pour lanche et coudole chascun par liii. deniers. Item pour et repaiser les dix frères, xvi. deniers de assies de Notre-Dame de l'autre part de l'icm. Pres. MS. folio 30." (To the honorable and wise men, appointed by our father the pope for the affair of the brothers Templars who are in prison, in Paris, in the house of Turen—Bismar and reverencie. When your misery was with us this Thursday last past, and asked us whether we would defend the religion of the aforesaid Temple, all said yea, and we say that it is good and loyal, and altogether without malice and treason in all that is required to us, and are ready to defend ourselves, each himself singly, or all together, in such manner as law, the Holy Church, and you shall consider good, and so chuse may do who are exposed to every kind of misery.—We are kept in a block, gloomy fens, all night.—Also, we give you to know that our slavery, none of twelve deniers does not suffice us. For we have to pay for our bed, three deniers a day, each bed. The hiring of litters, (working?) linen, towels, for yams and other things, seven sous six deniers the week. Also, for providing and serving our food, when we go before the auditors, two sous. Also, for washing clothes, gloves, linen, we have each to pay eighteen deniers the fortnight. Also, for wood and candle, four deniers the day. Also, for the ferrying and ferrying back of the said brethren, from the seignory of Notre-Dame, on the other side of the river, sixteen deniers.)

\* . . . Apud Deum et Patrem. . . . Et hoc est manifestum, fratrum Templi commendatorum una profusio, quod per universos annos octavo servatur et servabit fide per omnes seculis ejusdem ordinis, a fundatione religiosi usque ad hunc presentem. Et quicunque aliter dicit vel aliter credit, errat, totaliter peccat mortaliter. . . . Page, p. 322.

\* Quel contenti avant de lecture faite in Latin, et quel nous couchant quel tant tardant, nous amonchant comme vos fides et nos commandement vulgaris, espourter. Pres. contre Templ. MS.

† Et dices quod nos petebatur ab eis quando presentibus in monasterio in procuracione continere vident. Ibidem.

‡ Some were kept in the Temple, others in the church of St. Martin-des-Champs, others in the mansion of the count of Beauvo, and in other private houses. Pres. MS.

§ Respondit quod nichil vulgare cum dominis papa et regi Francie. Pres. MS. li verso.

|| Brother Elin, who drew up this affecting document, ends by praying the notaries to correct whatever errors they may find in his Latin. MS. folio 31, 32.—(Notes written a decade in the Romance language, largely corrupted and intermixed with northern French. Folio 30-32.)

¶ I give this document, as it was copied by the notaries, with all its rude orthography.—A bonne hourrabie et



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les gages de cil deniers que nos avons ne nos suffisent  
mie. Car nos recevont pour nos li, cil denier par jour  
chascun li. Longs du cuisin, rapen, toutes par tentes  
et autres choses, il nous vi denier la semaine. Item pour  
nos farger et desloger, poisons nos sommes devant les ad-  
voies, il est. Item pour lever des et robes, langes, chascun  
xv. jours avit denier. Item pour herbe et manduc chas-  
cun par li denier. Item passer et repasser les die freres,  
xvi. deniers de ailes de Notre-Dame de l'autre part de l'au-  
tre. MS. folio 30. (To the honorable and wise men,  
appointed by our father the pope for the affair of the  
brothers Templars who are in prison, in Paris, in the house  
de Thron-Honor and reverence. When your notary was  
with us this Thursday last past, and asked us whether we  
would defend the religion of the aforesaid Temple, all said  
yes, and we say that it is good and loyal, and altogether  
without malice and treason in all that is required to us, and  
are ready to defend ourselves, each himself singly, or all  
together, in such manner as love the Holy Church, and you  
shall consider good, and as those may do who are exposed  
to every kind of misery.—We are kept in a black, gloomy  
house, all night.—Also, we give you to know that our allow-  
ance of twelve deniers does not suffice us. For we have to  
pay for our bed, three deniers a day, each bed. The hiring  
of kitchen, (cooking?) lances, towels, for pass and other  
things, two more, at deniers the week. Also, for riveting  
and unripping our truss, when we go before the auditors,  
two more. Also, for making clothes, gowns, henn, we have  
much to pay eighteen deniers the fortnight. Also, for food  
and candle, four deniers the day. Also, for the carrying  
and ferrying back of the said brothers, from the aylement  
of Notre-Dame, on the other side of the water, sixteen den-  
iers.)

\* . . . . Apud Deum et Patrem. . . . It has not remained  
without Templar commissioner and professor, que per univer-  
salem orbem servavit et servavit fide per omnes seculis qua-  
dam ordine, a fundamento religionis usque ad hunc pro-  
cessum. Et quicunque aliter dixit vel aliter credit, omnia  
habet, perit mortaliter. . . . Dup. p. 222.

\* Quand requiert avant de lecture faite en Latin, et quand  
sans combat quand toutes impudences, qu'on amonstroit con-  
traire aux freres et non commandés vulgaires, exposant  
Proc. contre Templ. M.

† Disoient que non prebatur ab eis quando prebatur  
in iuramento de prebatur: constituto videntur. Ibidem.

‡ Some were kept in the Temple, others in the church  
of St. Martin-des-Champs, others in the mansion of the  
count of Flavy, and in other private houses. Proc. MS.

§ Respondit quod notabat litigare cum dominis pape et  
regis Francie. Proc. MS. li. v. m.

¶ Brother Elio, who drew up this affecting document,  
made by paying the notaries to correct whatever errors  
they may find in his Latin. MS. folio 31, 32.—There  
was a defence in the Romance language largely corrected  
and improved with northern French. Folio 32-34.

\* I give this document, as it was copied by the notaries,  
with all its rude orthography.—"A honore honorable"

this haughty order found itself pure and without sin. Such excess of pride shocked all.

They did not stop here. They required that the apostate brothers should be placed under sure guard, until it was made apparent whether they had borne true witness or not.

They further required that no layman should be present at the examinations. No doubt the presence of a Plasian or of a Nogaret intimidated both accused and judges.

They conclude by saying that the pontifical commission can proceed no further:—"For, truly, we are not in place of safety; being, and having been, in the power of those who suggest false things to the lord king. Every day, either of themselves or through others, either personally or by letters or messages, they warn us not to retract the false depositions which have been torn from us by fear; that, otherwise, we shall be burnt."<sup>\*</sup>

Some days afterwards they entered a new protest, but stronger still, and less apologetical than threatening and accusatory. "This process," they say, "has been sudden, violent, iniquitous, and unjust; it is, altogether, atrocious violence, intolerable error. . . . Many, many of us have died of imprisonment and torture; others will remain maimed for life; several have been constrained to belie themselves and their order. These violences and torments have altogether deprived them of free-will; that is, of all the good that man can own. He who loses freedom of will, loses all that is valuable—knowledge, memory, and intellect.† . . . To compel them to falsehood and false witness, letters have been shown them with the king's seal, guarantying them their limbs, life, and liberty; promising carefully to allocate them a satisfactory revenue, and assuring them that the order would be condemned without help." . . .

Accustomed as the men of that day were to the violence of inquisitorial proceedings, and the immorality of the means commonly employed to extract evidence out of witnesses, words like these, nevertheless, could not but move the heart to indignation! But what spoke more forcibly than all words, was the pitiable appearance of the prisoners, their meager and emaciated countenances, and the hideous marks of the tortures they had undergone. . . . One of them, Humbert Dupuy, the fourteenth witness, had been tortured three times, and kept thirty-six weeks in the pit of an infectious tower on bread and water. Another had been suspended by his privy parts. The knight

Bernard Dagué, (de Vado,) whose feet had been held before a blazing fire, showed two pieces of bone which had exfoliated from his heels.\*

These were cruel sights. Even the judges, legists as they were, and cased in the dry robe of the priest, were moved, and felt the spectacle. How much more the people, who daily saw these unhappy men crossing the river in their boats to the city, to the bishop's palace, in which the commission sat! The popular indignation increased against the accusers, the apostate Templars. One day four of these appear before the commission, still wearing their beards, but carrying their cloaks in their hands. Throwing themselves at the feet of the assembled bishops, they declare that they renounce the dress of the Temple; but the judges regarded them with disgust, and told them that out of that presence they might do as they liked.†

The process was taking a troublesome turn for those who had begun it so precipitately and violently. Gradually the accusers sank into the place of the accused; whose depositions daily revealed the barbarities and turpitude of the early stage of the proceedings. The intent of the process became apparent. One of the accused had been put to the torture to compel him to state the amount of the treasure brought from the Holy Land. Was a treasure a crime; a ground for indictment!

When we remember the number of affiliated members the Temple had among the people, and the relations of the knights with the nobility, out of whose bosom they all issued, we cannot doubt that the king was alarmed at having gone so far. The shameful end, the atrocious means—all had been unmasked. Would not the people, troubled and disturbed in their faith since the tragedy of Boniface VIII., rise up! In the revolt that took place on account of the alteration of the coin, the Temple had been strong enough to protect Philippe-le-Bel; now, all the friends of the Temple were against him. . . .

The danger, too, was aggravated by the decisions of the councils in the other countries of Europe, having been favorable to the Templars. They were declared innocent on June 17th, 1310, at Ravenna; on July 1st, at Mentz; on October 21st, at Salamanca. By the beginning of the year, these judgments, and the dangerous reaction which would follow at Paris could be foreseen. To anticipate it was of the last consequence, and safety was to be snatched

\* . . . . Quia si recesserunt, prout dicunt, comburentur omnino. Ibid. p. 334.

† . . . . Liberum arbitrium, quod est homo habere: unde qui caret libero bono, scientiâ, memoriâ, et intellectu. Admirable revival of justice and morality, who required from their adepts so free-will, here acknowledge that, with In like manner we see further on Nogaret—either really, or at least feigning so to do—asking absolution from a pope to whom he of pope.

ens duo esse, quod dicebat illa esse quæ ceciderat. Proc. ap. Rayn. p. 73.

† . . . . et domini commissarii dixerunt eis, quod eos non sent ibi, nec de eorum mandato seu consilio, sed extra quidquid vellet. Dupuy, p. 338.

recessed himself loudly from a feeling of justice, on the 4th of April, Castile, Aragon, praying them not to them in France. Du-

from daring: the process was, at all risks, to be grappled with, hurried on, and ended.

By February of the same year, (1310,) the king had completed his arrangements with the pope. He agreed to defer the judgment of Boniface to him;\* but in April required in return, that Clement should nominate to the archbishopric of Sens the young Marigni, brother of the famous Enguerrand Marigni, the true king of France under Philippe-le-Bel. On the 10th of May, the new archbishop summons a provincial council at Paris, and cites the Templars before it. Here we have two tribunals judging the same parties at the same time, in virtue of two bulls of the pope's. The commission appealed to the bull, empowering it to try the case;† the council to the preceding bull, which had restored their powers to the ordinary judges.‡ No act of this council is extant: nothing remains save the list of those who composed it, and the number of those they condemned to the stake.

Sunday, May 10th, being a day on which the commission sat, the defenders of the order appeared before the archbishop of Narbonne and the other pontifical commissioners, and presented an appeal. The archbishop replied, that the appeal concerned neither himself nor his colleagues, and that they could take no notice of it, since it was not an appeal from their tribunal; but that if the knights chose to speak in defence of the order, they would willingly hear them.

The poor knights prayed they would at least manage them an audience with the council, to present their appeal to it, and provide them with two notaries to draw up an authentic notice of it—addressing not only the commission, but even the notaries who were present. They then read their appeal, in which they placed themselves under the protection of the pope, in the most pathetic terms:—"We beseech the holy Apostles, we beseech them over and over again, with earnestness of entreaty we beseech them."§ The unhappy victims already felt the flames, and clung to the altar which could not protect them.

All the aid secured them by this pope on whom they relied, and to whom they commended themselves as if to God, was a timid and cowardly opinion, in which he had endeavored beforehand to interpret the word *relapsed*, should it be applied to those who had retracted their confessions:—"It seems in a manner contrary to reason to account such men *relapsed*. . . . In doubtful things of the kind, punishments should be restricted and modified."||

\* Hist. du D<sup>u</sup>l. Preuves, pp. 295-299.

† According to Dupuy, (p. 45,) the pope's commissioners replied to the appeal of the defendants, "That councils passed judgment on individuals, and they on the affair as a whole."—The commission said just the reverse.

‡ Dupuy, note at p. 44.

§ Petitiones Apostolicas et litterarum primas, et cum instantiis amplexus primas. Ibid. p. 246.

|| Videtur quod contrarium rationi tales judicare relapsos.

This opinion the pontifical commissioners lacked the courage to enforce. They replied, on the evening of the same Sunday, that they felt great compassion for the defenders of the order, and the other brothers, but that the proceedings of the archbishop of Sens and his suffragans were altogether unconnected with theirs; that they knew not what was transacting in the council; that if the commission were authorized by the holy see, the archbishop of Sens was so likewise; that the one had no authority over the other; that *at the first glance* they saw nothing to object to as concerned the archbishop of Sens; that, however, they would consider the matter.\*

While they were considering, they learned that fifty-four Templars were going to be burnt. One day's examination had been ample for the enlightenment of the archbishop of Sens and his suffragans. Let us follow, step by step, the narrative of the notaries to the pontifical commission in its terrible simplicity.

"On Tuesday the 12th, during the examination of the brother Jean Bertaud,† the commissioners were apprized that fifty-four Templars were about to be burnt.‡ They instructed the provost of the church of Poitiers and the archdeacon of Orléans, the king's chaplain, to tell the archbishop of Sens and his suffragans to deliberate ripely and to adjourn, seeing that the brothers who had died in prison protested, it was said, on the peril of their souls, that they were falsely accused. If such execution took place, it would hinder the commissioners from proceeding with their duty, the accused being so terrified that they seemed out of their senses.§ In addition, one of the commissioners charged them to intimate to the archbishop that brothers Raynaud de Pruin and Pierre de Boulogne, priests, Guillaume de Chambois and Bertrand de Sartiges, knights, had intimated an appeal to the commissioners."

Here was involved a grave question as to right of jurisdiction. If the council and the archbishop of Sens recognised the validity of an appeal brought before the papal commission, they acknowledged the superiority of that tribunal, and the liberties of the Gallican Church were compromised. Besides, undoubtedly the king's orders were imperative; and the young Marigni, created archbishop for the purpose, had no time for wrangling. He absented him-

. . . . In talibus dubiis restringenda sunt potes. Rayn. p. 348.

\* Quod ipse prescribit quid in dicto consilio agatur . . . et quod dicti ipse . . . etiam Apostolica curia de deponat . . . prius quod non videbatur dictis commissariis prout fecit, ut dixerat, quod habuerat aliqui inhibere dictis dominis archiepiscopis et suffraganeis . . . ad hoc tamem deliberarent. Ibid. p. 348.

† The name is almost illegible in the manuscript. The hand clearly trembles. Higher up, the notary writes plainly—Bertaud.

‡ Quod littere et Templaris . . . etiam dicti de combarvadi . . . Proc. M<sup>ss</sup>. folio 72. (Half the page torn off.)

§ Ad hoc exterriti . . . non videbantur in plene consilio esse. . . . Ibidem.

self in order to avoid receiving the envoys of the commission; and then some one (it is not known who) raised a doubt as to their having spoken in the name of the commission. Margigni joined in the doubt, and they proceeded as before.\*

The Templars, who had been brought before the council on the Sunday, were sentenced on the Monday. Those who had made confession, were set at liberty; those who had been constant in their denial of the charges, were imprisoned for life; those who had retracted their confessions, were pronounced relapsed. These last, fifty-four in number, were degraded on the same day by the bishop of Paris, and handed over to the secular arm. On the Tuesday they were burnt at the *Porte St. Antoine*. These unhappy men had prevaricated in prison, but they were constant and consistent in the flames, and protested their innocence to the last. The crowd was mute, and as if stupified with astonishment.†

Who can believe that the pontifical commission had the heart to assemble the next day, to continue their useless proceedings, and to go on examining while the council was burning!

"Tuesday, May 13th, brother Aimeri, of Villars-le-Duc, was brought before the commissioners, his beard shaven off, and without the cloak or dress of the Temple, aged, as he said, fifty, and having been about eight years in the order as serving-brother, and twenty as knight. The lords commissioners explained to him the counts on which they were about to question him. But the said witness, pale and all scared,‡ appealing to his oath and his hopes of salvation, praying, if he lied, to be struck suddenly dead, and to be engulfed soul and body in hell before the very eyes of the commission, beating his bosom with clenched hands, bending his knees and raising his hands to the altar, protested that all the crimes charged on the order were utterly false, although, in the agonies of the torture to which he had been put by Guillaume de Marcillac and Hugues de Celles, knights belonging to the king, he had admitted

some of the accusations. He added, however, *that having seen fifty-four brothers of the order borne off on carts to the stake, who would not admit the truth of the said charges, and HAVING HEARD SAY THAT THEY HAD BEEN BURNED*, as he feared that he had not strength and fortitude to bear such a punishment, he was ready, in his fear, to acknowledge on oath, before the commissioners or others, all the crimes imputed to the order, and even to say, if they so desired, *that he had killed our Lord*. . . . He supplicated and conjured the said commissioners and us, the notaries present, not to reveal to the king's people what he had said, lest, he said, if they should know of it, he should be delivered up to the same punishment as the fifty-four Templars. . . . The commissioners, seeing the danger to which the witnesses were exposed, should the examinations be continued while this reign of terror\* prevailed, and moved as well by other causes, resolved to adjourn for the present."

The commission would seem to have been affected by this terrible scene; and although weakened by the desertion of its president, the archbishop of Narbonne, and by that of the bishop of Bayeux, both of whom had ceased to attend its sittings, it essayed to save, if there were still time, the three principal defendants.

"On Monday, 18th May, the pontifical commissioners deputed the provost of the church of Poitiers and the archdeacon of Orléans to wait, from them, on the venerable father in God, the lord archbishop of Sens and his suffragans, to claim for the defendants, Pierre de Boulogne, Guillaume de Chambonnet, and Bertrand de Sartiges, that they might be brought up under good guard as often as they should require to conduct the defence of the order." The commissioners took care to add, "that they did not seek to throw any hindrance in the way of the archbishop of Sens and his council, but only to relieve their conscience."† . . .

"In the evening, the commissioners met at St. Genevieve's, in St. Eloi's chapel, to receive a deputation of canons from the archbishop of Sens; whose answer was, that the process had been going on for two years‡ against the aforementioned knights, as private members of the order; that he desired to bring it to an end according to the form of the Apostolic rescript; and that it was far from his thoughts to interfere with the commissioners in the discharge of their duty."§ Dreadful mockery!

\* . . . . A quodam fuisse dictum coram domino archiepiscopo Senonensi, ejus suffraganeis et concilio . . . . quod dicti prepositus . . . et archidiaconus . . . (qui in dicta die Martis . . . . premissa intimasse dicebantur, et ipsi lidem hoc attestabantur, suffraganeis domini archiepiscopi Senonensis . . . . tunc absente dicto domino archiepiscopo Senonensi) predicta non significaverunt de mandato eorumdem dominorum commissariorum. Ibidem. 71 verso.

† Constantiter et perseveranter in abnegatione communi peristerunt . . . non abaque multa admiratione stupore vehementi. Coatl. Guill. Naag. in Specil. d'Achery, lib. ann. 1310.

‡ Pallidus et multum exterritus . . . impetrando sibi ipsi, si mentiebatur in hoc, mortem subitanam, et quod statim in animâ et corpore in præsentia dominorum commissariorum absorberetur in infernum, tendendo sibi pectus cum pugni, et elevando manus suas veras altare ad majorem assercionem, neciendo genus . . . cum ipse testes vidisset . . . . duci in quadrigis linte. fratres dicti ordalis ad comburendum . . . et audivisse eos fuisse comburetos; quod ipse qui dubitabat quod non posset habere bonam giudicium si comburereetur, timore mortis confiteretur . . . . omnes errores . . . . at quidem etiam interfecisset Dominum, si poterat ab eo. . . . Process. MS. 70 verso.

\* Durante terrore predicto. Ibidem, folio 71.

† Non intendentes . . . aliquam inhibitionem facere . . . Ibidem.

‡ Biennium erat elapsum. Ibidem.

§ Non erat intentionis . . . in aliquo impedire officium . . . Ibidem.

"It being asserted that the provost of the church of Poitiers and the archdeacon of Orléans had not spoken on the authority of the commissioners, the latter charged the envoys of the archbishop of Sens to acquaint him that the provost and archdeacon had really spoken in their name. Moreover, they told him to inform the archbishop that Pierre de Boulogne, Chambonnet, and Sartiges, had appealed

"The deputies having withdrawn, Raynaud de Pruin, Chamboonet, and Sartiges, were brought before the commissioners, whom they informed that Pierre de Boulogne had been taken from them without their knowing wherefore, adding, that they were simple, inexperienced men, and, moreover, so stupid and disturbed in mind, that they could neither direct nor dictate any thing for the defence of the order, without the advice of the said Pierre. For which reason they besought the commissioners to have him produced, to afford him a hearing, and to inquire how and why he had been separated from them, and whether he chose to continue his defence of the order, or to throw it up. The commissioners directed the provost of Poitiers and Jehan de Teinville to produce the said brother before them on the following morning."<sup>o</sup>

We do not find that Pierre de Boulogne did appear the following morning; but numbers of Templars came, and made known their intention of discontinuing the defence. On the Saturday following, the commissioners, deserted by another of its members, adjourned to the 24 November.

When they reassembled, the commissioners were still fewer in number, being reduced to three. The archbishop of Narbonne had left Paris on the king's service. The bishop of Bayeux was on a mission from the king to the pope. The archdeacon of Maguelone was ill. The bishop of Limoges had set out to join the commission, but was met by a notice from the king, that its adjournment had better be prolonged till the next parliament.<sup>†</sup> The three commissioners present, however, bade the crier ask as usual at the door of the hall, whether there were any one desirous of speaking on behalf of the Temple. None presented themselves.

On the 27th December the commissioners resumed their examinations, and demanded the production of the two principal defenders of the order. But the first, Pierre de Boulogne, had disappeared: his colleague, Raynaud de Pruin, it was said, could no longer go on with the defence, having been degraded by the archbishop of Sens. Twenty-six knights, who had been already sworn previously to giving in their depositions, were detained by the royal officers and could not appear.

It is worthy of all admiration that, surrounded as they were by violence and peril, they should have been found knights to maintain the innocence of the order; but such courage was rare. The greater number were under the impression of a profound terror.<sup>‡</sup>

The destruction of the Temple was being mercilessly prosecuted by all the provincial councils.<sup>§</sup> Nine knights had just been burnt at Sens. Examinations took place in the midst of the terror inspired by executions. The process was stifled with the fagot. . . . The commission continued its sittings until June 11th, 1311; and the result of its labors is recorded in a register, which ends with these words:—"As an additional precaution we have deposited the said *procedure*, (copy of the proceedings,) formally drawn up and attested by the notaries, in the treasury of the Notre-Dame de Paris, to be shown to no one save on the authority of letters special from your holiness."<sup>¶</sup>

Pollencourt, the thirty-seventh witness. At first, he declares that he will abide by his first confessions. The commissioners, seeing him all pale and frightened, tell him to think of saying the truth only and of saving his soul; that he runs no risk in telling the truth to them; that neither they, nor the notaries present, will repeat his words. On this, he revokes his deposition, and declares that he had sought absolution for it from a younger brother of the order, who explained him never again to bear false witness.

By the councils of Sens, Reims, Bourges, Angers, &c., and after examination by the bishops of Amiens, Cavaliers, Clermont, Chartres, Limoges, Puy, Mâcon, Maguelone, Nîmes, Trier, Fréjus, Poitiers, Béziers, Salerno, Nîmes, &c., Tours, &c. Raynaud, p. 130.

<sup>o</sup> This register, to which I have so often referred, is in the Bibliothèque Royale, (fonds Harlay, no. 200.) It records the proceedings before the pope's commissioners at Paris—*Processus contra Templarios*. It was deposited in the treasury of Notre-Dame, but got, how is unknown, into the library of the president Brisson, then came into the possession of the advocate general, M. Servin, and lastly, passed into the library of the Harlays, whose armorial bearings it still displays. In the middle of the eighteenth century, M. de Harlay, scrupling, probably, to keep possession of a manuscript of such importance, bequeathed it to the library of the abbey of St. Germain des-Prés. This library was burnt in 1763, but the manuscript was saved and transferred to the Bibliothèque Royale, the royal library. A duplicate of it is preserved in the archives of the Vatican. See the Appendix to M. Raynaud's work, p. 200.—Most of the documents relative to the process of the Templars are in the National Archives. The most curious of these are, 1st, the first Examination of a Hundred and Forty Templars, arrested at Paris, filling a large roll of parchment, from which Dupuy has given some extracts in a very negligent manner. 2d, several examinations, in other cities. 3d, the minute of the articles on which they were interrogated, to which is prefixed a minute of a letter, without a date, from the king to the pope, a sort of *tertium cedit* designed to be spread abroad among the people. These minutes are written on paper made of cotton. The roll and previous rag covered with a very difficult hand-writing, has been deciphered and transcribed by one of my predecessors, the learned M. Paillet. It is full of curious facts, which have been carefully noted by M. Raynaud, p. 20. and which must have been due to the hand of one of Philip's ministers, to Margot, Pissart, or Nugnot. The paper has distinctly copied the articles in the parchment in the Vatican. The letter alluded to above, is written with remarkable animation and vigor—in the name, Amen. Christus vincit, Christus regnat, Christus imperat. Post illum universalem victricem quoniam ipse triumphavit in ignis crucis contra hostem antiquum. . . . in animis et magnam et strenuam illi utitur et necessarium. . . . fidei perveniens hic debet per inquisitionem. . . . in perditionem Templariorum operari. . . . Terrando fidei dominus regit.

<sup>¶</sup> *propter conditionem periculum destructionis, quia parvi status erant homines et non grande precesseverunt negotium, &c.*—"In the name of God, Amen. Christ is victorious, Christ regns, Christ governs. Since that universal triumph of our Lord's on the cross of wood over the old enemy. . . . so wonderful, and great, and strenuous, so useful and necessary. . . . has and been wrought more in these last days by the inquisition. . . . in the affairs of the pernicious Templars. . . . Our sovereign king felt alarm. . . . an account of the rank of the accused, because they were of mean condition to bring forward so great a matter," &c.) Archives, Section Manuscrits, J. 622.

from the archbishop and from his council, on Sunday, 10th of May, and that this appeal ought to have been answered to the council on Tuesday by the provost and archdeacon." Poirson, 100. Ibidem.

<sup>o</sup> Ibidem, 71 verso.

<sup>†</sup> *Interdum per litteras regis quod non expediret.* Ibidem, 70 verso.

<sup>‡</sup> This is clearly inferrible from the deposition of Jean de

vol. I.—40

The order was suppressed as useless or dangerous, in all the states of Christendom; their monarchs either seizing its property, or bestowing it on other orders. But the persons of the Templars were respected there. The severest treatment they experienced was imprisonment in monasteries; and often in those which had belonged to themselves. This was the only punishment to which those heads of the order in England, who persisted in denying the allegations against it, were subjected.

In Lombardy and in Tuscany the Templars were condemned; acquitted at Ravenna and Bologna.\* In Castile they were adjudged to be innocent. The Aragonese Templars offered resistance, and threw themselves into their strongholds, mostly into their famous fort of Monçon.† These forts were attacked and carried by the king of Aragon. But they were not the worse treated for their attempt, and entered in crowds into the order of Montesa which was then created. It was not in Spain, in presence of the Moors, and on the classic ground of crusade, that the thought could be entertained of proscribing the old defenders of Christendom.‡

The conduct of other princes with regard to the Templars was a satire on that of Philippe-le-Bel. Their mildness was blamed by the pope, who reproached the kings of England, Castile, Aragon, and Portugal, for their not having had recourse to torture. Philippe had hardened him, either by giving him a share of the spoil, or resigning to him the judgment in the case of Boniface. The French king had made up his mind to give way a little on the latter point. He perceived all around him symptoms of general movement. The states over which he had extended his influence seemed on the point of escaping from it. The English barons were striving to unseat Edward the Second's favorites, whose governing their country humbled them in the sight of France. The Ghibelines of Italy were inviting the new emperor, Henry of Luxembourg, to dethrone Charles of Anjou's grandson, king Robert, a great clerk but sorry king, whose only skill was in astrology. The house of France was on the verge of losing its ascendancy in Christendom; and the empire, which had been thought defunct, threatened to rear its head again. This state of things touching Philippe's fears, he allowed Clement to clear Boniface's

memory from the charge of heresy,\* with the qualification that the king had acted without malice prepense, that rather, like another Slem, he would have sought to conceal the paternal shame and nudity. . . . . Nogaret himself is acquitted on condition that he will proceed to the crusade, (should there be a crusade,) and serve therein all his life in the Holy Land: meanwhile, he is to make such or such pilgrimage. The continuator of Nangis maliciously adds another condition, namely, that Nogaret shall make the pope his heir.†

A compromise was thus effected. The king gave way with regard to Boniface, and the pope abandoned the Templars to him. He yielded up the living to save a corpse. But that corpse was the papacy itself.

It remained to procure the sanction of the Church for these family arrangements. The council of Vienna was opened on the 16th October, 1312; an œcumenic council, at which more than three hundred bishops assisted, but rendered still more solemn by the importance of the subjects brought before it than by the number of those present.

The first subject submitted to its notice was, the deliverance of the holy places, of which every council talked, while all princes took the cross, and all remained at home. The theme had degenerated into a mere expedient for raising money.‡

\* This timid and incomplete reparation does not satisfy Villani, who adds, no doubt to render the matter more dramatic and more disgusting to the French, that two Catalan knights threw down their gauntlets, and offered to prove Boniface's innocence in the lists. Villani, l. ix. c. 22. p. 454.

† Contin. Gall. de Nang. ad ann. 1311.

‡ The following document, discovered in the abbey of the ladies of Looschamp, is a specimen of the marvellous tales with which it was attempted to reanimate the popular zeal for the crusade:—"To the very holy lady, of the royal line of the French, Jane (Jehanne) queen of Jerusalem and of Sicily, our very honorable cousin—Hugh (Hue) king of Cyprus, wishes happy fulfilment of all her best desires. Rejoice and exult with us, and with the other Christians bearing the sign of the cross, who, through reverence of God and to avenge the sweetest Jesus Christ—who, for our salvation, chooses to be sacrificed at the altar of the cross (qui pour nous sauver voutit estre en l'autel de la croiz sacrefiez)—fight against the unbelieving Turks. Raise to heaven your loudest acclamations, lift your voices together, and call on all to join you in returning thanks and praises unceasingly to the blessed Trinity, and to the very glorious Virgin Mary for so solemn, great, and singular a blessing as to this hour was never heard of, and which I now give you to know. For, on the 23d day of June, we, with the other Christians signed with the sign of the cross, were assembled in a plain between Smyrna and the high ground, where was the host and the very strong and very powerful assembly of the Turks, amounting to nearly twelve hundred thousand, and we, Christians, about two hundred thousand in number, moved and animated by Divine grace began to fight so vigorously, and to put such great numbers of Turks to death, that towards evening we were so worn out and so exhausted that we could no more. But we were all expecting death and the wages of martyrdom, since there were numbers of the Turks who had not yet fought or gone through any toll, and these were coming against us as desirous of drinking our blood, as dogs are desirous of drinking the blood of hares. And drunk it they would, had it not been otherwise provided for by the very great mercy of Heaven. But when Jesus Christ's knights saw that they were come to this strait, they began in shouts crying out together, with voices made hoarse by their very great labor and very great weakness—"O very sweet son of the very

\* At Mentz, July 1st; Ravenna, June 17th; Salamanca, 31st October, 1310. The German Templars justified themselves after the manner of the Westphalian free-judges. They appeared in arms before the archbishops of Mentz and Trèves, affirmed their innocence, turned their backs on the tribunal, and went their way in peace. See my *Symbolique du Droit*.

† *Montgaudi*—the Mountain of Joy.

‡ *Collectio Conciliorum Hispanie, Epistolatum, Decretalium, &c., curâ Jos. Saen. de Aguirre, Basæ, Hisp. Mag. Generalis et Cardinalis. Romæ, 1894, c. iii. p. 546.* "All and each were declared acquitted of all crimes and errors by the council of Tarracensis, 1312."—See, also, *Monarchia Lusitana*, pars 6. l. 10.

o affairs of high importance had to be  
l by this council—the process relative to  
ice and that of the Templars. By No-  
-r, nine knights presented themselves be-  
-se assembled bishops, bravely offering to  
-ake the defence of the order, and declar-

Virgin Mary, who chose to be crucified in order  
on us, grant us firm hope, and vouchsafe so to  
see our hearts in you, that we may be sustained by  
of thy glorious name to receive the wages of mar-  
-tice we can no longer defend ourselves from these  
-ing days.' And as we were thus in prayer with  
-g and tears, and crying out with wearied voices  
and expecting very bitter death, of a sudden there  
d before our tents upon a very white horse, so very  
s there is no boast of such great height, a man,  
a banner in his hand, on which was blazoned, on a  
-ster than any thing ever was, a vermeil cross redder  
-red, and clad in camel's hair, and with a very great  
-y long beard, and of this, clear countenance, shining  
-sun, who exclaimed with clear and loud voice—  
-sors of Jesus Christ, doubt not. See, the Divine  
-has opened the heavens for you, and sends you  
-s aid. Rise up, and hearen yourselves, and take  
-ed come fight vigorously with me, doubting nothing.

I shall gain the day over the Turks, and few of you  
-a, and those of you who do shall have life over-  
-ated them we all run up, so hurried, and as if we  
-ry thought, and suddenly we assailed the Turks right  
-ly, and we fought all night, and yet we cannot  
-y night for the moon shone not like a moon but  
-s sun. And when day came, the surviving Turks  
-that we saw no more of them, and thus, by God's aid,  
-sed the day, and in the morning we felt ourselves  
-r than we were at the beginning of the first battle,  
-named a man to be sung in honor of the blessed  
-and the blessed Virgin Mary, and devoutly prayed  
-at He would deign to grant us grace to distinguish  
-les of the holy martyrs from those of the unbelievers,  
-on he who had before appeared to us said, 'You  
-ave what you have asked, and God will work a  
-work for you if you persevere firmly in the true faith.'  
-ith our own mouths we asked him. 'Sir, tell us who  
-s who has done such great things for us, in order  
-may make known thy name to the Christian people.'  
-answered, 'I am he who said, Behold the Lamb of  
-hold him who taketh away the sins of the world—  
-so festival you this day celebrate.' And this said,  
-him no more, but he left behind so powerful and  
-small, that all the day and the night following we  
-selves sustained, refreshed, and fed by it without  
-ny supply of corporal food. And thus supported as  
-s, we gave orders to seek and to number the bodies  
-holy martyrs, and when we came to the spot we  
-at the head of each Christian corpse a long wand,  
-l branches, with a very white flower, round as a com-  
-l bud, (consecrated wafer), flowering at the top, and  
-therein in letters of gold, 'I am a Christian.' And  
-s separated them from the bodies of the unbelievers,  
-g thanks to our Sovereign Lord. And thus as we  
-went to repeat the burial service over their bodies, as  
-us are wont to do, numberless voices from heaven  
-l forth and raised a chant of such very sweet melody,  
-ch of us thought that he had entered into the enjoy-  
-f life everlasting, and thence they sang the verse,  
-s, *beati sunt omnes qui in domino morantur*, etc. 'Come, ye blessed of my  
-father, and take possession of the kingdom which has been  
-d for you from the beginning of the world.' And  
-s buried the bodies, to wit, three thousand and fifty  
-s, near the city of Tiberias, which was heretofore a  
-ad (singular) city, which, with the country there-  
-s, we held for ourselves and for loyal Christians. And  
-sentry is so pleasant and desirable, and abundant,  
-good Christian there can doubt of his being able to  
-ll and support himself. And the barren bodies of  
-over, as far as we could number them, were above  
-three thousand. No have we hope that the time is  
-near, that the saying of the script: will be verified  
-s, that there shall be one fold and one shepherd,  
-to say, that all manner of people shall be of one  
-ssembled together in the house and in obedience to  
-hurch, whose shepherd shall be Jesus Christ, *Qui  
-scedit in secula seculorum*, Amen. Who is blessed  
-ard over, Amen.' And this said miracle came to  
-the year of grace 1347. Art. lxxv, Section Historique.

ing, that from fifteen hundred to two thousand  
of their brethren were in Lyons and the adjoining  
mountains, ready to come to their support.  
Alarmed at this declaration, or rather at the  
interest awakened by the devotion of the nine,  
the pope threw them into prison.\*

From this time he feared to reassemble the  
council; and he kept the bishops idle the whole  
of the winter in this foreign city, far from their  
own dioceses and duties, no doubt hoping to  
tire them out, and trying to win them over  
separately.

Another object which the council had in view  
was, the repression of the mystics, of the *spiritual*  
*béghards* and Franciscans. It was a sad  
sight to see on his knees before Bertrand de  
Gott, Philippe-le-Bel's pope, the pious and en-  
thusiastic Ubertino, the first known author of  
an "Imitation of Jesus Christ."† All the favor  
which he asked for himself and his brethren,  
the reformed Franciscans, was, that they should  
not be compelled to enter monasteries in which  
the rule had become too relaxed, or which were  
too rich, and in which they could not find poor  
enough to their liking.

Imitation of Christ, in the mind of these  
mystics, was charity and poverty. In the most  
popular book of this day—the Golden Legend  
—a saint gives away all he has, even his shirt;  
he only keeps his evangel; but, again applied  
to for relief, he gives his evangel. . . . In this  
bold legend, religion seems immolated to works,  
faith to charity.‡

Poverty, sister of charity, was the passion  
and the ideal of the Franciscans, their sublime  
desire.§ Their aspiration was, to have nothing.

\* See the letter of Clement V. to the king of France, dated  
Nov. 11, 1311, in Raynouard, p. 177.

† Nihil in hac libro intendit nisi Jesus-Christi amorem et  
directo vicem et imitabilem vitam. "The author's design  
in this work is solely the knowledge, and hearty love, and  
imitable life of Jesus Christ." Arthur Vita Crucifixi Jesu,  
Præf. l. i. — Many passages breathe an exalted love — "I  
my soul, merit and resolve myself all into thee, reflecting  
on the hardships undergone by the dear little Jesus and the  
tender Virgin his mother. See how they are crucified, both  
by their mutual pity, and that which they feel for us. Ah!  
couldst thou make of thyself a bed for worn-out Jesus who  
lies on the bare ground. . . . Couldst thou with plea-  
sant tears make them a refreshing beverage, thirsty pil-  
grims, they find nothing to drink. . . . Love has two  
saves, one, so sweet in presence of the beloved object,  
such as Jesus gave his mother to enjoy while she was with  
him, and clasped and kissed him. The other more bitter,  
felt in absence and regret. The soul loves itself, and  
passes into it: the beloved object, it wanders around, seek-  
ing the object of its love, and asking help of all, (so did the  
Virgin seek the little Jesus, while He was teaching in the  
Temple." Ibert de Caual, Arthur Vita Crucifixi Jesu, l. v.  
c. 6-8, in fine. — The *Imitation of Jesus Christ* is the subject  
of heaps of books in the fourteenth century. The beautiful  
work, so entitled with which we are best acquainted, (that  
of Thomas à Kempis), is the latest of all, and is the wisest  
and most rational, but not perhaps the most eloquent or the  
most profound. The writer has judiciously extracted the  
true Christian meaning from the bold philosophy and insu-  
perable poetry in which the mystics had buried it.

‡ According to some, "the Passion was better represented  
by alms than in the sacrifices of the altar"—*Quid opus  
misericordie plus placet illis, quam sacrificium altaris.*  
(Quid in elemosinis magis representantur Passio Christi  
quam in sacrificiis Christi) Erasmus (undecimo) a Thom-  
asine, op. 17 (Argente, l. 37).

§ There has been the marriage of poverty and of St.  
Francis. Ubertino, in his simplicity, gave entrance to this



But this is not as easy as is supposed. They begged, they received: is not the gift of one's daily bread a possession? And when food had become assimilated to, blended with their flesh, could it be said that the food was not theirs? . . . Many persisted in denying it.\* A fantastic effort to escape living on the conditions of life, to emancipate one's self from the servitude to matter, to conquer and to anticipate here below, the independence of pure spirit.

The aim might appear sublime or ridiculous; but, at the first glance, the danger was unseen. Yet, was not the erection of absolute poverty into the law of man, the condemnation of property? precisely as at the same period the doctrines of ideal fraternity and illimitable love were making marriage, that other basis of society, null and void.

In proportion as authority was being lost, and the priest was sinking in the estimation of the people, religion, no longer bounded by forms, diffused itself in mysticism.† Christianity was born of love, and in its hour of weakness, it seemed sick of love.

The *Little Brothers* (fraticelli) had goods and wives in common. They maintained that in the aurora of the age of charity, one should keep nothing for one's self; and they undertook to establish on a mountain‡—in Italy, where the imagination is impatient, in Piedmont, an energetic land—the first truly fraternal city. Here they sustained a siege under their chief, the brave and eloquent Dulcino. Undoubtedly there was something in this man. When he was taken, and torn in pieces with burning pincers, his beautiful *Margareta* refused all the knights who wished to save her by marrying her, and preferred sharing his fearful punishment.§

Women take a distinguished place in the history of religion at this period. The great saints are women—St. Bridget and St. Catherine of Sienna. The great heretics are women too. In 1310 and in 1315, we find women from Germany or the Low Countries, teaching that the soul, annihilated in the love of the Creator, may leave the body to do as it pleases, without a thought.|| Already (A. D. 1300) had an Englishwoman visited France, who was persuaded

that she was the Holy Ghost incarnate, for the redemption of woman; and as she was beautiful and sweet-spoken, she found but too ready believers.\*

Whatever were the good intentions of these preaching women, there was sensuality in all this. But, is love only dangerous under a voluptuous form? Is it not quite as much so in the midst of mortifications? The pure mysticism of the Franciscans, too, was scarcely less alarming.† The pope, the defender of the Church, of society, and of common sense, had perforce to condemn their sublime, but too vigorous and absurd logic, their charity, their absolute poverty. The ideal had to be condemned, the ideal of Christian virtues!

Hard and odious thing to say! How much more shocking still, when the condemnation proceeded from the lips of a Clement V., or of a John XXII. However dead might be the conscience of those popes, must they not have been inwardly troubled when they found themselves required to judge and proscribe these unfortunate sectaries, this mad sanctity, all whose criminality consisted in a wish to be poor, to fast, to weep through love, to go barefoot through the world, to play, innocent comedians, the touching drama of Jesus!‡

In the spring, the process of the Templars was resumed. The king laid his hand on Lyons, their asylum. The citizens had called him in to oppose their archbishop. This imperial city was wearied of the empire, and was too convenient to the king, not only as the knot of the Saône and the Rhône, the extreme eastern point of France, and commanding the road to the Alps or to Provence, but above all, as the asylum for malecontents and nest of heretics. Philippe held an assembly of notables there.

\* Venit de Anglia virgo decora valde pariterque sacunda, dicens Spiritum Sanctum incarnatum in redemptionem mulierum. "She baptized women," continues the annalist, "in the name of the Father and of his Son." *Annal. Dominican. Colmar. ap. Urtilium. P. 2. fol. 33.*

† They, too, preached that the age of love had begun. From the coming of Christ to his return, seven ages were to pass. "The sixth was the age of evangelical renovation and of the extirpation of the antichristian sect, by the voluntary poor who possessed nothing in this life. This age began with St. Francis, the seraphic man, the angel of the sixth seal of the Apocalypse. (Quod erat angelus sexti signaculi, et quod ad litteram de ipso et ejus statu et ordine evangelista Joannes intellexit. Ubertin. v. c. 3.) whom perfect Jesus, after the image of his own life, in the likeness of his conversation, in the perfect observance of the Gospel . . . perfectly figured, (quem perfectus Jesus ad imaginem vite sue, in similitudine conversationis sue, in perfecta observantia evangelii . . . perfectissime figuravit. Ibid.)" It appeared that he was, as it were, a new incarnation of Jesus, (Jesus Franciscum gerens, "Jesus begetting Francis") and his rule, a new Gospel . . . (Defendunt quod regula fratrum minorum est vere et proprie idem quod evangelium.) Probat. contra Ubert. de Casali. ap. Baluze, Miscell. II. 276.

‡ Ubertino, in his desire to represent the Gospel, asserts that he had entered into, and spiritually put on all its personages, figuring himself to be, sometimes, the servant or the brother of the Raviour; sometimes, the ox, the ass, or the hay; sometimes, the little Jesus. He assisted at the crucifixion, believing himself the sinful Magdalen; then he became Jesus on the cross, crying out to his Father; lastly, the spirit caught him up into the glory of the Ascension. *Arbor Vite Crucifixi Jesu. Prolog.*

profound saying—"The lamp of faith is poverty." Probationes contra Ubert. de Casali. Baluze, Miscell. II. 276.

\* See Ubertino de Casali in his chapter, *Jesus pro nobis indigens*. Jesus, in want, on our account:—Habentes dicit (apostolus): non quantum ad proprietatem domini, sed quantum ad facultatem utendi, per quem modum dicimus eam quod utimur, etiam non sit nobis proprium, sed gratis aliunde collatum. Ubert. de Casali, Arbor Vite, I. II. c. 11.

† Those named the "praying," (bégards,) went so far as to denounce prayer as useless:—"Where the spirit is," said they, "there is liberty. Hence that they were independent of human rule, and unfettered by the precepts of the church." Clementia. I. v. tit. 3. c. 3. D'Argentré, I. 276.

‡ Since called Mount Gazaril. Many assumed the cross against it from Vercelli, Novara, from the whole of Lombardy, from Vienna, Savoy, Provence, and France. The women subscribed, and sent five hundred ballistarii (crossbow men) against these heretics. Beav. d'Imola, ap. Muratori, Ant. It. I. I. p. 1120.

§ Ibidem.

|| Cont. G. de Nangis, ap. Spicilog. III. 63.

Next, he came to the council with his sons, his princess, and a powerful escort of men-at-arms. He sat by the pope's side—somewhat below him.

Up to this time the bishops had shown themselves any thing but docile, and had persisted in demanding to hear what defence the Templars had to offer. The Italian prelates, one alone excepted; those of Spain, Germany, and Denmark; those of England, Scotland, and Ireland; even the French bishops, Philippe's own subjects, (excepting the archbishops of Reims, of Sens, and of Rouen),\* declared that they could not condemn without hearing.

The pope behaved then, after having assembled the council, to do without it. He assembled those bishops on whom he could most surely rely, with a few cardinals, and in this consistory he abolished the order, of his own pontifical authority.† The abolition was afterwards solemnly pronounced in presence of the king and the council. None raised their voices in protest.

It must be acknowledged that this process is not one of those on which we can pass judgment. It embraced all Europe. The depositions were by thousands, the documents innumerable, the forms of trial had differed in the different kingdoms. The only thing certain is, that the order had become useless and dangerous too. However little his secret motives may have been to his honor, the pope acted sensibly. He declares in his explanatory bull, that the judicial examinations are not to be implicitly depended on, that he has not the right to judge, but that the order is suspected—*ordinem valde suspectum*.‡ Clement XIV. (Ganganelli) pursued exactly the like course with regard to the Jesuits.

Clement V. endeavored to save the honor of the Church on this fashion. He secretly falsified Boniface's registers;§ but he only revoked

one of his bulls in the council, the bull *clericis laicos*, one which did not touch upon doctrine, but which hindered the king from taking their money from the clergy.

And so these great quarrels of ideas and principles, dwindled down to questions of money. The possessions of the Temple were to be devoted to the deliverance of the Holy Land, and given to the Hospitallers;\* which order was even accused of having bought the abolition of the Temple. If it did, it cheated itself. One historian asserts, that it was rather impoverished than benefited. John XXII. complained, in 1316, that the king paid himself for the keep of the Templars by seizing the revenues of the Hospitallers.† The year following, they were too happy to give the royal administrators a final discharge for the property of the Temple. In 1309, the pope bewailed that he had only yet received a few of the moveables, *not even enough to cover his expenses*. But, finally, he had no reason for complaint.‡

There remained a sad portion of this inheritance of the Temple, and the most embarrassing—the prisoners whom the king detained at Paris, particularly the grand master. Let us listen to the description given of this tragic event by the anonymous historian, the continuator of Guillaume de Nangis:—

"The grand master of the ci-devant order of the Temple, and three other Templars, the visitor of France, the masters of Normandy and Aquitaine, the right of pronouncing definitive judgment on whom the pope had reserved to himself,§ appeared before the archbishop of Sens, and an assembly of other prelates and doctors of divine and canon law, convened for this special purpose at Paris, on the pope's orders, by the bishop of Albano, and two other cardinals, legates. The four above-named, having publicly and solemnly acknowledged the crimes of which they were accused, and having persevered in the confession, and appeared to desire to persevere in it to the end, after ripe deliberation of the council, on the Place du Parvis de Notre-Dame, the Monday after St. Gregory's day, were condemned to perpetual close imprisonment. But when the cardinals thought that they had concluded this business, lo and behold, all of a sudden, so that no one could have anticipated it, two of the condemned, the master from beyond the sea

\* In hoc conventum, ut dicit Templaris audientium sine detestacionem. In hac sententia concordant. . . . *Proter*

... Wadding Vit. Clem. V. auctore Paderm. Rayn. p. 127.

† Multis vocatis prelati cum cardinalibus in privato consistorio, ordinem Templarum cassavit. Tertia enim die Aprilis, 1312, fuit secunda sessio concilii, et predicta cassatio cum omnibus publicis est. Quint. Viti Clem. V. . . . promissa regis Francie Ph. ipso cum tribus illis suis, cui suspectum erat corde. Tert. Viti Clem. V. Most historians have believed that it was the council which pronounced sentence on the order. The bull annulling it, was first printed three centuries after the act, in blank.

‡ Quod ipse summus pontifex valde suspectum esse debuit . . . non per medium delictum solentem cum tam super hoc, arduum inquisitionem et processum per Orben, non processum fore de jure sed per vim provisionis et ordinationis apostolicarum. . . . Rayn. contin. lib. in Clem. V. Rayn. 125. However, it cannot be denied that the pope displayed great complaisance and sensitivity towards the French king. This was the feeling at the time. "And as I have heard from one who sat on the trial and examined the witnesses, the order is as destroyed against all justice. And he said me that Clement himself declared, 'If it cannot be destroyed on just grounds, let it be destroyed for expediency's sake.' It is not per vim justitie potius deestri, destruitur tamen per vim expedientie, that our dear son, the king of France, he is scandalized." *Albericus a Ratis.*

§ These registers still show the blanks where the writing has been very cleverly erased. Raynmond, p. 52.

\* However in Aragon John XXII. at the king's request, ceded the revenue of the Temple, not on the Hospitallers, but on the new order of Montesa, (a fortified monastery of the kingdom of Valencia, a dependency on Calatrava.)

† Per scriptum in litterarum quondam ordinis templi jam interitum per eundem domum ipsius Hospitales curam conservare qui venimus et destruximus pro litteris bonis Hospitales.

... Letter of John XXII. av. Kal. Jan. 1316, Rayn. 121.

‡ Modica bona mobilia . . . que ad sustinendam et expensam . . . sufficere minime poterunt. Augustin. 2. Kan. Mail, 1200. Yet Charles II. the king of Naples, had given him up half of the moveables possessed by the Templars in Provence. *Levassier*, p. 214.

§ Per litteras receptas ad nos . . . vive vultis crucis. . . . a. d. 1310, 14 Kal. Nov. *Archev.*, J. 672, No. 22.

(d'Outremer) and the master of Normandy, obstinately defending themselves against the cardinal, who had just spoken, and against the archbishop of Sens, turn round to deny their confession and all their preceding avowals, totally and unreservedly, to the great astonishment of all. The cardinals committed them to the custody of the provost of Paris who happened to be present, to guard them until they had more fully deliberated the matter the following day. But as soon as the report of these things came to the ears of the king, who was at the time in his royal palace, after communicating with his counsellors, *without summoning the clerks*, (prelates,) by a prudent decision, towards the evening of the same day, he had both of them burnt on the same pile, on a small island of the Seine, between the royal garden and the church of the hermit brothers of St. Augustin. They seemed to endure the flames with so much firmness and resolution, that the constancy of their death and their final denials struck the multitude with admiration and stupor. The two others were imprisoned, according to the sentence pronounced upon them.\*

Their execution, without the privity of the judges, was clearly an assassination. The king, who in 1310 had at least called a council in order to make way with the fifty-four, here disdained all appearance of right, and employed force alone. Here he had not even the excuse of danger, the reason of state, the excuse of the *Salus populi* which he had inscribed on his coin.† No, he considered the denial of the grand master as a personal affront, an insult to the monarchy so deeply compromised in this business. He struck him the fatal blow, no doubt as *reum læsæ majestatis*, (guilty of high treason.)‡

And, now, how explain the prevarications of the grand master and his final denial? Does it not seem as if through chivalrous fidelity and military pride, he saved at all risks the honor of the order; that the *haughtiness* of the Temple awakened at the last moment; that

the old knight, left in the breach as its last defender, chose, at the peril of his soul, to render it impossible for futurity ever to come to a judgment on this obscure question?

It may also be urged that the crimes charged on the order were peculiar to such or such a province of the Temple, or such and such a preceptory, but that the order was innocent of them; that Jacques Molay, after confessing as an individual, and through humility, might deny as a grand master.

But something more remains to be said. The principal charge, the denial of the Saviour,\* rested on an equivocation. The Templars might confess to the denial, without having been in reality apostates. Many averred that it was a symbolical denial, in imitation of St. Peter's—one of those pious comedies in which the antique Church enveloped the most serious acts of religion;† but whose traditional mean-

\* This denial reminds one of a much more serious saying than is apparent on the surface—"Offer up your unbelief to God."—See, above, notes at pp. 165, 175, and 184, on the grotesque ceremonies of the Church and the feast of fools, *fatuerum*.—"The people lifted their voice: not the fictitious people who speak in the choir, but the true people, rushing from without tumultuously and innumerable through all the vomitories of the cathedral, with their loud confused voice—a giant child, like the St. Christopher of the legend, brute, ignorant, passionate, but docile, imploring initiation, and praying to bear Christ on their colossal shoulders. They entered, dragging into the Church the hideous dragoes of sin, gorged with victims, to the Saviour's feet, to wait the stroke of the prayer which was to immoderate it. At times, also, recognising that the animalism was within themselves, they exposed in symbolical extravagances their miseries and infirmity. This was called the festival of *idiotia, fatuerum*; and this imitation of the pagan *ephebie*, tolerated by Christianity as men's firework to the annualism which he abjured, was repeated at the festivals of the Nativity, the Circumcision, Epiphany, the murder of the Innocents, and likewise on those days on which mankind saved from the devil, fell into the intoxication of joy—at Christmas and Easter."

In all initiatory ceremonies, the candidate is represented as a worthless person, in order that his initiation may have the credit of his moral regeneration. See the Initiatory Ceremony of the Coopers of Germany. (Notes to my *Introduction à l'Histoire Universelle*, p. 164, first edition.) "Just now," says the apprentice's godfather, "I brought you a goat skin, a murderer of hoops, a spoil-wood, an idiot, a traitor to masters and journeymen, (traître aux maîtres et aux compagnons): henceforward, I hope," &c.

† One of the witnesses deposes that when he refused to deny God and to spit upon the cross, Raymond de Brignolles, who was officiating, said to him laughingly, "Compose yourself, it is only a farce." (*Non curas, quia non est nisi quidam trifia*.) Rayn. p. 362. In the important deposition of the preceptor of Aquitaine, of which I proceed to give a part, we have the details of a ceremony of the kind, together with an explanation of its origin.

"The knight who initiated the candidate, having first invested him with the cloak of the order, presented him a crucifix on a mass book, and told him to deny Christ nailed to the cross. When, in great terror, he refused, crying out, 'Alas! my God, why should I do so? I will on no wise do it.'—'Do it, without fear,' replied the other. 'I swear by my soul that you shall sustain no injury either in soul or conscience, for it is a ceremony of the order,' introduced by a wicked grand master, who, being taken prisoner by a soldier, could obtain his liberty only by taking his oath to make all future candidates for admission into the order abjure Christ on this fashion; which has been done ever since, and so you may well do it.' And then, dependent would not do it, but resisted the more, and asked for his uncle and the other worthy persons who had brought him there. But the other replied, 'They are gone, and you must do what I order you.' And still he would not. Seeing his determination, the knight then said to him, 'If you will take your oath on God's holy Gospel that you will tell all the brothers of the order that you have done all that I have

\* Cont. G. de Nangis, p. 67. An authentic deed is still extant which indirectly proves this execution, in a register of the parliament for the year 1313—"Whereas, lately, at Paris, in an island lying in the river Seine, near the angle of our garden, between this our said garden on one side of the said river, and the house of the brotherhood of the order of St. Augustin at Paris on the opposite side of the said river, an execution took place of two men who had been formerly Templars, they having been burnt on the aforesaid island; and whereas the abbot and chapter (conventus) of St. Germain des Prés at Paris, claiming to be in seisin of high and low justice of every kind on the aforesaid island . . . We enact . . . that the rights of the said abbot and chapter . . . shall sustain no prejudice therefrom." Olim. Parliam. III. folio cxxvii. 13th March, 1313. (1314.)

† Coins of Philip's are extant with the impress of the angelic salutation and the legend, "*salus populi*."

‡ How shall we qualify the strange words with which Dupuy commences his *Histoire de la Condamnation des Templiers*:—"The finest and noblest acts of great princes have this unaccountable fatality attending them, that they are for the most part misinterpreted by such as are ignorant of the cause of the acts, and who have had an interest in the parties: powerful enemies of truth, who impute to them vicious motives and ends; whereas zeal on behalf of virtue ordinarily sees the favorable side of the question."

was beginning to be lost in the fourteenth century. Say that this ceremony was some- performed with culpable levity, or even impious mockery, it was the crime of , and not the rule of the order.

However, it is this charge which wrought sin of the Temple. It was not the infamy of their manners—which was not general order—otherwise, how suppose that they had induced their nearest relatives to be Templars! Let us not do injustice to a nature by the supposition. It was not, or the taint of Gnosticism; most likely, knights cared little for doctrinal points.

The true cause of their ruin, which set the heads of the lower orders against them, and I did not leave them a defender among the various noble families with which they were connected, was the monstrous charge of having shed and spat upon the cross, and this charge was the one which was admitted by the city. The simple enunciation of the fact all aloof from them. Every one crossed himself, and would hear no more.

Thus, the order which was the most expressive of the symbolical genius of the middle ages died of a symbol no longer understood. The catastrophe is but an episode of the eternal waged between the spirit and the letter, poetry and prose. Nothing is so cruel and useful as prose, when she shuts her eyes to old and venerable poetic forms in which she has been brought up.

The occult and suspicious symbolism of the Temple had nothing to hope from the moment the pontifical symbolism, hitherto revered as the whole world, was itself powerless. The grand mystic poetry of the "Unam Sanctam," which would have made all tremble throughout the twelfth century, was meaningless to the contemporaries of Pierre Flotte and of Nogaret. Nor *doce*, nor *ark*, nor *coat without seam*, none of these innocent symbols could longer defend the papacy.\* The spiritual sword was blunted. A cold and prosaic age set in, which turned its edge.†

The most tragical part of all this is, that the Church is slain by the Church. Boniface is less wounded by Colonna's gauntlet, than by the adhesion of the French bishops to Philippe-le-Bel's appeal. The Temple, proceeded against by the inquisitors, is abolished by the pope. The gravest evidence against the Templars is that tendered by priests.‡ No doubt, the arrogation of the power of absolution by the heads of the order had made the Churchmen their irreconcilable enemies.§

The impression made upon the men of that day by this great suicide of the Church, is plainly revealed in the inconsolable sorrowings of Dante. All in which man had believed, or which he revered,—papacy, chivalry, crusade, seemed on the verge of dissolution. Already in the middle age a second world of antiquity, which, with Dante, we must seek among the dead. The last poet of the age of symbolism lives long enough to read the prosaic allegory of the Romance of the Rose. Allegory kills the symbolical; prose, poetry.

\* *Unus est columba mea, perficitur mea, unus est mater mea . . . Unus semper fuit divinus tempore arcis . . . Nec est tunica illa homini incommutabile . . . Discrebunt Apostoli. Ecce gladii duo hic . . . (two in my dove, my perfect one, its mother's only one . . . one was it at the head, in Noah's ark . . . This is the tunic of the Lord, without seam . . . When the Apostles said, "Lo, here are two swords." . . .) Preuves du Diffrent, p. 25.*

† *Quelle est forte cette Eglise, et que redoutable est to glorie . . . How strong is this Church, how formidable her glorie . . . Bossuet, (Oraison Funèbre de Le Tellier).*

‡ And, likewise, in my belief, that of the serving brethren. The majority of the two hundred witnesses interrogated by the pontifical commission, are denominated *servientes*, (serving brethren). Rayn. 153.

§ This is one of the facts which the united testimony of all the English witnesses places in the category of "indisputable points," (critica qui vulcanum probant). Sometimes the heads of the order referred the brethren for absolution to the brother chaplain, who gave it without consulting them. (Precepit fratri capellano cum absolvere a peccatis suis quantum frater capellanus cum confessoribus non audierat. p. 277, col. 2, 387. A custom, although legitimate, the heads of the order, grand masters, visitors, and preceptors, administered absolution themselves. . . . (Quod et credebant et dicebatur eis, quod magno magistro ordinis potestatem absolvere a peccatis suis. Item quod visitator, item quod preceptor, quorum multi erant laici. p. 288, 289 witness. Quod . . . templarii laici cum hominibus absolvebant. Council Brit. 10, 288.)

¶ Five witnesses, p. 289 col. 1 depose "that the grand master grants a general absolution for the sins which the brethren are unwilling to confess through feebly shame . . . that it was their belief that it was not lawful to confess to the priest those things which were recognized as sins by the chapter and for which it granted absolution . . . that mortal sins were only to be confessed in chapter, and venial to the priest only." p. 289, col. 1.

‡ The evidence of the Scotch Templars on this point is the same. "Interrog. clerici, et laymari, can give absolution to the brethren before them." Interrog. clerici vel laici present absolvere fratres sine vulcano. p. 291, col. 1, first witness. Likewise, the 41st witness. Council Brit. 16, p. 292.

And I will dispense with your going through the cere-

mon. And the deponent gave his promise and oath. Then he dispensed with his going through the ceremony that, covering the crucifix with his hand, he should spit upon his hand. . . . Being asked if he had shed any brethren, he said that he had entered few for an account of this irreverent act, which was contrary to their reception. . . . However, he said that he had shed two knights. And asked whether he had made them Christ, he swore that he had spared them in the way that he had been spared himself. . . . And one of them was in the chapel, having mass. . . . brother said to him, "Sir, a certain plot is hatching against the paper has already been drawn up, informing the master and the rest that in receiving brethren into the order, you do not observe the forms which you are to observe." . . . And deponent thinks that this was having spared the feelings of these knights.

And asked the origin of this strange blindness in deponent and spitting on the cross he answered, on his name of the order attribute it to the commands of the master made prisoner by the sultan as above stated. . . . that it is one of the evil customs and statutes used by brother Porelin, former grand master, make it out to be one of the detestable statutes and one of brother Thomas Bernard, heretofore grand master have asserted it to be in imitation and in remembrance of Jesus, who thus denied Christ." (Inquis. pp. 216-216. —

showers of torture and the endeavours of the deponent in the humanness of the fact establish the fact he kept his scruples, his precautions and the diffidencies cited by him before he comes to its origin, prove not less clearly, that the meaning of the had become altogether forgotten.

## CHAPTER V.

CONTINUATION OF THE REIGN OF PHILIP THE  
FAIR. HIS THREE SONS, A. D. 1314-1328.—  
PROCESSES.—INSTITUTIONS.

THE end of the process of the Temple was the beginning of twenty others. The first years of the fourteenth century are only one long process. These hideous tragedies had distempered men's fancies and brutalized their souls. Crimes had become epidemical. Obscene, atrocious punishments, which were in themselves crimes, were at once their penalty and their provocation.

But had crimes been wanting, this government of the long robe, of *judgers*, could not easily stop, once it was in its full speed of judging. The militant disposition of the king's counselors, so terribly awakened by their campaigns against Boniface and the Temple, could no longer do without war; and their war, their passion, was a great prosecution, a grand and terrible prosecution of frightful and strange crimes, fitly punished by great punishments. The scene was complete, if the accused were a person of distinction. The populace then learned to revere the robe; the citizen taught his children to doff their cap to *Messires*, and to stand aside to let their mule pass when they returned late of an evening through the small streets of the city from some famous trial.\*

They had no reason to complain, accusations poured in—poisonings, adulteries, forgery, and, above all, charges of witchcraft; which, indeed, entered as an ingredient into all cases, forming their attraction and their horror. The judge shuddered on the judgment-seat, when the proofs were brought before him in the shape of philters, amulets, frogs, black cats, waxen images stuck full of needles. . . . Violent curiosity was blended in these trials, with the fierce joy of vengeance and a cast of fear. The public mind could not be satiated with them; the more there were burnt, the more were brought to be burnt.

One would be tempted to think this period the reign of the devil, were it not for the fine ordinances which come out at intervals, and play, as it were, God's part. . . . The two powers violently dispute the possession of man. One would suppose one's self present at the drama of Bartolo—man brought before Jesus, the devil being plaintiff, and the Virgin defendant. The devil claims man as his property, *alleging his long possession*. The Virgin proves that he has no *prescriptive right*, and shows his abuse of texts.†

\* See the death of the president Minart.

† Nothing is more common in *hagiography* than this struggle for the converted soul, or rather this imitation of a lawsuit in which the devil appears, in spite of himself, to bear witness to the efficacy of repentance. The famous legend of Dagobert is well known. A similar story of a converted usurer, is quoted by Cæsar d'Hesterbach. Whether the suit was conducted visibly or not, the story ever ran to

The Virgin holds a strong hand at this period. The devil himself belongs to the age, combining its marked character and evil ways of livelihood, smacking of Jew and alchemist, of the scholastic and the legist.

Henceforward, *diablerie* had little to learn, but was soon erected into a science. Demonology brought forth witchcraft. It was not sufficient to be able to distinguish and classify legions of devils, to know their names, professions, and dispositions; \* it was necessary to learn how to make them subservient to the uses of man. Hitherto, the object studied had been the means of driving them away; from this time, the means of making them appear was the end desired. Witches, sorcerers, demonologists started up beyond all number. Each clan in Scotland, each great family in France and Germany, almost each individual had one of these tempters; who heard all the secret wishes one feared to address to God, and the thoughts which shunned the ear. . . . They were everywhere.† Their flight of bats almost darkened God's own light and day. They had been seen to carry off in open day a man who had just received the communion, and who was watched by a circle of friends with lighted tapers.‡

The first of these disgusting prosecutions for witchcraft—in which, however, the parties were equally worthless—is that of Guichard, bishop of Troyes, charged with having compassed the death of Philippe-le-Bel's wife. This bad woman, who exhorted to the slaughter of the Flemish women, is said, according to a tradition more known than certain, to have had students brought to her by night at the *Tour de Nesle*, and to have had them thrown into the river when they had served her turn. In her own right, queen of Navarre, and countess of Champagne, she bore a grudge to the bishop for having, on a financial account, saved a man whom she hated. She did her best to ruin Guichard. First, she had him expelled the council board, and forced to reside in Champagne.§ Then, she swore she would lose her county of Champagne, or he his bishopric

the same tune:—"Si quis decedat contritus et confusus, licet non satisfecerit de peccatis confessis, tamen boni angeli confortant ipsum contra incursum demonum, dicentes . . . Quibus maligni spiritus . . . Mox advenit Virgo Maria alioquin daemones . . . &c." (If any one decedat, contrite and confessed, albeit he has not atoned for the sins which he has confessed, yet good angels fortify him against the attack of the demons, saying . . . to whom the evil spirits . . . Presently appears the Virgin Mary addressing the demons. . . . Herm. Corn. Chr. ap. Fecard. M. Évi. t. ii. p. 11.

\* Agnel, *Incant.* &c. M. Prælius, p. 39 and p. 69. This Byzantine writer belongs to the eleventh century. Etd. Gauthiotus, 1613, in 12mo.—Bodin, in his book *De Præstigiis*, printed at Bale in 1578, has drawn up a catalogue of the diabolical kingdom, with the names and surnames of 72 princes, and 7,405,236 devils. Bodin, p. 218.

\* Many were accused of selling devils in bottles. "Would to God," says Leloyer seriously, "provisions of the kind entered less commonly into traffic." (*Plût à Dieu, que cette denrée fut moins commune dans le commerce.*) Leloyer, p. 108 and p. 217.

† Mem. de Luther, t. lii.

‡ Archives, Section Histor. J. 438

She pursued him thus inveterately to compel him to unexplained restitution. Guichard applied to a sorceress, at first, to win him the queen's good-will; then to bring about her death. He was said to have gone by night to a hermit, to get him to bewitch the queen and *enchant* her. With the help of a midwife, they made a waxen image of the queen, baptized it Jane, giving it godfather and godmother, and then pricked it full of needles. Nevertheless, the real Jane died not. More than once did the bishop repair to the hermitage, in hopes of better success. The hermit took fright, fled and confessed all. Shortly afterwards, the queen died.\* But, whether they could prove nothing, or that Guichard had too many friends at court, the process languished, and he was kept in prison.†

Among other trades, the devil plied that of "Sir Pandarus." A monk was said, by his aid, to have managed to defile Philippe-le-Bel's whole family. His three daughters-in-law, the wives of his three sons, were denounced and seized;‡ and, at the same time, two Norman knights, in the service of these princesses, were arrested. Put on the rack, these unhappy men confessed that they had sinned with their young mistresses for three years, "even on the holiest days."§ The pious confidence of the middle age, which did not mistrust the immuring of a great lady along with her knights in the precincts of a castle, of a narrow tower—the vasaledge which imposed on young men as a feudal duty the sweetest carrea, was a dangerous trial for human nature, when the ties of religion were weakened.¶ The poem of *Petit Jehan*

de Saintre, that tale or history of Charles the Sixth's time, tells all this but too well.

Whether criminal or not, the punishment was atrocious. The two knights, brought out on the *place du Martroi*, near St. Gervais' elm, were flayed alive, castrated, decapitated, and hung up by the armpits. In like manner as the priests sought out, to avenge God, infinite punishments, the king, this new god of the world, conceived no tortures great enough to satisfy his wounded majesty. Two victims did not content him; and accomplices were diligently inquired after. They laid hands on an usher of the palace, and then on numerous others, men and women, noble and plebeian; some of these were flung into the Seine, others put to death in secret.

Of the three princesses, only one escaped. Philippe-le-Long, her husband, took care not to find her guilty: he would have had to have restored Franche-Comté, which she had brought him as her dower. The two others, Marguerite and Blanche, the wives of Louis Hutin and of Charles-le-Bel, had their heads shamefully shaven, and were thrown into a strong castle. Louis, on his accession to the throne, ordered his own to be strangled, (15th April, 1315,) in order that he might marry again. Blanche, left alone in prison, was much more to be pitied.\*

Once in this full swing of crime, and the impulse given to the imagination, all deaths are ascribed to poison, or to witchcraft. The king's wife is poisoned; so, too, his sister. The emperor, Henry VII., will have poison given him in a consecrated wafer. The count of Flanders narrowly escapes being poisoned by his son. Philippe-le-Bel is poisoned, it is said, by his ministers—by those who were the greatest losers by his death; and not only Philippe, but his father, who died thirty years before him. They would willingly have traced further back to find crimes.†

All these rumors terrified the people; who

\* "At length I have got rid of the devil who sought to destroy all mankind." *Ibidem*.

† The accusation had been the more favorably entertained from Guichard's being commonly believed to be the son of a demon, of an incubus. *Ibidem*.

‡ Marguerite, daughter of the duke of Burgundy; Jane and Blanche, daughters of the count of Burgundy; (Franche-Comté). *Mutualis* . . . adhuc etate juvenula. (All these . . . very young women.) *Contin. G. de Nangis*, in *April*, 1746, *iv*, 60.

§ *Pluribus locis et temporibus sacrosanctis*. *Ibidem*.

¶ Jean de Meung (*Chapnel*, who is said to have lengthened, by command of Philippe-le-Bel, the already too long *Roman de la Rose*, by the addition of eighteen thousand verses, expresses his thoughts of the ladies of the period in the most brutal terms, and the story runs that, to avenge their reputation for honor and modesty, they laid in wait for the poet, ready to hand various to scourge him. He escaped by asking as the only favor that she who felt her self most outraged would strike the first—"Modest women, by St. Denis, they equal in number the Phœnix," &c. Yet had he advanced their justification in the doctrine which he preached in his book, being neither more nor less than a community of women—

"Car nature n'est pas si sottie . . .

Ains vous a fait, par son filz, n'en doubiez,

Toutre par tout et tous par tout.

Chascun par chascun commist.

Et chascun commist par chascun."

*Roman de la Rose*, v. 14553. Ed. 1733-7.

For nature is not so foolish . . . Rather has she made you, for me, doubt it nothing all to men for all men, and all men for all women, each woman common to each man, and each man common to each woman.

This innuendo work, whose sole recommendation is the poem of the gallantry of the time and the obscenity of its end, seems the profanation of faith of the gross communism.

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that prevailed in the fourteenth century. Jean Meunier has modified it, and turned it into prose.

\* "She was got with child" is the brutal expression of the monkish historian; "by her father, or by some others." — Blanche ver. *excreta veniens* a servante quidam eius custodie deperit deestur impregnata fuisse quam a proprio Comité decedat vel ab alio impregnata. *Cont. G. de Nangis*, i. 70. He goes on to other matters with cruel carelessness, perhaps he durst not say any more of the subject. From what we know of the princes of that time, we may infer that this helpless woman, whose first error was by no means substantiated, was placed at the mercy of some wretch determined to degrade her.

It is probable that this horrible tale of Philippe-le-Bel's daughter in law, gave rise through some misunderstanding, to the tradition relative to his wife, Jeanne de Navarre, and the tower of Nesle, see above, p. 384; a tradition unsupported by any account to January. See Bayle, under the word *Besle*. And the tradition would be less probable still, if, with Bayle we referred it to one of the king's daughters-in-law. Young as these princesses were, they needed not to have recourse to such means for lovers. However this be, Jean de Navarre appears to have been of hard and sanguinary character, see above, p. 356. She was queen in her own right, and might be the less repardful of her husband.

† *Contin. G. de Nangis*, ann. 1294, 1295, 1313, 1314, 1315, pp. 40, 41, 67, 68, 70, 77, 78.

sought to appease God and do penance. Amongst famines and bankruptcies of the coin, (depreciations of the currency,) amongst the devil's harassings and the king's punishments, they paraded through the cities, weeping and howling, as filthy processions of naked penitents, of obscene flagellants: evil devotions, which but led to sin.\*

Such was the sad state of the world when Philippe and his pope took their departure for the other, to meet with their judgment. Jacques Molay, it is said, had summoned them from the stake to appear in one year before God. Clement departed first. A little before his death he had seen in a dream his palace on fire. "From that time," says his biographer, "he lost his spirits, and his health declined."†

Seven months afterwards, it was Philippe's turn. He died at Fontainebleau. He is buried by the side of Monaldeschi, in the little church of Avon.

Some ascribe his death to being gored by a wild boar hunting. Dante, in his high vein of hatred, can find no terms base enough to describe his death in—"He will die from the gash of a tusk, the false coiner."‡

But the contemporary French historian makes no mention of this accident. He says that Philippe wasted away, without fever or any perceptible ailment, to the great astonishment of his physicians.§ There had been no reason to suppose that he would die so soon; he was only forty-six years of age. In the midst of so many striking events this fine and mute figure had appeared impassible. Did he secretly suffer from the belief that the curse of Boniface or of the grand master was upon him? Or, which is the more probable, was he not depressed by the confederation into which the nobility of his kingdom had entered against him the very year he died? His barons and nobles had followed him blindly against the pope; and they had not opened their lips in behalf of their brothers, the cadets of noble houses, I mean the Templars. But the attacks on their rights of administering justice and of

coining money, were too much for their patience. In reality, the king of legists, the enemy of feudality, had no other military force to oppose to it than feudal force. He was in a vicious circle from which he could not extricate himself; but from which death relieved him.

It is impossible to define the share he had in the great events of his reign: only, we find him incessantly traversing the kingdom, in which there takes place nothing great for good or evil without his having assisted at it personally; as, at Courtrai and Mons-en-Puelle, (A. D. 1302-1304,) at St. Jean-d'Angely, at Lyons, (A. D. 1305,) and at Poitiers and at Vienne, (A. D. 1308-1313.)

This prince appears to have been methodical and regular in his habits. We find no trace of private expenses. He accounted with his treasurer every five-and-twenty days.

The son of a Spanish woman, educated by the Dominican Egidio of Rome, of the house of Colonna, he had evidently a tinge of the sombre spirit of St. Dominic, as St. Louis had of the mystic sweetness of the order of St. Francis. Edigio wrote for his pupil's instruction, a work *De Regimine Principum*, and he had no trouble in impressing on his mind the doctrine of the illimitable power of kings.\*

Boethius's *De Consolatione*, the books of Vegetius on the Art Military, and the letters of Abelard and Heloise,† were translated by Philippe's orders. The misfortunes of the celebrated professor, so ill-treated by the priests

\* V. R. *Egidii Romani, Archiep. Bituricensis questio. De utraque potestate*, edidit Goldastus, Monarchia, l. 95. A Colonna could not but inspire his pupil with a hatred of popes.

† The author (continuer ?) of the *Roman de la Rose*, Jean de Meung, translated these for him. In the preliminary epistle prefixed to his Boethius, he gives us the list of his literary honors:—"To thy royal majesty, very noble prince by the grace of God, king of the French, Philip the Fourth, I, Jehan de Meung, who erst added to the Romance of the Rose, putting Jealousy in the prison Welcome, teaching the way to take the castle, and gather the Rose, (qui jadis au Roman de la Rose, puisque Jalousie ot mis en prison Bel accueil, ay enseigne la maniere du Chastel prendre, et de la Rose cueillir,) and translated from Latin into French Vegetius's work on Chivalry, and the book of the wonders of Hircanie; and the book of the Epistles of Peter Abelard and of Heloise his wife, and Acrel's book on spiritual friendship, now send you Boethius on Consolation, which I have translated into French, although you understand Latin right well."

The king's confidence in him did not hinder him from tracing in the *Roman de la Rose* the following rude picture of primitive royalty:—

"Un grant villain entre eulx esleurent,  
Le plus corsu de quanqu'ils furent,  
Le plus osez, et le greigneur,  
Et le firent prince et seigneur.  
Cil jura que droit leur tiendroient,  
Des clucun en droit soy luy livre  
Des biens dont il se puisse vivre . . .  
De la vint le commencement  
Aux roys et princes terriens  
Selon les livres anciens."

Rom. de la Rose, v. 1064.

(They elected a great clown from among themselves, the shapeliest of all of them, the honest and tallest, and chose him prince and lord. He swore to observe their rights, if all would give him a right to take wherewithal from his goods to support him. Hence, according to ancient books, was the beginning of kings and earthly princes.)

\* Totis nudis corporibus processionaliter . . . Idem, ann. 1315, p. 70.

† No sooner was the breath out of his body, than his Gascon servants utterly neglected their master's corpse to pillage his effects—Gascones qui cum eo steterant, intenti circa sacras, v. debantur de sepultura corporis non curare, quia dui remanet insepultum. Baluz. Vita Pap. Aven. l. p. 22.

‡ "There shall be read the wo, that he doth work  
With his adulterate money on the Seine,  
Who by the tusk will perish."

Dante, Paradiso, c. xix.

According to several authorities, he met his death in a stag hunt. "Seeing the stag turning upon him, he drew his sword, and spurred his horse, seeking to strike the stag; but his horse bore him against a tree with such violence that the good king was thrown, and severely hurt in the heart, and borne to Corbely. There, he grew worse." . . . Chronique, Trad. par Sauvage, p. 110, Lyon, 1572, fol.

§ Diturba detentus infirmitate, cujus causa medici erat incognita, non solum ipsis, sed et aliis multis multi stuporis materiam et admirationis induxit: præsertim cum infirmitatis aut mortis periculum nec pulsus ostenderet nec urina. Contin. G. de Nangis, fol. 68.

both as regarded the university and his love, were a popular theme in the midst of this great war of the king with the clergy. Philippe-le-Bel placed his dependence on the university of Paris,\* and caressed this turbulent republic, which, in its turn, supported him. While Boniface sought to attach the Mendicants to him,† the university persecuted them through its famous doctor Jean Pique-Ane, (Pungens-Aanium,‡ "Prick-Ane,") the king's champion against the pope. When the Templars were arrested, Nogaret assembled the whole population of the university at the Temple, masters and scholars, theologians and artists, to read them the indictment. To have such a body, and in the capital, on one's side, was to have an army. Therefore, the king would not allow Clement V. to raise the schools of Orleans into a university, and create a rival to his university of Paris §

This reign constitutes an epoch in the history of the university, more colleges being founded in it than during the whole of the thirteenth century, and these, the most celebrated.¶ Philippe-le-Bel's wife, inaugurated her civil reputation, founded the college of Navarre, (A. D. 1304,) that seminary of Gallicans from which issued d'Ailly, Gerson, and Bossuet. His counsellors, who, likewise, had much to expiate, almost all endowed similar foundations. Archbishop Gilles d'Amelin, the weak and servile judge of the Templars, founded that terrible college, the poorest and most democratic of the schools of the university, that Mont-Aigu, where mind and teeth, as the proverb ran, were equally sharp.¶ There arose, under the inspiration of famine, the poor scholars, the poor masters,\*\* who made the name of cappets†† famous.

\* Boleus, Hist. Univ. iii. anno 1303.—"In this year there arose a great dissension between the rectors, masters, and scholars of the university of Paris, and the provost of the said place; for that the said provost had ordered a clerk of the said university to be hung. Whereupon all the faculties gave up their lectures for the offence; and, among other things, the said provost was condemned to undergo the holy and hush it. And it was agreed that the said provost should go to the pope at Avignon, to seek absolution." Nicolas Etienne, op. Boleus, iv. 72.

† Boleus, li. 511, 516, 505.

‡ Id. iv. 76. See, in Goldast, ii. 109: John of Paris's Tractatus de Potestate regia et papali.

§ Ord. l. 302. The king declares that it shall have no possessions of tithing. See, also, Boleus, iv. 101-107.

¶ To the college of Navarre and of Mont Aigu we must add the college of Harcourt, c. 1290; the cardinal's house, (la maison du cardinal) 1303; the college of Bayeux, 1309.—In 1314, the college of Louen; 1317 that of Narbonne; 1319 that of Treguier; 1317-1321, the college of Clermont; 1320, that of Paris; and the French college, (college des Français) 1329; the college of Marmonville, 1328; a new college of Narbonne, founded by will by Jean de Bayeux; 1334, the college of Lombrade; 1334, the college of Tourn; 1336, the college of Lorient; 1337, the college of Autun, &c.

\* M. de Artois, docteur de la Sorbonne, in primis.

\*\* The master shall be elected from among the poor scholars and by them. He shall be called the minister of the poor. In the rules of the foundation it is stated that there are 104 poor scholars in house of the 12 apostles and 73 disciples.

†† Their dress was a cape, close in front, as was worn by the masters of arts of the street de Valenciennes; and a head also closed before and behind, whence their name of

Their commons were sorry, their privileges ample; since, in regard to the article of confession, they were independent, not only of the bishop of Paris, but of the pope.\*

Whether or no Philippe-le-Bel were a wicked man or a bad king, there is no mistaking his reign as the grand era of civil order in France, the foundation of the modern monarchy. St. Louis is still a feudal king. The advance from the one to the other, may be measured by a single word. St. Louis called together the deputies of the cities of the South; Philippe-le-Bel those of the states of France. The first drew up establishments for his domains; the second promulgated ordinances for the kingdom. St. Louis laid down as a principle the supremacy of justice administered in the king's name, over the jurisdiction exercised by the lords; in short, the final appeal to the monarch; and endeavored to restrain their private wars by the truce of forty days and the giving of security, (la quarantaine et l'assurance.) In Philippe-le-Bel's time, the appeal to the king is so firmly established, that the most independent of the great feudatories, the duke of Brittany, asks, as a singular favor, to be exempted from it.† The parliament of Paris writes in the king's name to the most distant of the barons, to the count of Comminges, that petty monarch of the Upper Pyrenees, in the following strain, which, a century earlier, would have been beyond the comprehension of the receiver:—"Throughout the kingdom, cognizance and condemnation of illegal wearing of arms belong to us solely."‡

The tendency to a new order of things is strongly marked from the beginning of this reign. The king seeks to exclude priests from the administration of justice, and from municipal offices.§ He protects Jews|| and heretics; increases the royal tax on amortizements, and the acquisition of immovable property by the churches;¶ and prohibits private wars and tournaments. This prohibition, grounded on the king's want of his subjects for the Flanders' war, is often repeated;\*\* and, once, the king goes so far as to direct his provosts to arrest all

cappets. Parents could not threaten their children with greater punishment than to make them cappets. Foisillon, i. 504, 505.

\* Ibidem.

† Ord. l. p. 302.

‡ (Ordonn. Parlements, iii. folio cxxvii. Archives, Section

Judiciaire.

§ Let all who enjoy limited jurisdiction (temporal jurisdiction) in France, appoint laymen, and by no means clerks, to be their bailiffs, overseers, and servants, (serviteurs,) so that in case of delinquency, they may be punished by their superiors; and all clerks holding offices of the kind, be removed." Ord. l. p. 316. Ann. 1307-1308.

\*\* The law not to be seized and imprisoned on the warrant of any of the fathers or brothers of any order, or of any others, whatever be their station." Ord. l. p. 317.

\* Ord. l. p. 302. A distinction to draw between royal fees, money fees, and freeholds, (seigns.) In all cases, the royal tax on acquisitions by contract, (acquisitions a titre onéreux) is double that on acquisitions by free gift, (a titre gratuit). Purchases were more favored than gifts.

\*\* After the example of St. Louis, the limitations conferred no expressly prohibited

were (bribe) challenges . . . while our code were one a feud." Ord. l. p. 302. (Conf. p. 303. Ann. 1304, p. 344. Ann. 1305, p. 543. Ann. 1304, July.



who repair to tournaments.\* Each campaign he was obliged to have recourse to *impressment*, and to bring together in its own despite that indolent chivalry which recked little of the need of either king or kingdom.†

But this government, hostile alike to feudalism and to priests, had no other military force than the barons, and but little money except through the Church; whence arose many contradictions, and more than one retrograde movement.

In 1287, the king allows the nobles to seize their fugitive serfs in the cities. Perhaps it was requisite to check the great influx of the people into the towns, and prevent the desertion of the country;‡ since the towns would soon have absorbed all, and the land have been left a desert, as it happened in the Roman empire.

In 1290, the clergy forced from the king an exorbitant charter, which could not have been carried into execution without causing the death of the monarchy. The leading articles enacted, that the bishops *should be the judges in cases relative to wills, legacies, and dowries*; that the king's bailiffs and officers should not live on church lands; that churchmen were to be arrested at the instance of the bishops only; that clerks should not be brought into the lay courts in personal actions, even though required so to do by letters royal, (thus securing impunity to priests:); that prelates should make no payment for property acquired by their churches; and that the local judges should not have cognizance in cases of tithe—that is to say, that the clergy should be sole judge of the fiscal abuses of the clergy.§

In 1291, Philippe-le-Bel violently combated the tyranny of the Inquisition in the South.|| In 1298, at the commencement of his struggle with the pope, he seconds the intolerance of the bishops, and orders his barons and the royal judges to hand over all heretics to them, to

condemn and punish them without appeal.\* The year following, he promises that his bailiffs shall no more harass the churches with forcible seizures, that they shall seize but one manor at once, &c.†

The nobles, too, had to be propitiated. He granted them an ordinance against their creditors, against the Jew usurers.‡ He guaranteed their rights of chase. The king's collectors are no more to fasten upon the inheritance of bastards and of aliens in the domains of barons having the right of high justice—"Unless," prudently adds the king, "*it be proved by a competent witness, whom we shall specially depute for the purpose, that we are fully entitled to take possession.*"§

In 1302, after his defeat at Courtrai, the king struck a daring stroke. He seized, for his mint, half of all silver plate,|| (his own bailiffs and officers were to give up the whole of theirs:); he seized the temporalities of the bishops who had repaired to Rome;¶ finally he taxed the barons, defeated and humbled at Courtrai; the hour was favorable for making them pay.\*\*

In 1303, during the crisis, when Nogaret had accused Boniface, (March the 12th,) and when excommunication might at any moment fall on the king's head, he promised all that was wished. In his reforming ordinance (the close of the same month) he pledged himself to his nobles and prelates to *make no acquisition* in their lands;†† yet, here he introduced a reservation

\* *Bailivis . . . in iungimus . . . diocesanis episcopis, et inquisitoribus . . . parent, et intendunt in hereticorum investigatione, captione . . . condemnatos ubi relictos statim recipiant, indilate animadversione debita puniendos . . . non obstantibus appellationibus.* Ord. l. p. 330, ann. 1298.

† Mandate addressed to the bailiffs of Touraine and Maine, enjoining them to respect the clergy. Letters granted to the bishops of Normandy against the oppressions of bailiffs, viscounts, &c. Ord. l. pp. 331, 334. A similar ordinance was promulgated in favor of the churches of Languedoc, May the 8th, 1302. Ibid. p. 340.

‡ "Against the whirlpool of usury . . . we will that the sum originally borrowed be discharged, but remit all beyond." (*Contra usurarum voragine . . . volumus ut debita quantum ad sortem primariam plenarie perveniant, quod vero ultra sortem fuerit legaliter positum remittenda.*) Ord. l. p. 334.

§ *Nisi prius per aliquem idoneum virum quem ad hoc specialiter deputaverimus . . . constiterit, quod nos sumus in bona salva percipiendi . . .* Ord. l. pp. 336, 339.

|| "Make known to all, by general proclamation, without specifying prelates or barons, to wit, that all manner of people shall bring half of their silver plate," (*signifies a tous, par cri general, sans faire mention de prelates ni de barons, c'est a savoir que toutes manieres de gens apportent la moitié de leur vaissellement d'argent blanc.*) Ord. l. pp. 338, 339.

¶ "Certain prelates, abbots, and priors . . . having left the kingdom . . . in contempt of our prohibition . . . we, being unwilling that through their personal absence their substance should be wasted, but rather desiring to preserve it . . . do decree," &c. Ord. l. p. 340. The indignation against these priests seems to have been great, for the king is obliged to prohibit the Normans from crying "*Haro on the clerks.*" Ord. l. p. 348.

(*Haro*—*haru*—*harol*, derived from *As* and *Rasul* or *Rolle*, first duke of Normandy, and equivalent to "Away with them," or "On them," or "Down with them.")—TRANSLATOR.

\*\* Ord. l. p. 330—end of the year 1302.

†† The king declares, that in reforming his kingdom he takes the churches under his protection, and intends securing

\* *Quatenus omnes et singulos nobiles . . . capias et arrestes, capique et arrestari facias, et tandiu in arresto teneri, donec a nobis mandatum.* Ord. p. 424, (Ann. 1304.)

† In 1302, the bailiff of Amiens is ordered to send to the Flemish war all worth above 100 livres in moveables, and 200 in immoveables; those worth less were to be spared. Ord. l. p. 345. But in the following year, (May 29th,) an ordinance came out, that every *roturier* worth fifty livres in moveables or twenty in immoveables, should contribute either his person or his money. Ord. l. p. 373.

‡ Formalities were enacted similar to those imposed to this day on foreigners seeking to be admitted French citizens—as authority from the provost or mayor, settlement established by the purchase, "*Pour raison de la bourgeoisie d'une maison dedenz un an et jour, de la value de soixante sols parisis ou moins; signification au seigneur desous lequel est fait port,*" for right of citizenship, of a house, dwelt in for a year and a day, of the value of sixty sous of Paris at the least, and notice given to the lord of whom he holds—obligatory residence from All Saints' day to St. John's day, &c. Ord. l. p. 314.

§ Ord. l. p. 319. . . . *Quod bona mobilia clericorum capi vel justiciari non possint . . . per justiciam seculari . . . Cause ordinari prelatorum in parlamentis tantummodo agitentur . . . nec ad senescallos aut bailivis . . . liceat appellare . . . Non impediuntur a talibus . . .* &c.

|| Hist. du Lang. l. xviii. c. 22, p. 72.



words in which the king caused himself to be addressed both in the famous *Supplique du peuple de France*, (petition of the French people,) and in the discourse of the deputies of the states in 1308; but nothing is more remarkable than the terms of the ordinance by which he confirms the enfranchisement of the serfs of the Valois, granted by his brother:—"Seeing that every human creature who is made in the image of our Lord, ought generally to be free by natural right, and that in no country this natural liberty or freedom should be so effaced or obscured by the hateful yoke of servitude, that the men and women who dwell in the aforesaid places and countries, in their lifetime are regarded as if dead, and at the end of their dolorous and wretched existence are so fast bound up and strictly treated, that the goods which God has lent them in this world, they cannot by their last wishes dispose of and order . . . ."

These words must have sounded harshly in feudal ears. They seemed a protest against slavery, against baronial tyranny. The stifled feeling which had never dared to murmur, not even in a whisper, now burst forth and descended from royal lips like a judgment. Having overcome all his enemies by the aid of his barons, the king ceased to observe any terms with the latter; and, on the 13th of June, 1313, he prohibited them from coining except with his express authorization.†

The ordinance to this effect filled the cup to overflowing. Despite the terror the king's name must have inspired since the overthrow of the Temple, the barons resolved on running every risk and taking decided steps. Most of the lords of the north and of the east, (Picardy, Artois, Ponthieu, Burgundy, and Forez,) entered into a confederacy against the king:—"To all those who shall see or hear of these present letters, the nobles and the commons of Champagne, for us, for the countries of Vermandois, and for our allies and adjuncts within the borders of the kingdom of France—greeting. Know all, that as the very excellent and very powerful prince, our very dear and redoubted sire, Philippe, by the grace of God, king of France, has enacted and raised many taxes, aids, and imposts contrary to right, has altered the coin, and done many other things by which the nobles and commons have been much aggrieved and impoverished . . . . And it does not appear that they have been turned to the honor or profit of the king, or of the kingdom, or to the defence of the commonweal. For which griefs we have several times humbly and devotedly besought and supplicated the said lord our king, to be pleased to repeal and give up these things; which he has in no-wise done. And again in this present year current, this year 1314, our said lord the king

has laid undue impositions on the nobles and the commons of the kingdom, and aids which he has endeavored to raise; the which we cannot conscientiously suffer or allow, for so we should lose our honors, franchises, and liberties; both we and those who shall come after us. . . . We have sworn and covenanted on oath, loyally and in good faith, for ourselves and our heirs to the countships of Auxerre and of Tonnerre—to the nobles and the commons of the said countships, their allies and adjuncts that we, with regard to the aid demanded the present year, and all other griefs and novelties not duly done and to be done, in time present and to come, which the king of France, our lord or others, shall desire to exact of them, will aid and succor them at our proper cost and expense." . . . . \*

This document would seem to be a reply to the dangerous words of the king touching slavery. The king denounced the lords; the latter, the king. The two powers which had combined to despoil the Church, now accused each other in presence of the people, who as yet had no existence as people, and who could make no rejoinder.

The king, defenceless against this confederacy, addressed himself to the towns. He summoned their deputies to come and consult with him in the matter of the coinage, (A. D. 1314.) Docile to royal influence, these deputies demanded that the king would prohibit the barons from coining for eleven years, in order that he might mint good money, on which he would gain nothing.†

\* The original is as follows:—"A tous ceux qui verront ces présentes lettres, li nobles et li communes de Champagne, pour nous, pour les pays de Vermandois et pour nos allies et adjoints étant dedens les points du royaume de France; salut. Sachent tals que comme tres-excellent et tres-puissant prince, nostre tres-cher et redouté sire, Philippe, par la grace de Dieu, roi de France, ait fait et fait plusieurs tailles, subventions, exactions, non dues, chaucement de monnoyes, et plusieurs autres choses qui ont été faites par quel li nobles et li communes ont été moult grevés, appauvris. . . . Et li n'apert pas qu'ilz soient tournés en l'honneur et profit du roy ne des royaumes, ne en deduccions des profits communes. Dequels griefs nous avons plusieurs fois requis et supplié humblement et dévotement ledit sire li roy, que ces choses voulist défaire et délaier; de quel rien n'en a fait. Et encore en ceste présente année courant, par l'an 1314, ledit sire li roy ha fait impositions non deuement, sur li nobles et li communes du royaume, et subventions lesquelles li s'est efforcé de lever; laquelle chose ne pouvons souffrir ne souffrir en bonne conscience, car ainsi perdrons nos honneurs, franchises et libertés; et nous et eis qui après nous verront, (péindront.) . . . . Nous juré et promis par nos serments, lement et en bonne foy, par (par) nous et nos heirs aux comtes d'Auxerre et de Tonnerre, aux nobles et aux communes desdits comtes, leurs allies et adjoints, que nous, en la subvention de la présente année, et tous autres griefs et noveltés non deuement faites et à faire, au temps présent et avenir, que li roi de France, nos sires, ou autres, lor voudront faire, lor aideront, et secourrons à nos propres courtes et despens." . . . . Boulavilliers, Lettres sur les Anciens Parlements, t. III. pp. 29, 31.

† "Que le Roi pourchace par devers ses barons que ils se suffrent de faire ouvrir jusques à une ann."—"Otherwise," the ordinance goes on to say, "the king cannot supply his people, or his kingdom, with good money. And they were agreed that the king should give such full weight of gold and silver as to gain nothing thereon." (et fissent à accort que li Rois doinst tant en or, en argent que li n'y peigne nul profit.) Ord. l. pp. 549, 549. However, such was

\* Ord. xii. p. 367, ann. 1311.

† Ord. l. pp. 5-62, art. 14.

## ACCESSION OF LOUIS X.

In the midst of this crisis, Philippe-le-Bel dies, (A. D. 1314.) With the accession of his son, Louis X., so well surnamed *Hutin*, (disorder, tumult,) comes a violent reaction of the feudal, local, provincial spirit, which seeks to dash in pieces the still feeble fabric of unity, demands dismemberment, and claims chaos.\*

The duke of Brittany arrogates the right of judgment without appeal; so does the exchequer of Rouen. Amiens will not have the king's sergeants subpœna before the barons, or his provosts remove any prisoner from the town's jurisdiction. Burgundy and Nevers require the king to respect the privileges of feudal justice, and to discontinue fixing his scuteheons on the towers and barriers of the nobles.†

The common demand of the barons is that the king shall renounce all intermeddling with their men. The nobles of Burgundy take the punishment of their own officers on themselves; and Champagne and the Vermandois forbid the king's citing the inferior vassals before his tribunals.‡

Provinces, the most distant from each other, as Perigord, Nîmes, and Champagne, are of one accord in denouncing the king's attempts to tax the farmers holding of the nobles.§

Amiens desires that the royal bailiffs neither imprison nor make seizure till after judgment passed. Burgundy, Amiens, and Champagne unanimously demand the restoration of the wager by battle, of the judicial combat.||

The king is no more to acquire fief or patronage on the domains of the barons in Burgundy, Tours, and Nevers, any more than in Champagne, (save in cases of succession or confiscation.)¶

The young monarch grants and signs all; there are only three points to which he demurs, and which he seeks to defer. The Burgundian barons contest with him the jurisdiction over the rivers, roads, and consecrated places. The nobles of Champagne doubt the king's right to

lead them to war out of their own province. Those of Amiens, with true Picard impetuosity, require without any circumlocution, *that all gentlemen may war upon each other, and not enter into securities, but ride, go, come, and be armed for war, and pay forfeit to one another.* . . . . The king's reply to these absurd and insolent demands is merely: "*We will order examination of the registers of my lord St. Louis, and give to the said nobles two trustworthy persons, to be nominated by our council, to verify and inquire diligently into the truth of the said article.*" . . . .

The reply was adroit enough. The general cry was for a return to the good customs of St. Louis: it being forgotten that St. Louis had done his utmost to put a stop to private wars. But by thus invoking the name of St. Louis, they meant to express their wish for the old feudal independence—for the opposite of the quasi-legal, the venal, and pettifoggish government of Philippe-le-Bel.

The barons set about destroying, bit by bit, all the changes introduced by the late king. But they could not believe him dead so long as there survived his *Alter Ego*, his mayor of the palace, Enguerrand de Marigny, who, in the latter years of his reign, had been *coadjutor and rector of the kingdom*, and who had allowed his statue to be raised in the palace by the side of the king's. His real name was Le Portier; but along with the estates he bought the name of Marigny. This Norman, a *gracious and cautious*† individual, but, apparently, not less silent than his master, has left no public paper of his own on record—he would seem neither to have written nor spoken. He had the Templars condemned by his brother, whom he made archbishop of Sens for the purpose. Undoubtedly, he bore the principal share in the king's transactions with the popes; but he managed matters so well that Clement's escape from Poitiers was set down to him,‡ and the pope, probably, felt himself indebted to him. On the other hand, he might have persuaded the king that the pope would be more useful to him at Avignon, in apparent independence, than in a state of duance which must have shocked the Christian world.§

It was in the Temple, in the very spot where Marigny had installed his master for the spoliation of the Templars, that the young king Louis repaired to hear the solemn accusation brought against him.|| His accuser was

the opposition offered by the barons and prelates, interested in the matter, that he was obliged to be contented with prescribing the alloy, weight, and stamp of these coins. *Le Monnoir*, p. 369.

\* See how the continuator of Nangis suddenly changes his language, how bold he becomes, and how he elevates his voice. *Phil.* 69, 70.

Ord. i. pp. 351 and 362, 361-367, and 625, 372.

Id. p. 368, pp. 374, 37, 354, 37.

Id. p. 368, 37.

† *Nous voulions et ordonnâmes que en cas de mort, de larcin, de rapt, de trahison, et de robbery, gage de bataille soit ouvert, ou les cas ne pussent estre prouvés par témoignage.* (We will and grant that in cases of murder, larceny, rapt, treason, and robbery, the wager of battle be open, if there be not sufficient evidence to prove the fact.) Ord. i. p. 367. — *Et quant au gage de bataille, nous voulions que il en eust, si come l'en feist anciennement.* And, as to wager of battle, we will that it be had reverent, as according to ancient usage; . . . . *ibid.* p. 356.

‡ *Item, que le Roy n'acquiesce, ne se n'accorde avec barons ou châtellains, se fait et riens fait de ceulz nobles et leignés, se n'est de leur volente, nous leur octroyons.* 6th article.

\* *ibid.* i. p. 372, 31 i. p. 376, 13.) p. 364 (6.)

† Gratianus, cunctus, et imperio. *Cont. G. de Nangis*, p. 69. See also *ibid.*, *Proverbe du Dauph.* p. 65, and *Benoît-Guillaume Viti* (Cron. V. Balzac), p. 62.

‡ His enemies laid the accusation to his charge. See *Pantus Amelinus*—He was also said to have been bribed by the count of Flanders to procure a truce. *Underschied*, and. 1313, fol. 230.

§ This reminds us of the manner in which Theobaldus managed the two parties before the battle of Falkenberg. See *Herbertus*.

|| *Cont. G. de Nangis*, p. 69. Modern writers have added many circumstances respecting the rupture between Charles of Valois and Marigny, the he given, a blow, &c.

Philippe-le-Bel's brother, the violent Charles of Valois, a busy man, of mediocre abilities, who put himself at the head of the barons. Though in such near proximity to the throne of France, he had traversed all Christendom to find another, the while a petty Norman knight reigned side by side with Philippe-le-Bel. It is not surprising that he was mad with envy.

Marigny would have had no difficulty in defending himself, could he have procured a hearing. He had done nothing, except being the thought and conscience of Philippe-le-Bel. To the young king, it was as if he were sitting in judgment on his father's soul; and so he desired simply to remove Marigny, banish him to the island of Cyprus, and recall him after a time. Therefore, to effect his destruction, Charles of Valois had recourse to the grand accusation of the day, which none could surmount. It was discovered, or presumed, that Marigny's wife or sister, in order to effect his acquittal, or bewitch the king, had caused one Jacques de Lor to make certain small figures: "The said Jacques, thrown into prison, hangs himself in despair, and then his wife, and Enguerrand's sisters are thrown into prison, and Enguerrand himself, condemned before the knights, (juge en présence des chevaliers,) is hung at Paris on the thieves' gibbet. However, he made no confession as to the said witchcrafts, but only observed that with regard to exactions, and alterations of coin, he had not been the sole mover in those matters.

Wherefore his death, the causes of which were a mystery to most, was a subject of great admiration and surprise."

"Pierre de Latilly, bishop of Châlons, to whom the deaths of Philippe, king of France, and of his predecessor were ascribed, was by the king's order detained in prison, in the name of the archbishop of Reims. Raoul de Presles, advocate-general (*advocatus præcipuus*) to the parliament, equally suspected, and detained in prison on the like suspicion, was confined in the prison of St. Geneviève at Paris, and put to various kinds of torture. As no confession of the crimes with which he was charged could be forced from him, although he was subjected to the most different and most painful torments, he was at last set at liberty—the greater part of his property, moveable or immovable, having been either given away, or lost, or pillaged."

\* There were three Raoul de Presles. The first, who gave evidence in 1303 against the Templars, was implicated in the affair of Pierre de Latilly, and recovered his liberty with the loss of his property. Louis Hutin felt remorse at this, and, in his will, ordered every thing to be restored to him, as a thing of right, (*comme de raison*.) Philippe le-Long and Charles-le-Bel ennobled him for his good services.—The second Raoul is only noted for forgery, and, also, for having had a natural son during his imprisonment, who became the most illustrious of the name. He introduced himself to the notice of Charles V., in 1365, by an allegory, entitled, *La Muse*. He was charged by this prince to translate the City of God, and would appear to have had a share in the composition of the *Bouge du Vergier*.

All bootless was it to have hung Marigny, imprisoned Raoul de Presles, and, as they subsequently did, to have ruined Nogaret. The legist had more of life in him than the barons supposed. Marigny springs into being with each reign, and is ever fruitlessly put to death. The ancient system, toppling down with repeated shocks, crushes at each fall, an enemy: it is not the stronger for it. The whole history of this period is the death-struggle between the legist and the baron.

With each accession we have a restoration of the good old uses of St. Louis, as if in expiation of the preceding reign. The new king, the companion and friend of the princes and barons, commences in his capacity of first of the barons, as a good and rude justicer, to hang the best servants of his predecessor. A grand gibbet is erected, and the people follow to it with hootings the man of the people, the man of the king, the poor plebeian king, whose lot it is to bear in each reign the sins of the crown. After the death of St. Louis, falls the barber La Brosse; after that of Philippe-le-Bel, Marigny; after Philippe-le-Long's death, Gérard Guecte; and, after Charles-le-Bel's, the treasurer Rémy. . . . He perishes illegally, but not unjustly. He dies sullied with the violences of an imperfect system, the evil of which is greater than the good. But in dying, he bequeaths to the crown which strikes him its instruments of power, and to the people that curse him, institutions of order and of peace.

A few years slipped away, and the body of Marigny was respectfully taken down from Montfaucon to receive Christian burial. Louis-le-Hutin left ten thousand livres to his sons. Charles of Valois, in his last sickness, believed it essential to the safety of his soul, to restore the memory of his victim, and caused liberal alms to be distributed, with the recommendation to the receivers—"Pray to God for my lord Enguerrand de Marigny, and for my lord Charles de Valois."

Marigny's best vengeance was that the crown, so strong in his care, sank after him into the most deplorable weakness. Louis-le-Hutin, needing money for the Flemish war, treated as equal with equal, with the city of Paris. The nobles of Champagne and Picardy hastened to take advantage of the right of private war which they had just reacquired, and made war on the countess of Artois, without troubling themselves about the judgment rendered by the king who had awarded this fief to her. All the barons had resumed the privilege of coining; Charles of Valois, the king's uncle, setting them the example. But instead of coining for their own domains only, conformably to the ordinances of Philippe-le-Hardi and Philippe-le-Bel, they minted adulterate coin by

\* Contin. G. de Nangis, ann. 1325, p. 84. *Oratio pro Damiano Iacerrano*. . . .

wholesale, and gave it currency throughout the kingdom.\*

On this, the king had perforce to arouse himself, and return to the administration of Marigny and of Philippe-le-Bel. He denounced the coining of the barons, (November the 10th, 1315 :) ordained that it should pass current on their own lands only ;† and fixed the value of the royal coin relatively to thirteen different coinages, which thirty-one bishops or barons had the right of minting on their own territories.‡ In St. Louis's time, eighty nobles had enjoyed this right.

The young feudal king, humanized by the want of money, did not disdain to treat with serfs and with Jews. The famous ordinance of Louis Hutin for the enfranchisement of the serfs of his domains, is exactly similar to that of Philippe-le-Bel for the Valois, already quoted :—"As according to the right (law) of nature each ought to be born free, and through ancient usages and customs which from time long past have been introduced and observed in our kingdom hitherto, and perchance for the misdeed of their predecessors, many of our common people have fallen into bond of servitude and of diverse conditions, which is exceedingly displeasing to us—We, considering that our kingdom is called and named the kingdom of the Franks, (freemen,) and desiring that the reality accord with the name, and that the condition of the people be amended by us and by the advent of our new government—by deliberation of our grand council, have ordained and do ordain, that generally throughout our kingdom, so long as it may belong to us and to our successors, such servitudes be restored to franchise, and that to all those who, by origin, or antiquity, or newly, by marriage, or by residence of place in servile condition, have fallen or may fall into bond of servitude, franchise be given on good and suitable conditions."§

\* Et currexit . . . Contin. G. de Nangis, p. 71.

¶ Nous qui, avons vu la grande complainte de nostre peuple du royaume de France, qui nous a moult comment par les monnoies faictes hors de nostre royaume et contrées loües a son compte, et aus royaumes de son barons et par les monnoies aus de nos dits barons lesquelles monnoies toutes ne ont pas du poids de la ley ne du royaume ne sont semblables, les unes et les autres sont d'ung es en mont de monnoies et de ceus souvent grandement l'endement. &c. We, having heard great complaint from our people of the kingdom of France, who have shewn us how—through money coined out of our kingdom in imitation of our coin, and of that of our barons, and likewise through the change of our said barons, which is not altogether of the weight prescribed by law, or like the ancient and just coin—and whereby our people are injured in many ways, and often greatly by the latter . . . Ordain, &c. (Ibid. i. p. 605-606.)

† Ibid. i. p. 615 et seq.

§ Comme selonc le droit de nature chacun doit naistre franc et par aucunes usages et coutumes, qui de grant ancienneté ont esté entrainées et gardées jusques cy en nostre royaume et par aventure pour le meillor de leurs predecessours, moult de personnes de nostre commun peuple, entrées encores en lieu de servitudes et de diverses conditions qui moult nous desplait. Nous considerant que nostre royaume est dit, et nomme le royaume des Franks, et voulant que la chose en verité soit accordant au nom, et que la condition des gens amende de nous et la venue

It is curious to see the son of Philippe-le-Bel admitting serfs to liberty ; but it is trouble lost. The merchant vainly swells his voice and enlarges on the worth of his merchandises : the poor serfs will have none of it. Had they buried in the ground some bad piece of money, they took care not to dig it up to buy a bit of parchment. In vain does the king wax wroth at seeing them dull to the value of the boon offered. At last, he directs the commissioners deputed to superintend the enfranchisement, to value the property of such serfs as preferred "remaining in the sorriness (chétivete) of slavery," and to tax them "as sufficiently and to such extent as the condition and wealth of the individuals may conveniently allow, and as the necessity of our war requires."

But with all this it is a grand spectacle to see proclamation made from the throne itself of the imprescriptible right of every man to liberty. The serfs do not buy this right, but they will remember both the royal lesson, and the dangerous appeal to which it instigates against the barons.\*

#### ACCESSION OF PHILIP THE TALL.

The short and obscure reign of Philippe-le-Long is scarcely less important as regards the public law of France, than even that of Philippe-le-Bel.

In the first place, his accession to the throne decides a great question. As Louis Hutin left his queen pregnant, his brother Philippe is regent and guardian of the future infant. This child dies soon after its birth,† and Philippe proclaims himself king to the prejudice of a daughter of his brother's ; a step which was the more surprising from the fact that Philippe-le-Bel had maintained the right of female succession in regard to Franche-Comte and Artois. The barons were desirous that daughters should be excluded from inheriting fiefs, but that they should succeed to the throne of France ; and their chief, Charles of Valois, favored his grand-niece against his nephew Philippe.‡

de nostre nouvel gouvernement par deliberation de nostre grand conseil avons volenté et ordonné que gouvernement, par tout nostre royaume, de tant comme il peut appartenir à nous et à nos successeurs, toutes servitudes soient ramenees a franchise, et a tous ceus qui de royaume ou encontrement, ou de nouveau par mariage ou par residence de lieux de servitude, sont entrées en ou pourroient entrer en lieu de servitudes, franchises soit donnees a toutes et contrainctes conditions. (Ibid. i. p. 615.)

\* At the close of this brief reign of his, Louis seems to have become the enemy of the barons. Philippe le Bel never returned them a drive or it would seem, more directly answer than that of his son to the nobles of Champagne. (Ibid. i. p. 1315.) They had called for an explanation of the vague term *Jo Repons*, even came, by virtue of which the king's judges claimed for their own courts whatever cases they desired. The king replied :—"We have enlightened them on this wise, to wit, that a crown case is understood to be whatever case by right, or by ancient usage, may and ought to come before the sovereign and no other." (Ibid. i. p. 688.)

† This child was named John, and is not counted among the kings of France. (Contemporary writers constantly style him the royal infant, who, if he had lived, would have been king. (Strassburg, l. ii. p. 343.)—TRANSLATED.

‡ Contin. G. de Nangis, p. 72.—Not returning to Paris

Philippe assembled the States, and gained his cause, which, at bottom, was good, by absurd reasons. He alleged in his favor the old German law of the Franks, which excluded daughters from the Salic land; and maintained that the crown of France was too noble a fief to fall into hands used to the distaff (*"pour tomber en quenouille"*)—a feudal argument, the effect of which was to ruin feudality. While the progress of civil equity and the introduction of the Roman law opened the right of inheritance to daughters, while fiefs were becoming feminine, and passing from one family to another, the crown, immoveable in the midst of universal nobility, did not go out of the same house. The house of France received from without the moveable and variable element—woman, but preserved in the succession of the males the fixed element of the family, the identity of the *Pater-familias*. The woman changes her name and penates. The man, inhabiting the abode of his ancestors, and reproducing their name, is led to follow in their track. This invariable transmission of the crown in the male line has imparted steadfastness to the policy of our kings, and usefully counterpoised the fickleness of our forgetful nation.

By thus rejecting the right of the daughters at the very moment it was gradually triumphing over the fiefs, the crown acquired its character of receiving always without ever giving; and a bold revocation, at this same time, of all donations made since St. Louis's day,\* seems to contain the principle of the inalienableness of the royal domain. Unfortunately, the feudal spirit which resumed strength under the Valois in favor of private wars, led to fatal creations of appanages, and founded, to the advantage of the different branches of the royal family, a princely feudality as embarrassing to Charles VI. and Louis XI., as the other had been to Philippe-le-Bel.

This contested succession and disaffection of the barons force Philippe-le-Long into the paths of Philippe-le-Bel. He flatters the cities, Paris, and, above all, the university,—the grand power of Paris. He causes his barons to take the oath of fidelity to him, *in presence of the masters of the university, and with their approval.*† He wishes his good cities to be *provided with armories*; their citizens to keep their arms *in sure place*; and appoints them a captain in *each bailiwick or district*, (March the 12th, 1316,‡)—naming, in particular, Senlis, Amiens, and the

Vermandoia, Caen, Rouen, Gisors, the Cotentin, and the country of Caux, Orléans, Sens, and Troyes.

Philippe-le-Long was desirous (in a fiscal point of view, it is true) of establishing a uniform system of weights and measures; but it was too early for this great step.\*

He made some efforts to establish order and responsibility in the public accounts. The receivers, all expenses being paid, were to send the residue into the king's treasury, but secretly, *so that no one should know the hour or the day*. The bailiffs and seneschals are to come up to Paris yearly, to settle their accounts. The treasurers are to balance theirs, twice a year. Notice will be given in what money the payments are to be made. The *judgers* of the accounts will then pass them. . . . And the king will know how much he has to receive.†

Among his financial regulations we find this article:—"All payments for castles not on the frontier, are to cease entirely from this time forward."‡ A great fact is contained in these words. France begins to enjoy internal peace: at least, until the English wars.

The security for this internal peace, is the organization of a strong judicial power. The parliament is constituted; and the proportion of clergymen and of laymen who are to compose it, is regulated by an ordinance which secures the majority to the latter.§ As regards counsellors, foreign to the body, and temporarily called in, Philippe-le-Long reiterates the sentence of exclusion already pronounced against the bishops by Philippe-le-Bel:—"No prelate shall be returned to parliament, for the king makes it a case of conscience not to disturb them in the care of their spiritualities."¶

To know with what vigor the parliament of Paris proceeded to act, we must read in the Continuator of Nangis, the history of Jordan de Lille, "a Gascon lord famed for his high birth, but ignoble through his robberies." . . . Nevertheless, he had managed to get the pope's niece to wife, and through the pope, the king's pardon. He made use of these advantages

\* "The king had begun to lay down regulations, that throughout his kingdom but one uniform measure should be used for wine, corn, and all merchandises; but he was prevented by illness from carrying his work through. The said king also proposed, that all the coin throughout the kingdom should be reduced to one uniform standard: and, as the execution of so great a project would have been very expensive, he was said to have resolved, advised by false counsils, to have extorted the fifth part of their goods from his subjects. He dispatched deputies on this business into the different districts: but the bishops and barons, who had long enjoyed the right of coining, according to difference of place and the wants of the people, as well as the communities of the good cities of the kingdom, (ainsi que les communautés des bonnes villes du royaume,) having withheld their consent from the project, the deputies returned to their master without having succeeded in their negotiations." Contin. G. de Nang. p. 78.

† Ord. i. pp. 713, 714, 689, 630.

‡ *Tous gages de châteaux qui ne sont en fief, cessent du tout des-ores-en-avant.* Ord. i. p. 630, (37.)

§ Ibid. pp. 730-731.

¶ "Il n'aura aux Prélats députés en parlement, car le Roy fait conscience de eux composer en gouvernement de leurs expertises." Ibid. p. 728.

until a month after the death of Louis X., he found his uncle, the count de Valois, at the head of a party ready to dispute the regency with him. The citizens of Paris took up arms under the direction of Gautier de Châtillon, and drove out the count de Valois' soldiers, who had already seized the Louvre." Feilbien, Hist. de Paris, t. i. p. 535, quoting the Chronique de Flandre.

\* In particular, the king revokes the gifts bestowed on Guillaume Flotte, Nogaret, Plaisan, and some others. Ord. i. p. 667.

† Magistris universitatis civitatis ipsius hoc ipsum unanimiter approbantibus. Contin. G. de Nangis, p. 78.

‡ Ord. i. p. 633, et seq.

only, "to extend his crimes, murders, and rapes, supporting bands of assassins, the friend of robbers, a rebel to the king. He might yet, perhaps, have escaped. One of the king's men had come to seize him; he slew him with the very staff on which were the royal arms, the ensign of his office. Summoned to trial, he came to Paris attended by a brilliant escort of the noblest counts and barons of Aquitaine. . . . This did not save him from being thrown into the prison of the Châtelet, condemned to death by the master of the parliament, and the evening before Trinity day, being dragged at horse's tail and hung on the common gibbet."<sup>1</sup>

The parliament, which thus vigorously defends the honor of the king, is itself a true king in a judicial point of view. Its members wear the royal habit—the long robe, purple, and ermine. It is not, apparently, the shadow and effigy of the monarch, but rather, his thought, his constant, immutable, and truly royal will. The king wishes justice to pursue her course, "notwithstanding all concessions, ordinances, and letters-royal to the contrary." Thus, the monarch distrusts the monarch, and recognises himself better in his parliament than in himself. He distinguishes within himself a double character. He feels himself both king and man, and the king orders the man to be disobeyed—a fine confession of the twofold *Homo*, a to be respected and truly human inconsistency, which contains the whole mystery of our old monarchy.

Many texts of ordinances, interpreted in this sense, do honor to the wisdom of the counsellors who dictated them. The monarch seeks to raise a barrier against his own liberality. He expresses a fear that excessive gifts may be torn from his weakness, or carelessness; that while he sleeps or reposes, privilege and usurpation may be but too awake.<sup>2</sup>

And so, in 1318, with regard to certain feudal rights, he says— . . . "the which are frequently asked of us, and are of greater value than we believe, we must take counsel when any one asks them from us."<sup>3</sup>

At another time, he recommends the receivers to apprise no one of extraordinary receipts, or "unexpected sums which may fall in to us, in order that we may not be required to give them."<sup>4</sup>

These confessions of weakness and of ignorance which the king's counsellors caused him to make, naive as they are, are not the less respectable. It seems as if the new government, become all of a sudden the providence of the people, felt the disproportion between its means and its duties. This contrast is whimsically

marked in the ordinance of Philippo-le-Long—on the government of his hotel (ordering of his palace) and the good of his kingdom. He begins by laying it down in a noble preamble, that Messire God has appointed kings on earth, in order that, well-ordered in their persons, they may fitly order and govern their kingdom. He next announces that he hears mass every morning, and prohibits his being interrupted during the ceremony by the presentation of petitions. No one must address him in chapel, "Except our confessor, who will speak to us of things touching our conscience."<sup>5</sup> He then provides for the safety of his royal person—"No unknown person, or servant of low estate, must enter our wardrobe, nor touch any part of it, nor assist at the bed-making, and no bed-clothes except our own must be allowed to be used."<sup>6</sup> Dread of poisoning and of sorcery is a feature of this period.

To these household details succeed regulations for the council, the treasury, the royal demesnes, &c. In all this the state looks like a simple royal appanage, and the kingdom like an appendage of the *hotel*, (*de l'hotel*.)<sup>7</sup>—Throughout the whole, we detect the small wisdom of the *king's people*, (*gens du roi*;) that civic honesty which is exact and scrupulous in the petty, flexible in the great. No doubt this ordinance presents us with the ideal of royalty, in the estimate of the lawyers—the model which they held up to the feudal king, in order to make up a real king after their own mind.

These praiseworthy beginnings of order and of government brought no relief to the sufferings of the people. During the reign of Louis Hutin, a horrible mortality had swept off, it was said, the third of the population of the North.<sup>8</sup> The Flemish war had exhausted the last resources of the country, and, in 1330, it was found expedient to bring this war to a close. France had enough to occupy her at home. Men's imaginations becoming excited, a great movement took place among the people. As in the days of St. Louis, a multitude of poor people, of peasants, of shepherds or *pastoureux*, as they were called, flock together and say that they seek to go beyond the sea, that they are destined to recover the Holy Land. Their leaders were a degraded priest and an apostate monk. They entered along with them crowds of simple-minded persons, even down to chil-

<sup>1</sup> Ibid. p. 612.

<sup>2</sup> Que nul ne prevoise surcroire, ne gage, ne de puit estre, ne entre en notre grant robe ne surcote, ne en nous a nostre lit faire, et qu'on n'i souffre nostre despoisage, Ibid.

<sup>3</sup>—Through the excessive *extraiges*, gifts made by our predecessors a time past, the domain of the king on his been greatly lessened, *monst' apostat*. We, who anxiously desire the increase and the good estate of our kingdom, and of our subjects, intend hereafter and to return such gifts, as far as we fairly can, *en plus que nous pourrons levement*, and prohibit all those daring to petition us for gifts in perpetuity, *deme a heritage*, except in the presence of our grand council." Ibid. p. 670, (6.)

<sup>4</sup> Coutan. G. de N. reg. p. 71.

<sup>5</sup> Coutan. G. de Nangis, ann. 1323, p. 80.

<sup>6</sup> See, in my *Symbole du Droit*, pp. 79, 80, the king's Naming, in *Mémoires du Roi*.

<sup>7</sup> . . . Lesquels on nous demande souvent, et ont de plus grande valeur que nous ne croyons, nous devons être avisés, et qu'on n'a nous les demande. Ibid. p. 651, 39.

<sup>8</sup> . . . On avoit vu que nous eussions a ce que nous ne pouvions être regnez de les donner. Ibid. p. 713, (3.)



dren who ran away from their homes.\* At first, they begged; then they took. Some were thrown into prison; but their comrades broke into the prisons and released them. At the Châtelet, they threw the provost who was for turning them from the gates from the top of the steps; they then drew up in order of battle in the Pré-aux-Cleres, and quietly quitted Paris, the citizens taking good care to make no opposition to the movement. Next, they wended their way towards the South, everywhere massacring the Jews;† whom the king's officers vainly tried to protect. At last, troops were got together at Toulouse, who fell upon the Pastoureaux, and hanging them up by twenties and thirties, the rest dispersed.‡

These strange emigrations of the people did not so much indicate fanaticism, as suffering and misery. The barons, ruined by the deteriorations of the coinage, and pressed down by usury, fell back on the peasant. The latter had not yet arrived at the time of the Jacquerie; he had not yet summoned daring to turn against his lord. He took to flight, and massacred the Jews, who were so detested that many were scandalized to see the king's officers undertaking their defence. The commercial cities of the South were fiercely jealous of them. This was precisely the period in which, as financiers, collectors, and tax-gatherers, they were beginning to domineer over Spain. Loved by the monarchs for their address and servility, they grew bolder daily, and at last, even assumed the title of Don. As early as the time of Louis the Débonnaire, bishop Agobart had written a treatise, "*De insolentia Judæorum*," (of the Insolence of the Jews:); and, in Philippe-Auguste's day, men saw with astonishment a Jew, the king's bailiff. In 1267, the pope was obliged to launch a bull against Christians who Judaized.§

Expelled by Philippe-le-Bel, they had quietly returned. Louis Hutin had guaranteed them a safe residence in his dominions for twelve years. According to the terms of his ordinance, their privileges, if they could be found, were to be restored to them, as well as their books, synagogues, and burial-places—if not, the king will reimburse them for the loss. Two auditors are nominated to inquire into the possessions sold at half their value by the Jews in the hurry of their flight. The king makes himself a partner with them in the recovery of their debts, of which he was to have two-thirds.||

The noble debtors who had interest to obtain an ordinance from Philippe-le-Bel, interdicting all suit on debts due to Jews, found themselves again at their mercy. The accounts of the Jews were held valid in the courts of law, and they could glut the treasury with victims at their pleasure. Rankling from innumerable injuries, the Jew could now take vengeance—in the king's name.

The "ancient grudge" against their race being thus irritated and exasperated by fear, men were ready to go to any extreme against them. In the midst of the grievous mortality produced by misery, the report is suddenly spread that the Jews and lepers have poisoned the springs. The lord of Parthenay writes word to the king that a *great leper*,\* arrested on his territory, has confessed that a rich Jew had given him money, and supplied him with drugs. These drugs were compounded of human blood, of urine, and of the blood of Christ, (the consecrated wafer,) and the whole, after having been dried and pounded, was put into a bag with a weight, and thrown into the springs or wells.† Several lepers had already been provisionally burnt in Gascony, and the king, alarmed at the new movement which was originating, hastily returned from Poitou to France, and issued an ordinance for the general arrest of the lepers.

Not a doubt was entertained by any one of this horrible compact between the lepers and the Jews. "We ourselves," says a chronicler of the day, "have seen with our own eyes one of these bags in Poitou, in a burgh of our own vassalage. A leprous woman, afraid of being taken, threw behind her a piece of rag tied up, which was directly brought to the authorities, and we found there an adder's head, the limbs of a frog, and what resembled a woman's hair steeped in a black and fetid liquor—a thing horrible to see and to smell. The whole being thrown into a large fire would not burn: a surproof that it was a violent poison.‡ . . . The rumors and opinions were various. The most probable was, that the king of the Moors of Grenada, grieving over his frequent defeats, bethought himself of taking vengeance, by plotting with the Jews the destruction of the Christians. But, already too suspected, the Jews applied to the lepers. . . . These, at the devil's instigation, suffered themselves to be persuaded by the Jews. The principal lepers held four councils, if I may so term them; and the devil, through the medium of the Jews, gave them to understand, that since the lepers

\* "With city, wicket and staff, and penniless, leaving their sheep and swine in the fields, they flocked after them like sheep." Contin. G. de Nang., p. 77.

† "They, the Jews, flung down beams and stones without number, and even their own children, and so defended themselves manfully but inhumanely. . . . Finding escape hopeless . . . they hired one of their own men . . . to cut their throats." Ibidem.

‡ Illic viginti, illic triginta secundum; nos et minus suspensibus in patibulis et arboribus. Ibid.

§ See M. Beugnot's *Memoir on the Jews of the West*, and on the great history of Joaze.

|| Ord. l. p. 363.

\* Scripisse confessionem . . . magni cujusdam leprosi. Contin. G. de Nang. ann. 1321, p. 78.

† Fiebant de sanguine humano et urinâ de tribus herbis . . . ponebatur etiam corpus Christi, et cum essent omnia desiccata, usque ad pulverem terebatur, que misce in sacculis cum aliquo ponderoso . . . in puteis . . . jectas tur. Ibidem.

‡ Inventum est in panno caput colubri, pedes bestiarum et capilli quasi mulieris, infecti quodam liquore nigerrimo . . . quod totum in ignem copiosum . . . projectum, ubi modo comburi potuit, habito manifesto experimento, et hoc illud esse venenum fortissimum. Ibidem.



claimed for the royal treasury, together with the rest of their property. The king got about a hundred and fifty thousand livres.

"It is asserted, that at Vitry forty Jews, in the king's prison, seeing that they were sure to die, and desirous to escape from falling into the hands of the uncircumcised, unanimously agreed to get one of their old men, who passed for a good and holy person, and whom they called their father,\* to put them out of the world. He would not consent, except upon condition of a young man's being associated with him in the task. When all were killed, and these two alone remained, each sought to die by the other's hand. The old man gained the point, and by his prayers persuaded the young one to put him to death. The young man, seeing himself left alone, collected the gold and silver which he found on the corpses, made himself a rope out of their dresses, and let himself down from the top of the tower. But the rope being too short, and the weight of gold too heavy, he broke his leg, was taken, confessed all, and met an ignominious death."†

Philippe-le-Long did not enjoy the spoil of the lepers and of the Jews, any longer than his father had done that of the Templars. He was seized with fever in the course of the same year, (A. D. 1321,) in the month of August, without his physicians being able to guess its cause. He languished five months, and died. "Some suspect it to have been a visitation from Heaven, brought on his head by the maledictions of his people for so many unheard-of extortions, not to mention those he was meditating. During his illness, the exactions abated, without ceasing entirely."

#### ACCESSION OF CHARLES THE HANDSOME.

His brother Charles succeeded him, without bestowing a thought more on the rights of Philippe's daughter, than Philippe had done to those of Louis's daughter.

The period of Charles's reign is as barren of facts with regard to France, as it is rich in them respecting Germany, England, and Flanders. The Flemings imprison their count. The Germans are divided between Frederick of Austria and Lewis of Bavaria, who takes his rival prisoner at Muhldorf. In the midst of the universal divisions, France seems strong from the circumstance of its being one. Charles-le-Bel interferes in favor of the count of Flanders. He attempts, with the pope's aid, to make himself emperor; and his sister, Isabella, makes herself actual queen of England by the murder of Edward II.

A fearful history is that of Philippe-le-Bel's children! His eldest son puts his wife to death. His daughter murders her husband.

\* Unus aut qui . . . sanctior et melior videbatur; unde et ob eius bonitatem et antiquitatem pater vocabatur. Ibid. p. 79.

† Cum funis esset brevior . . . dimittens se deorsum cadere, tibiam sub tremit, auric et argenti præ maximo pondere gravatus. Ibidem.

The king of England, Edward II., born in the midst of his father's triumphs, and presented to the Welsh as about to become the realization of their Arthur, was, nevertheless, ever beaten. In France, he allowed Guyenne to be encroached upon, and promised to pay homage for it. In England, he was ill-used by Robert Bruce, but he prosecuted him in the papal court. He had inquired of the pope whether he might, without sin, rub his body with a marvellous oil, which inspired courage. His wife despised him; but he loved not women, and consoled himself for his mishaps with handsome youths. By way of reprisal, the queen threw herself into the arms of the earl of Mortimer. His barons, who detested their king's minions, first put out of the way the brilliant Gaveston, a bold Gascon and skilful knight, who amused himself with unhorsing in tournaments the most dignified lords and noblest barons. Spencer, Gaveston's successor, was no less hated.

As England found itself disarmed by these dissensions, the king of France took advantage of the opportunity, and seized the Agenois.\* Isabel came over to France, with her young son, to enter her protest, she said; but it was against her husband that she protested. Charles-le-Bel, not choosing to embark in her name in so hazardous a business as an invasion of England, forbade his knights to espouse her party;† and even gave out that he intended to arrest her and send her back to her husband.‡

\* See *Le Différent entre la France et l'Angleterre* sous Charles-le-Bel, par M. de Brequigny. The quarrel, which first arose about the possession of a petty fortress, quickly became a most serious matter through Edward's own weakness and the audacity of his officers. While Edward makes excuses for his delay in doing homage, and begs the French king to stay the French incursions on his domains, the English officers in Guyenne dismantle the disputed fortress, and hold to ransom the grand master of the cross-bowmen of France, who had sought satisfaction for the insult. Edward hastened to disavow these acts to Charles; and, at the same time, ordered all persons to assist Raoul Basset, the author of the insult to the French king. But he soon shrunk from the prospect of war, and degraded Raoul. His officers left without support, were to give satisfaction to Charles-le-Bel, who did not stop on so fair a road. Edward's ambassadors wrote him word, that it was openly said in the French court, "That they would no longer put up with parchment and lip-service only, as before." Edward, who at first had applied to the pope and made some preparations, grew alarmed at the storm which threatened to disturb his pleasures. He gave full powers to arrange the business, and dispatched to Charles a Frenchman, named Sully, along with his plenipotentiary. The king hearkened to the Frenchman, dismissed the Englishman, and marched his troops into Guyenne. Again, after having waited for succors in vain from the earl of Kent, opened its gates to him. New ambassadors arrived from England. All the answer they received was, "That they should allow the king of France to take possession of the rest of Gascony, without opposition, and that Edward should present himself before him. Then, if he (Edward) sought justice from him, he should have good justice and speedy; if he sought favor at his hands, he (Charles) would do as seemed good to him."

† . . . "At which many knights were exceedingly well . . . and said that gold and silver had come in great quantities from England." Froissart, ed. Dacier, i. 26.

‡ "He (Robert of Artois) was also informed, that the king was not averse to the seizure of the person of the queen, her son Edward, the earl of Kent, and Sir Roger Mortimer, and to their being delivered into the hands of the king of England and Sir Hugh Spencer. He therefore came in the middle of the night, to inform the queen of the peril she was in." Froissart, b. i. c. viii.

(Wherever it is not signified to the contrary, the refer-

Like a true son of Philippe-le-Bel's, he did not give her an army; but he gave her money to get one. This money was supplied by the Bardi, bankers of Florence. On the other hand, the French monarch sent troops into Guyenne, to put down, he said, some Gascon adventurers.

The count of Hainault gave his daughter in marriage to Isabella's youngest son; and the count's brother took upon himself to head the small troop which she had raised. A great force would but have injured her cause, by alarming the English. Edward was disarmed, and given up beforehand. He sent his fleet against her, which took care to avoid a meeting. He dispatched Robert de Wateville with troops, who went over to her. He implored the men of London, who prudently replied, "That it was their privilege not to leave their city for war; that they would not admit strangers, but should welcome the king, the queen, and the prince royal." Not less prudently did the churchmen deport themselves towards the queen on her arrival. The archbishop of Canterbury preached on the text, "The people's voice is God's voice." The bishop of Hereford took for his, "*Caput meum doleo*," (It is my head pains me:); while he of Oxford chose the text from Genesis, "I will put enmity between thee and the woman. She shall crush thy head:" a homicidal prophecy, which was verified.

Meanwhile, the queen was advancing with her son, and her small band. She came in the character of an unfortunate wife, who only seeks to separate her husband from the evil counsellors who are hurrying him to ruin. Her grief and wo-begone appearance inspired universal pity, and all took her side. She soon had Edward and Spencer in her grasp. When this man, whom she hated with such deadly hate, was brought before her, she feasted her eyes on the sight; and then had him undergo, before the window of her palace, obscene mutilations previously to his execution.

At the moment, she durst not go further. She took alarm, felt the pulse of the people, and cajoled her husband. She wept, but acted while weeping. Nothing seemed to be done by her, but by the hand of justice, and in regular form. The crown still sat on Edward's head—this stopped all. Three counts, two barons, two bishops, and the clerk to the parliament, William Trussel, repaired to the castle of Kenilworth, and gave the prisoner to understand that if he did not quickly resign the crown, he would gain nothing by it, but rather risk his son's losing the throne, as the

people might proceed to choose a king out of the royal family. Edward wept, fainted away, and ended by resigning. Then, the clerk drew up and pronounced the formula, which has been preserved as a good precedent:—"I, William Trussel, clerk to the parliament, in the name of all the people of England, resume the homage which I had paid to thee, Edward. From this time forward, I defy thee, and deprive thee of all royal power. Hereafter, I no longer obey thee as king."<sup>o</sup>

Edward thought that he was sure of life at least; no king had yet been murdered. His wife still kept up her cajolements. She wrote tenderly to him, and sent him rich dresses.† However, a deposed king is very embarrassing. At any moment he might be released from confinement. In their anxiety, Isabella and Mortimer consulted the bishop of Hereford, but could draw from him only the equivocal reply—"Edwardum occidere nolite timere bonum est."‡ This was an answer, and no answer at all. According to the plaring of the comma, this doubtful oracle might be so read as to signify life or death. Their interpretation was, death. Fear was killing the queen, so long as her husband lived. A new governor was set over the king's prison—John Maltravers, a sinister name; but its owner was worse.

Maltravers made his prisoner long taste the terrors of death; mocking him for some days, perhaps in the hope that he would kill himself. He was shaved with cold water, crowned with straw; and, finally, as he perished to live, they threw him down under a heavy door, and keeping him forcibly in this position, impaled him with a red-hot spit. The iron was said to have been passed into his bowels through a funnel of horn, so as to leave no external marks. The corpse was laid out for public inspection, honorably buried, and a mass founded for the repose of his soul. There was no trace of violence; but his cries had been heard, and the contraction of his face denounced the horrible invention of his assassins.§

Charles-le-Bel did not profit by this revolution. He died almost at the same time as Edward, leaving only a daughter; so that he was succeeded by a cousin of his. All that fine family of princes who had sat near their father at the council of Vienne was extinct. In the popular belief, the curses of Boniface had taken effect.

<sup>o</sup> Walsingham, p. 126. Thom. de la More, pp. 695, 696.

<sup>†</sup> *Mist indumentum de drata et lictore blandientis.* Walsingham adds, "She appeared almost distracted (when news of others at the news of her husband's deposition. . . . At the same time so large a dowry was assigned her, that scarce a third of the kingdom remained for her royal son." pp. 126, 127.

<sup>‡</sup> Take the Delphic response, this may be read two ways, since it may either signify—"It is good to thus slaying Edward," or, "I do not need to slay Edward to gain."—THOMAS-LATON.

<sup>§</sup> *Ipsa prostrata et cubi totius pueri-rum detracta ad superiorem, cum totius imperatoris curia, et per totius imperatorem ignem vero in viscum suo.* Ibid.

corrections to Froissart are made in the edition, in 2 vols. 8vo, published by W. H. Smith First Street.—TRANSLATOR.

<sup>o</sup> *Von propiti, von der.* Walsingham II. Angl. p. 126.

<sup>†</sup> *Thom. de la More.* The conclusion arrived at was, that the only means of curing the body was cutting off the head.

<sup>‡</sup> See the revolting details in Froissart, b. i. c. 13.

## BOOK THE SIXTH.

## CHAPTER I.

ENGLAND. PHILIP OF VALOIS, A. D. 1328-1349.

THIS memorable epoch, which depresses England so low, and, in proportion, raises France so high, presents, nevertheless, in the two countries two analogous events. In England, the barons have overthrown Edward II. In France, the feudal party places on the throne the feudal branch of the Valois.

The young king of England, Philippe-le-Bel's grandson by his mother's side, first entering a protest, proceeds to do homage at Amiens. But humbled England, nevertheless, contains within herself those elements of success which are soon to give her the superiority over France.

Intimately connected with Flanders, the new English government holds out a welcome to foreigners, and renews the commercial privileges which Edward I. had granted to merchants of all countries. On the contrary, France can take no share in the new movement of commerce. One word as to this great revolution, which, alone, explains the succeeding events. The secret of the battles of Crécy and of Poitiers lies in the counting-houses of the merchants of London, Bordeaux, and Bruges.

In 1291 the Holy Land is lost, the age of the crusades over. In 1298, the Venetian, Marco Paolo, the Christopher Columbus of Asia,\* dictates the relation of his travels, and of a twenty years' sojourn in China and Japan.† For the first time, Europe learns that twelve months' journey beyond Jerusalem, there exist kingdoms and well-ordered cities. Jerusalem is no longer the centre of the world, or of human thought. Europe loses the Holy Land, but sees the earth.

In 1321, there appears the first work on political and commercial economy, the *Secreta Fidei-lum Crucis*‡ of the Venetian Sanuto—an old

title, but new idea. The author proposes, not a crusade, but rather a commercial and maritime blockade of Egypt. The subject is fantastically treated,\* and the transition from religious ideas to those of trade awkwardly managed. The Venetian, whose aim, perhaps, was to restore to Venice the traffic she had lost by the return of the Greeks to Constantinople, begins by accumulating all the sacred texts which stimulate the good Christian to the recovery of Jerusalem; then gives a regular list of the spices, as pepper, incense, ginger, of which the Holy Land is the entrepôt; names the provisions, and quotes them article by article; and calculates with admirable precision the expenses of transport,† &c.

The world, in fact, is commencing a great crusade, but of a thoroughly new kind. Less poetic than the first, it does not go in quest of the Holy Land, of the Graal, or of the empire of Trebizond. If we stop a vessel at sea, we shall no longer find a younger son of France

of the land and sea, the third of the Holy Land, the fourth of Egypt." At the end of Bongars, *Gesta Dei per Francos*.

\* The reason which he gives for his dividing his book into three parts in honor of the Holy Trinity is, that there are three principal things to be looked to for the re-establishment of the health of the body—the preparatory unction, the medicine, and good regimen.—"Paritur autem tota equus ad honorem Sancte Trinitatis in tres libros. Nam sicut infirmum, corpori . . . tria imperiis curamus: primum, syrupum ad praviam dispositionem; . . . secundum, con-gruam medicinam que morbum expellat; . . . tertium, ad conservandam sanitatem debitum vite regimen. . . . Scilicet conformiter continet liber primus dispositionem quam syrupum," etc. *Secreta Fidelium Crucis*, apud Bongars, p. 9.

† He demonstrates the superiority of the route by Egypt over that by Syria. Then he proposes against the sultan of Egypt, not a crusade, but a simple blockade. Ten galleys will be sufficient. He determines, with a foresight altogether modern, the men, money, and provisions required. The fleet is to be got ready at Venice. He says, that the Venetian seamen alone can safely navigate the low shores of Egypt, which resemble their own lagoons, (pp. 25, 26.) He does not stipulate for a Venetian admiral, but contents himself with saying, that he ought to be on good terms with the Venetians, in order to act in concert with them, (p. 25.) The blockade will effect the ruin of the sultan, and, consequently, of the Mohammedan world, of which Egypt is the heart. "It is essential," he plainly says, "either that all access to Egypt be completely prevented, or that it be thrown so thoroughly open that all may go, return, and trade freely through the sultan's territories; and on the latter alternative, that the thought of recovering the Holy Land be entirely given up."—"But, it may be said, if the sultan should divert the Nile from the Mediterranean into the Red Sea? The thing is impossible; and, if it could be effected, Egypt would be ruined and become a desert. . . . The sultan reduced, the fortresses on the Egyptian coast will become a sure asylum for the Christian nations, just as the lagoons of the Adriatic were for the Venetians, when, through-out the tempests of the Gallic, African, and Lombard invasions, and that of Attila, have remained inviolate." (Part iii. c. 2.) The allusion in these last words is to the recent fears, with which the Mongol invasions had inspired all Christendom.

\* Like Columbus, he had his gainsayers; but Columbus's return put an end to all doubts, while they began with Paolo's return. His Latin translator appeals in confirmation of his veracity to Paolo's father and uncle, the companions of his travels.

† Marco Paolo, when a prisoner at Genoa, dictated to the countrymen of Columbus the work which fired him to his great enterprise.

‡ *The Book of the Secrets of the Faithful of the Cross*. "In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, Amen. In the year 1321, I had an audience of our lord the pope, and presented him two books on the recovery of the Holy Land, and safety of the faithful: one bound in red, the other in yellow. At the same time I brought under his notice four geographical maps, one of the Mediterranean Sea, another

who seeks a kingdom,\* but rather some Genoese or Venetian, who will willingly sell us sugar and cinnamon. Such is the hero of the modern world, no less heroic than the other: he will risk for the gain of a sequin as much as Richard Cœur-de-Lion for St. Jean d'Acre. The crusader of commerce performs his crusade in every sense of the word, and has his Jerusalem everywhere.

The new religion, that of wealth—faith in gold—has its pilgrims, its monks, its martyrs, who dare, and who suffer, just as the others dared and suffered. They watch, fast, practise self-denial. They pass their best years on dangerous roads, in distant countries, at Tyre, London, Novogorod. Alone, unmarried, shut up in fortified quarters, they sleep armed in their counters, surrounded by their enormous dogs;† almost always plundered when out of cities, and often massacred in them.

To carry on commerce was no easy matter in those days. The merchant who had made a prosperous voyage from Alexandria to Venice without unlucky accident, had yet done nothing. To sell to good advantage, he was obliged to plunge into the north. He had to carry his merchandise through the Tyrol, and by the rugged banks of the Danube, to Augsburg or Vienna; he had to transport it safely through the midst of the gloomy forests and gloomy castles of the Rhine, and to take it on to Cologne, the holy city. It was here the merchant returned thanks to God.‡ Here, the North and South met, and the merchants of the Hanse towns bargained with those of the Venetians.—Or, else, he deflected to the left. He penetrated into France, on the assurance of the good count of Champagne. He unpacked his bales at the old fairs of Troyes, and at those of Lagny, Bar-sur-Aube, and Provins.§ Thence, in a few days' journey, though not without risk, he could reach Bruges, the grand emporium of the Low Countries, the city of the seventeen nations.¶

But this French route was no longer possible when Philippe-le-Bel, who had become through his wife master of Champagne, directed his ordinances against the Lombards, embroiled the coinage, and interfered to regulate the interest paid at the fairs.¶ Then came Louis Hutin, who laid duties on all goods sold and bought

This was sufficient to shut up the counters of Troyes: he had no need to interdict, as he did, all traffic "with the Flemings, the Genoese, the Italians, and the Provençals."

At a later moment, the French king perceived that he had killed his goose which laid the golden eggs. He reduced the duties, recalled the merchants.\* But he had himself taught them to take another route. They reached Flanders henceforward either by way of Germany or by sea. The emergency taught Venice a bolder navigation, which brought it into direct communication with the Flemings and English, across the ocean.

France, throughout its length and breadth, remained almost impenetrable to commerce. The roads were too dangerous, the tolls too numerous. The barons did not pillage to the same extent as formerly; but the king's agents plundered in their stead. Robbed like a merchant became a proverb.† The royal hand reached over all; but it was seldom felt, save as represented by the paw of the treasury. When the order came, it was for universal seizure: salt, water, air, rivers, forests, fords, defiles, nothing escaped fiscal ubiquity.

While the coinage was constantly tampered with in France, it underwent little alteration in England. The French king had failed in his attempt to establish a uniformity of measures. One of the principal articles of the charter granted by the king of England to foreigners related to this point. After setting forth his great care for the merchants who visit or reside in England—Germans, French, Spaniards, Portuguese, Navarrese, Lombards, Tuscans, Provençals, Catalans, Gascons, Toulousans, Cahorcins, Flemings, Brabanters, and others—he guarantees them protection, good and prompt justice, good weight, and good measure. The judges who shall wrong a merchant shall be punished, even after having indemnified him. There shall be a judge in London for foreigners, to render them summary justice. In cases in which they shall be interested, the jury shall consist half of Englishmen, the other half of men of the same country as the stranger concerned.‡

\* As to the fourth crusade, Baldwin, count of Flanders, came to Philip Augustus. See above, p. 371.

† See *Chronique*, Hist. de la Hanse, and the abridgment of it by Haller.

‡ *Chronique*, Harcourt, t. pp. 237, 264, 268, 267.

§ *Chronique*, Epiphane, p. 104.

¶ Merchants from seventeen kingdoms had their settled dwellings at Bruges, besides strangers from almost unknown countries, who repaired thither. Hottel's Middle Ages, v. d. m. p. 378. Mr. Hottel quotes for the fact Meyer, Hist. des Pays-Bas, 1364.

¶ The fairs of Champagne were more ancient than the county itself. They are mentioned as early as the year 847, in a letter from Robertus Apudensis to P. Leup. They went on and flourished, without any one's interfering with them. Philip's ordinance is the most ancient royal decree that relates to them. *Chronique*, Epiphane, pp. 104-5.

\* See the ordinances of Charles le Bel and Philippe-le-Valois. It was the rivalry of Lyons which completed the ruin of the fairs of Champagne. When a fiscal emergency was added the alarm and terror of internal war, Troyes was deserted, and Lyons opened her gates as an asylum for commerce. To revive the fairs of Champagne it was found necessary to abolish the fairs of Lyons. In 1364, two of the four fairs of Lyons were transferred to Bourges, and two to Troyes, but they declined the movement Lyons was allowed to revive her markets. *Ibid.* pp. 107-108.

† *Qu'il n'en soient leur profit comme d'un marchant.* They might make their profit of it, as out of a merchant. *Chronique*, t. ii. c. 10.

‡ The king sets forth that he grants them the over, both in his own name and in that of his successors: let, with reverence, under the royal protection and exemption from certain specified duties. *Les marchans, pecheurs, et porteurs d'ebus de quens*—from city wall, bridge, and graving duties. ("Liberty to sell merchandise in a town they choose, and even to retail merchandise and spices. Also, the right of importing and exporting, on payment of the duties, all articles except wine, which is not to be exported without the king's special

Even before this charter, foreigners flocked to England. Looking at the impetus acquired by commerce in the thirteenth century, one cannot be much surprised that an English merchant should have invited and feasted five kings in the fourteenth.\* The historians of the middle age speak of English commerce in the same terms that one might use in the present day.

"O England, could the vessels of Tarshish, so vaunted in Scripture, compare with thine! . . . Aromatics come to thee from the four climates of the world. Pisans, Genoese, and Venetians, bring thee the sapphire and emerald, rolled down by the rivers of Paradise. Asia humbly ministereth to thee purple, Africa balm, Spain gold, Germany silver. Flanders, thy weaver, weaves for thee costly garments out of thy wool. Gascony pours thee out its wines. The islands, from Ursa to the Hyades, minister to thee . . . More happy, however, art thou, through thy own fecundity; the ribs of all people throughout the world bless thee, kept warm by the fleeces of thy sheep!"†

Wool and meat are the primitive elements of England and of the English race. Before England was the great manufactory of iron-ware and woollens for the whole world, she was a manufactory of meat. From time immemorial her people have been a *cattle-breeding*, sheep-rearing race; a race fed on flesh. Hence, their freshness of complexion, beauty, strength. Their greatest man, Shakespeare, was at first a butcher.

May I be here allowed to describe my personal impressions.

I had seen London, and great part of England and Scotland; I had admired rather than understood. It was only on my return, as I was going from York to Manchester, across the island, that I felt a distinct perception of what England is. It was morning,

with a cold fog. The land seemed to me no longer surrounded only, but covered, drowned by the ocean. The landscape was but half revealed by a pale sun. The red bricks of the new houses would have contrasted harshly with the green turf, had not the tints been harmonized by the floating mist. Above the pastures, covered with sheep, flamed the red chimneys of the factories. Pasturage, tillage, manufacturing industry, were all here within a narrow space, one on the other, one nourished by the other—the grass living on the fog, the sheep on the grass, man on blood.

Under this absorbing climate, man, ever a hungered, can only live by labor. Nature compels him to it. He pays her back with interest, makes her work herself, subdues by fire and steel. All England pants with struggle. Man seems scared by his efforts. Mark that red face, that strange air—one would think him drunk. But his head and hand are steady; he is only drunk with blood and strength. He treats himself like his steam-engine, which he fills and feeds to excess, to obtain from it its utmost power and velocity.

The Englishman of the middle age was almost what he now is, too highly fed, too prone to action, and warlike for want of employment.

England, already agricultural, was not yet manufacturing. She supplied the material, which others wrought. The wool was on one side of the strait, the workman on the other. The English butcher and the Flemish draper were united, in the midst of the quarrels of princes, by an indissoluble alliance, which France wished to break, a wish that cost it a hundred years of war. The king had at stake his succession to the French throne; his people, liberty of commerce, and free trade for their wool. Assembled round the woolsack, the commons demurred less to the king's demands, and willingly voted him armies.

The mixture of the spirit of trade with that of chivalry imparts a fantastical aspect to all this period of history. The haughty Edward III., who swore by the heron, at the round table, that he would conquer France\*—the

license: 4thly, security from seizure of their merchandise; 5thly, good justice, since, if wronged by a judge, he shall be punished, even though he have indemnified them; 6thly, in all trials in which they are interested, one half of the jury to consist of their countrymen; 7thly, but one weight and measure throughout the kingdom, and in each town or seat of a fair there is to be a royal weight, the balance to be thoroughly empty, and the weigher is not to turn it with his hands; 8thly, a judge at London, to render them speedy justice; 9thly, for all these privileges they are to pay a penny more on every tun imported, and forty deniers more on every bag of wool, &c.; 10thly, but, these duties once paid, they are free to trade throughout the length and breadth of the kingdom. Shortly afterwards, the privileges of those towns which would have interfered with this free trade are declared null and void. The king and barons did not trouble themselves about the competition of the foreigners against the English. Rymer, ii. 747. Last edition.

\* In 1363, Edward, who had been lord mayor some years before, entertained Edward III. and the Black Prince, the kings of France, Scotland, and Cyprus, with many of the nobility, at his own house in the Vintry, and presented them with handsome gifts." Hallam's Middle Ages, vol. iii. p. 398. Mr. Hallam quotes Macpherson, Annals of Commerce, p. 415, who quotes Stow.

... Tibi de tunc mater vestes pretiosas tua texitrix Flandria texit. Tibi vinum tua Vasconia ministravit. Tibi servarant omnes insule. . . Tibi per orbem benedixerunt omnium latens nationum, de tuis ovium vellibus calefacta. Matth. Westm. pp. 340, 341.

\* Par devant la roïne, Robert s'agenouilla.  
Et dist que le hainon par temps departira.  
Mes que chou ait voue que le cuer li dira.  
"Vassal, dist la roïne, or ne me parles ja;  
Dime ne peut vouer, puis qu'elle seigneur a.  
Car s'elle voue biens, son mari paier a.  
Que bien puet rapeller chou qu'elle vouera;  
Et bonnis sont li corps que j'ai pensers.  
Devant que mes chiers sires commande le m'ara."  
Et dist le roy: "Voues, mes cures l'aquistera."  
Mes que fuier en puisse, mes cures s'en prera;  
Voues harliement, et Dieux vous aldera;  
"Adonc, dit la roïne, je sai bien, que pieche.  
Que sui grosse d'enfant, que mon corps avra li.  
Encore n'a il gaires, qu'en mon corps se tourna.  
Et je voue, et prometh a Dieu, qui me crea,  
Qui nasqui de la Vierge, que mes corps n'enprie,  
Et qui mourut en croiz, on le crucifi,  
Que ja li fruis de moi, de mon corps n'isterra.  
Si m'en ares menee on puis par delà,  
Pour avancher le veu que vo corps voue a;  
Et s'il en voult lair, quant beodins n'en sera,

silly knights, who, in consequence of  
rep one eye covered with red cloth,\*  
quite such fools as to serve at their  
rge. The pious simplicity of the  
does not belong to this age. These  
at bottom, are the hiring agents, the  
rcial travellers" (commis-voyageurs)  
ndon and Ghent merchants. Edward  
n humanity, lay aside his pride, seek  
the clothiers and weavers, give his  
his gossip, the brewer Artavelde, and  
the populace from a butcher's dresser.†  
ible tragedies of the fourteenth century  
ir comic part. In the haughtiest  
there is something of the Falstaff.  
e, Italy, Spain, and the fine climates  
uth, the English showed themselves  
luttonous than brave. It is the Her-  
aphagos, (ox-eating.) They come

and coust d'achier li mens corps s'ochire ;  
s'ame perdue, et li frain perira.  
at li rois l'ontent, moult forment l'es poins ;  
: "Certainement nuls plus ne verra."  
nos la parle, la ruine en menga.  
quant che fu fait, li rois s'aparilla,  
s'aver les né, la ruine l'entra.  
et franc chevalier avecques lui mena.  
en Anvers, li rois ne s'arresta.  
entre sont venu, en dame delivra ;  
au filz gracieus la dame s'acoula.  
"J'arras ot non, quant on le baptisa.  
franche liame le sien ven acquita ;  
s'adent tout fait, mais perudomme en muira,  
et bon chevalier d'alent s'en clama,  
s'ot prandre femme pour l'ave s'en trama.  
parti li cors des Engles par dela.  
J'arrest leus vers du baron.—C'e petit poème se  
la fin du L. I. de Froissart, ed. Lucien Bache-  
n, ed. Bache-  
n, t. I. p. 214.

met before the queen, and said that the baron  
at by and by, but that the heart must tell her  
s. "Vassal," said the queen, "speak not so to  
cannot make a vow since she has a lord, for if  
y thing, her husband has power to revoke what  
all you; and shame to the lady of her who shall  
before my dear lord shall have commended me."  
g said, "Vow, my heart will see you through  
it will labor to accomplish it, you loodly, and  
e your aid." "Then," said the queen, "I will  
for some time I have been big with child, which  
and but this moment it turned in my body, and  
promise to find who created me, who was born  
in, whose body perished not and who died on  
he was crucified,—that my fruit shall not leave  
till you have taken me into the land beyond, to  
re that your lady hath vowed, and if you wish  
till there shall be need of you, a dagger of steel  
y body, I shall lose my soul and the fruit of  
will perish." And when the king heard her,  
intently, and said, "Certes none can vow more  
The baron was divided, the queen ate of it,  
it was done, the king made preparations, and  
sips, and the queen embarked, and took many a  
at with her. The king stopped not thence to  
When they had crossed the sea, the lady was  
wed, the lady was delivered of a fine lovely boy,  
tweep his name when he was baptized. Thus  
came fulfilled her vow. For all to be done, may  
s shall do, and many a good knight shall cal  
d many a worthy woman hold herself unfortu  
a the English court went on beyond.  
were among them many young knights backe  
one of their eyes covered with a piece of  
at they could not see with it. It was said they  
went to some ladies in their country that they  
e one but one eye until they had personally se  
deeds of arms in France, nor would they  
ply to whatever questions were asked them, as  
dressed at their strange demeanor." Froissart  
n, ed. Bache-  
n, t. I. p. 214.

literally to devour the land. But, in return,  
they are conquered by the fruits and wises.  
Their princes die of indigestion; their armies  
of dysentery.

Read, after this, Froissart, that Walter Scott  
of the middle age; follow him in his never-  
ending tales of adventures and feats of arms.  
Gaze in our museums on the heavy and bril-  
liant suits of armor of the fourteenth century.  
. . . . Do they not look like the spoils of  
Renaud or of Roland! . . . . However, these  
strong corselets, these moving fortresses of  
steel, do most honor to the prudence of those  
who muffled themselves up in them. . . .  
Whenever war becomes a trade and traffic, the  
weight of defensive arms ever thus increases.  
The merchants of Carthage and of Palmyra  
went into battle similarly equipped.\*

Such is the strange character of this period;  
at once warlike and mercantile. Its history is  
epopée and tale—a romance of Arthur and  
fance of Scaramouch. The whole epoch is  
double, and squinting. Contrasts prevail:  
prose and poetry in all directions give one  
another the lie, and rally each other. The  
two centuries which intervene between the  
dreams of Dante and those of Shakespeare,  
themselves produce the effect of a dream. It  
is *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, in which the  
poet brings together at pleasure handicraftsmen  
and heroes, and where the noble Theseus  
figures by the side of joiner Bottom, whose  
fine ass's ears turn Titania's head.

While the young Edward makes a sorry  
beginning of his reign by doing homage to  
France, Philippe of Valois commences his  
with a flourish of trumpets. Feudal himself,  
son of the feudal Charles of Valois, and spring-  
ing from the branch of the royal house, friendly  
to the barons, he is supported by them. Yet  
had these very barons and Charles of Valois  
himself maintained woman's right to the suc-  
cession on the death of Louis Hutin, and  
had washed the crown, treated as a feminine  
sief, to pass by marriage into different families,  
and so remain weak. They forgot this policy  
when the claim of males to the succession  
placed on the throne one of themselves, the  
son of their leader, Charles of Valois. They  
relied on his correcting the unjust and violent  
acts of the preceding reigns; for instance, on  
his restoring Franche-Comte and Artois to  
those who had so long vainly laid claim to  
them. Robert of Artois, thinking his cause  
gained, contributed powerfully to the elevation  
of Philippe.

At first, the new king displayed great com-  
plaisance towards the barons. He began by  
freeing them from the obligation of paying  
their debts.† In token of a gracious accession

\* For Carthage, see, in particular, Plutarch's *Life of*  
*Timoleon*. For Palmyra see the author also quoted in my  
*Life of Zenobia*, in the *Biographie Universelle* de M.  
Michelet.

† They pretended that there was a conspiracy among them



and of good justice, he strung up his predecessor's treasurer on an entirely new gibbet.\* It was, as we have said, the custom of the day. But since a monarch, truly a justicer, is the natural protector of the weak and afflicted, Philippe welcomed the count of Flanders, ill-entreated by the men of Bruges, just after the fashion that Charles-le-Bel had comforted the good queen Isabella.

It was quite a festival to handseel the new accession by a war with these citizens. The nobility eagerly attended the king. However, the men of Bruges and of Ypres, though deserted by those of Ghent, did not distress themselves. They advanced to meet him, well-armed and in good order, as far as Cassel, which they desired to protect, (August 23d.) The insulting device on their banners was a cock, with this bantering motto:—

"Quand ce coq ley chantera  
Le Roy trouve cy entrera."†

It was not for lack of heart that they failed to realize this vault, but want of endurance and patience. While the two armies were in presence and watching each other, the Flemings felt that their affairs were going ill, that the looms of Ypres were still, and their bales unopened in the markets of Bruges. The manufacturers had left their souls in their counting-houses. Each day, as they saw their villages in flames, they calculated both what they lost, and what they missed gaining. They could hold out no longer, and would put an end to this by an engagement. Their leader, Zannekin, (Little John,) disguising himself as a dealer in fish, visits the French camp. None there bestowed a thought on the enemy. The nobles, richly attired, spent their time in gossiping, feasting, and visiting each other. The Flemings burst into the camp just as the king is dining, bear down all before them, and force their way to the royal tent.‡ Once more, the

of mean condition to ruin the French nobility, and so obtained at once an order from the king for the imprisonment of all their creditors, and sequestration of their property; there followed the ordinance, which reduced their debts by a fourth, and allowed four months' grace, without interest. Contin. G. de Nangis, p. 96. Ord. l. ii. p. 59.

\* Pierre Remy. Contin. G. de Nangis, p. 87.

† "When this same cock shall crow,

The foundling king shall enter here."

Calling the said king Philip, the *roy trouwe*, (the foundling king.) Oudegherst, fol. 257.

‡ Unques en l'est du roy ne fait on guet; et les grands seigneurs alerent d'une tente en l'autre, pour eux deduire, en leurs belles robes. . . . Froissart describes the attack as follows:—Those that were in the garrison at Cassel set out one day, about vesper, with a design to defeat the king and all his army. They marched very quietly without noise in three divisions; the first of which advanced straight to the tents of the king, and was near surprising him, as he was seated at supper, as well as his whole household. The second went to the tents of the king of Bohemia, and almost found him in the same situation. The third division attacked the quarters of the count of Hainault, and nearly surprised him. . . . they would all have been slain, if it had not been, as it were, a miracle of God; but, by his grace, each of these lords defeated their enemies, and so completely, that, in the space of an hour, out of twelve thousand Flemings, not one escaped. Their captain was also killed. Nor did any of these captains receive any intelligence of the other until the business was finished.

scene of precipitation on the part of the Flemings, and of carelessness on the part of the French, is repeated; and the event was no better for the first. These bulky Flemings, whether through brutal pride in their bodily strength, whether through shop-keeping prudence, or the ostentation of wealth, had taken it into their heads to wear, though on foot, the heavy corselets of knights. It is true they were well protected, but they could hardly budge. They were stifled by their armor. Thirteen thousand of them strewed the earth, and their count, re-entering his states, put to death ten thousand more within three days.\*

Indisputably, the king of France was at this moment a great king. He had just reinstated Flanders in its state of dependence on him. The king of England had done him homage for his French provinces. His cousins reigned at Naples and in Hungary. He was protector of the king of Scotland. He was surrounded by a court of kings—by those of Navarre, Majorca, Bohemia; and the Scottish monarch was often one of the circle. The famous John of Bohemia, of the house of Luxembourg, and father to the emperor Charles IV., declared that he could not live out of Paris, *the most chivalrous residence in the world*. He flattered over all Europe, but ever returned to the court of the great king of France—where was kept up one constant festival, where jousts and tournaments ever went on, and the romances of chivalry, king Arthur and the round table, were realized.

To have an idea of the royal state of the time, you must see Vincennes, the Windsor of the Valois. You must see it, not as it now is, half razed to the ground; but as it was when its four towers vomited forth to the four winds,‡ plumed and blazoned squadrons, large feudal armies, when four kings descending into the lists, jousted before the most Christian king; when this noble scene was set in a majestic forest, whose oaks, centuries old, reared their heads as high as the battlements, and stage "belled" all night at the foot of the towers, until day, and the huntsman's horn drove them into its bosky depths. . . . Vincennes is now nothing; and yet, not to speak of its donjon keep, I see from where I am now writing its little clock tower, with no less than eleven tiers of ogives.

Of all the Flemings not one turned his back; but they were all slaughtered on the spot, and lay in three large heaps, one upon the other. This battle happened in the year of grace 1328, on St. Bartholomew's day. B. l. c. 32.

\* Contin. G. de Nangis, p. 90. Oudegherst, c. 151, f. 229.—I regret not having seen M. Warakow's important work before my description of the battle of Courtrai was in print.—See, L'Histoire de la Flandre et de ses institutions Civiles et Politiques, jusqu'à l'année 1305, par M. Warnkrog, translated from the German by M. Ghueldorf, 1833. I would refer, particularly, to pages 303 and 308 of the first volume, for some interesting circumstances which complete my account.

† Like the churches of the middle age and the cities of antiquity, the castles were, I am of opinion, in general set towards the east, (*orientes*.) See my Histoire Romaine, and my Nymbole du Droit.

In the midst of this feudal pomp, which delighted the barons, they had soon reason to surmise that the son of their friend, Charles of Valois, would be no otherwise king than were the sons of Philippe-le-Bel. The first act of this chivalrous reign was an ignoble process; and the royal castle soon became a record-office where handwritings were compared and forgeries detected. This process aimed at no less than the ruin and dishonor of one of the great barons, of a prince of the blood, of the very man who had most contributed to Philippe's elevation, of his cousin and brother-in-law, Robert of Artois. This process revealed what was most of all humiliating to the great barons, one of their number a forger and sorcerer: two crimes which characterize the age. But, until now, they had not been attached to the name of knight, or been detected in one of his rank.

Robert complained that for twenty-six years he had been supplanted in the possession of Artois by Mahaut, (Matilda,) his father's youngest sister, and wife of the count of Burgundy. Philippe-le-Bel had supported the claim\* of Mahaut and of her two daughters, the wives of his sons, and who had brought them the magnificent dowers of Artois and Franche-Comte. On the demise of Louis Hutin, Robert, taking advantage of the reaction in favor of feudalism, threw himself upon Artois. But he was compelled to let go his hold. Philippe-le-Long marched against him. He therefore waited until all Philippe-le-Bel's sons should be dead, and a son of Charles of Valois mount the throne; in which last event none had a greater share than Robert.† In his gratitude, Philippe of Valois gave him the command of the vanguard in the Flemish campaign, and erected his county of Beaumont-le-Roger into a peerage. His wife was the king's sister, Jane of Valois, who could not be content with being countess of Beaumont, and hoped that her brother would restore Artois to her husband. She maintained that the king would do justice to Robert, if he could produce any new document in his favor, *no matter how small.*‡

Warned of the danger, the countess Mahaut hastened to Paris, but died almost on her arrival. Her rights devolved on her daughter, Philippe-le-Long's widow. She too died, three months after her mother §. The only competi-

tor now left to contest the prize with Robert, was the duke of Burgundy, the husband of Jane, Philippe-le-Long's daughter, and granddaughter of Mahaut. The duke himself was the king's wife's brother. He was allowed to take possession of the county by Philippe, who, however, reserved to Robert the right of bringing forward his claims.\*

Robert lacked neither documents nor witnesses. The countess Mahaut's chief counselor had been the bishop of Arras. He died, leaving large property; and the countess brought an action of recovery against the bishop's mistress, a certain dame Divion, whose husband was a knight,† and with whom she fled to Paris. Scarcely had she arrived before Jane of Valois, who knew her to be acquainted with all the bishop's secrets, pressed her to deliver up whatever papers she might have in her possession—and she even asserted that the princess threatened her with drowning or burning.‡ Having no papers, she fabricated some: first, a letter from the bishop asking Robert's forgiveness for his having perjured the title-deeds; and then, a charter of Robert's grandfather, securing Artois to his father. These, and other documents to back them, were hastily forged by a clerk of Divion's, and she attached old seals to them.§ She had taken care to get from the abbey of St. Denis the names of the peers at the time of the supposititious deeds;||

pen, who had lived with the countess, her mother . . . . As soon as the queen in rhyme was in her bed, she was seized with the pangs of death and quickly gave up the ghost, and the poison gushed out of her eyes, her mouth, her nose, her ears, and her body was covered with white and black spots." Chron. de Flandre. Ibid. p. 605.

\* Having been given to understand that at the treaty of marriage between Philippe of Artois and Blanche of Britany, of which treaty there were two letters ratified by Philip the Fair . . . and registered in our register office the which letters, since the said count's decease have been abstracted by our dear cousin, Mahaut d'Artois, &c." 1329. Ibid. p. 601.

† "Quidam noster nobilis de foris, qui fuerat M. Theobaldus comitissæ, post Episc. Arras p. 605.

‡ The princess she stated even threatened her in the name of the king. "I have sought to poison you she said, by representing to him that you have none of the said letters, but he answered that he would have you burnt if you do not give him some." Ibid. p. 604.

§ La Divion had been dispatched to Artois expressly to procure the countess's will. Artois she searched she found one in the hands of Duran of Berghes, whom the countess named as executor. "He asked three hundred livres for it. Not having the sum, she offered him as security a table on which her husband had painted at Arras. Duran refused, and then with her husband's leave she placed in his hands pearls to wit two crowns, three chaplets, two girdles, and two rings, all of gold, and valued at seven hundred and twenty-five livres Parisian." Ibid. pp. 602-610. Then she took a seal from a letter which had been seized by the said bishop Thierry, and by a cunning trick, but least engaging, removed it from the seal letter and placed it on the new one. And Jeanne and Marie servants of the said Divion witnessed this Marie holding the cards, and Jeanne writing." Ibid. p. 606. Evidence of Martin de Neupont. La Divion averred that she, and the lady of Beaumont and Jeanne were the only three who had to do with it. Ibid. p. 611.

|| Moreover, when king Philippe was about to write his letters in Latin, three of his chaplains named Etienne, et M. et a French clerk with the beginning and end of a charter to introduce a new writ." The language which he was to use for the marriage of Jean d'Artois with the Dauphine de Loune. Ibid. p. 612.

\* A decree of the court of France, delivered in full parliament, rejected the claims of Robert and of his successors forever, and directed: "That the said Robert should have the countess as his dear aunt, and the said countess should own the said Robert as her good nephew."

† The ancient Chronique of Flanders went so far as to give him all the blood of it. And the barons were not agreed to make him king; but however the efforts were not frustrated by the efforts of Messire Robert d'Artois, that M. de Philippe . . . was created king of France." Chron. c. 67. p. 131. Mon. An. Ind. v. 392.

‡ "Mahaut d'Artois put monstrous letters in a pocket he wore on his side, and several letters." Ibid. text.

§ The common report was that Mahaut had been poisoned, elsewhere. As to Jane, her daughter, "the night she was departing with her father, she took a fancy to drink claret; so we must with honey and spices, and surrounded till it is clear," and she had a letter named Hap-

but with this exception, but few precautions were taken. The documents preserved in the Trésor des Chartes are plainly false;\* at this epoch of caligraphy, important deeds were written with far different pains.†

In support of these deeds, Robert produced fifty-five witnesses.‡ Several deposed that Enguerrand de Marigny, while in the cart, on his way to the gibbet, confessed his having been an accomplice of the bishop's in the abstraction of the title-deeds.

This romance was but ill-supported by Robert. When called on by the king's attorney, in the royal presence, to declare whether he meant to rely on these equivocal documents, he first said, "Yes," then, "No."§ Dame Divion confessed the whole, as did the witnesses;|| and their confessions are extremely naive and circumstantial. Among other things, she states that she went to the Palais de Justice to know if seals could be counterfeited, that she had paid a hundred crowns to a burgess for the deed which supplied the seals, and that the deeds were written in her hotel, place Baudoyer, by a clerk who was in a great fright, and who, in order to disguise his hand, made use of a brass pen, &c.¶ The wretched wo-

man vainly repeated that she had been forced to the act by Madame Jeanne de Valois: she was burnt all the same in the pig-market, near the gate St. Honoré.\* Robert, who was further accused of having poisoned Mahaut and her daughter, did not wait to stand his trial,† but made his escape to Brussels,‡ whence he repaired to London and the English court. His wife, the king's sister, underwent a kind of banishment to Normandy. His sister, the countess of Foix, was accused of impudicity, and her son, Gaston, was authorized to imprison her in the castle of Orthez. The king believed that he had every thing to fear from this family. Indeed, Robert had commissioned assassins to murder the duke of Burgundy, the chancellor, the grand treasurer, and other enemies of his.§ There were means of guarding against assassination; but where was there security against sorcery? Robert attempted to kill the queen and her son by the agency of waxen images;‡

needs them for his right to the county of Artois; and I know that you can do it if you like, for it were great pity he should be disinherited for want of letters, and he wants but a very little one. The king has told Madame that if he can show never so little a letter, that he will give him the county; and so, for God's sake, think of it, and relieve Monseigneur and Madame from the state of uneasiness they are now in. For they are so overwhelmed with sorrow that they cannot drink, eat, sleep, or rest night or day." Archives, Section Histor. J., 440, No. 11.

\* Four years afterward, Jeanette, her servant, underwent the same punishment there. As for the false witnesses, the principal were exposed to the pillory, in shirts covered with red tongues. Archives, *ibid.* No. 43.

† *Mém. de l'Académie*, x. 616-621.

‡ He remained for some time in Brabant. The duke had advised him to leave Brussels for Louvain, and had promised in the marriage contract of his son with Marie of France, that Robert should quit his dominions. However, he remained for some time on the frontier, gang from castle to castle, "and the duke of Brabant knew it well." The patron (*arceve*) of Huy had given him his chaplain, brother Henri, to guide him, and "to go on his errands in this wild country." Taking refuge in the castle of Argenteau, and being forced to quit it "for the rascality (*ribauderie*) of his servant," he repaired to Namur, and had to negotiate a long time before he was received there, having to wait in a poor house, as his cousin, the count, was absent with the king of Bohemia. *Ibid.* pp. 621-623.

§ "The assassins went as far as Reims, where they thought to find the count of Bar, at a festival he was to hold in honor of the ladies." But they found they were tracked, and had to return. This failing, Robert determined on visiting France himself. He stayed a fortnight; and returned, impressed by his wife with the conviction, that if he were to kill the king, all Paris would declare for him. *Ibid.* pp. 625, 626.

|| Between the Feast of St. Remy, and All-Saints' Day of the same year, 1313, Robert sent his brother Henry, and after many kind words, (*carences*) began by again confidently telling him a falsehood, saying, "that his friends had sent him from France a *roft* or *roust*, which the queen had had made for his destruction. Brother Henry inquired, 'What is a *roust*?' 'It is an image of wax,' replied Robert, 'which one has baptized, to annoy (grieve) those one wishes to annoy.' 'We do not call them *roust* in this country,' replied the monk, 'we call them *manies*.'" Robert did not keep up the imposition long, but confessed to brother Henry that what he had just told him about the queen was not true, but that he had an important secret to impart to him, which he would not reveal until he had sworn to him that he would receive it under the seal of confession. The monk swore, "his hand on the pix." Then Robert opened a small casket, and took out of it "an image of wax, wrapped up in a kerchief of erse, which image was after the fashion of the figure of a young man, and was, he thinks, about a foot and a half long, and he saw it very clearly through the kerchief, which was very loose, and around its head was hair such as a young man wears." The monk wanted to touch it. "Don't touch it, brother Henry," said Robert to him, "it is

\* Archives, Section Hist. J., 439.

† However, La Divion seems to have attached great importance to her performance. She sent the documents, as she forged them, to Robert of Artois, "saying these words, 'Sir, see here the copy of the letters which we have; look if it is good'; and he answered, 'If I have it like this, it will do.'" At first, she was for submitting them to the inspection of skilled writers, (des experts.) *Mém. Acad. x. Ibid.*

‡ Archives, Sect. Hist. J., 439, No. 2.—They took care to pave the way for these witnesses, by preparatory written proof in the forged letter of the bishop of Arras:—"Of the which letters I have one; the others containing the treaty of marriage of Madame the queen Jeanne were thrown by one of our great lords into the fire." *Ibid.* p. 307.

§ "And swore to the king, with hands uplifted to the saints, that a man clothed in black just like the archbishop of Rouen, had given him the said letters of confirmation." This was his confessor; to whom Robert had given the letters, in order that he might safely swear, when he had them returned, that he had received them from him. *Ibid.* p. 610.

|| Jacques Rondelle admitted that he was told if he would give evidence, "it should be worth a journey to St. James in Galicia to him." Gérard de Juvigny, "that he had borne false witness at the request of the said Monsieur Robert, who came so often to him that he was quite tired out." *Ibid.* p. 320.

\* La Divion's deposition. . . . "Likewise she confesses that her said clerk, Prot, wrote by her orders all the said false letters, and wrote that to which hangs the seal of the said late countess, with a brass pen, to disguise his hand. . . . Likewise she says, that Mons. Robert immediately afterwards sent the said Prot she knows not where, to what place, or to what part; that she had said to Mons. Robert, 'Sir, I don't know what we should do with this clerk, I greatly doubt his demeanor, for he is timorous beyond every thing; and whatever noise he hears in the night, he says—'Alas! my lady, alas! Jane, the officers are seeking me, murthering to himself. What I suffer, what I suffer, (Je en ay trop grant pource.' And to myself he has talked all day long of his great fear, and that should he be taken and thrown out of prison he would say all without sparing any thing.' And said, that the said Mons. Robert answered her, 'We will look well to it.' But she does not know where he is, but believes him to be in some lodging in the territory of the said Mons. Robert." Archives, Section Histor. T., 440, No. 11. "Likewise she says, that the said Dame Marie has repeatedly knelt to her, praying and imploring her with clasped hands, saying, 'For God's sake, lady, let Monseigneur have the letters you wot of, as he





ansport, and to the archbishop of Canterbury, words of comfort, and of flattery for the e — "We acknowledge with grief that people of your kingdom have hitherto been assailed by various burdens, tallages, and impositions. The necessity of our affairs hinders from relieving them. Let your grace preserve this people in benignity, humility, &c." &c.\*

The king of France is far from having as much details to attend to. War for him is still a distant business. The barons of the South demand from him restitution of the right of private war, and a promise to respect their possessions. But, at the same time, the nobles desire to be paid for serving the king. These petty barons hold out in a hundred forbuntyness. The knight himself is to have twenty a day, the knight ten, &c.† This was the first of systems, a system at once feudal, pecuniary, and which united the inconveniences of both.

While the English king renews the commercial charter which secures liberty of trade to the merchants, the French monarch orders his merchants to come to his fairs in Champagne, and takes it upon him to trace the route they are to follow.‡

The English set out full of hope, (A. D. 1213.) They felt themselves to be summoned to Christendom. Their friends in Flanders sent them powerful assistance. The barons were well-intended towards them, and Artur answered for the three great cities. The ships, who have always to be paid that money for every thing, displayed their magnificence, a refusal from the moment they arrived. A wreath of gold and of silver, as they rained on them from the clouds, gave to some jewels to the lords, fellows, and sailors, to requite their good will, and to reward their labour, or was such, that they believed by those of both sexes, and even common people, to whom they gave nothing, but who were pleased with their gifts of silver money. §

At every night, by the admittance of the barons, the king of England received homage from them more illustrious than before. At first, the barons professed their readiness to do him homage, but it was not until that the most powerful among them, the duke of Brabant, said, he would be the first to do homage. The duke asked for time, and

at last consented. Then, they stated that they waited for only one thing more in order to declare themselves—namely, that the emperor should defy the king of France, since, they said, we are in reality subjects of the empire. And, indeed, the emperor had only too good cause for war, Philippe having invaded the Cambresis, a fief of the empire.\*

Lewis of Bavaria, the emperor, had other, and more personal motives for declaring himself. Persecuted by the French popes, he talked of nothing less than of proceeding to Avignon with an army, to force the pope to grant him absolution.† Edward sought conference with him at the diet of Coblenz. In this great assembly, where were present three archbishops, four dukes, thirty-seven counts, and a crowd of barons, the Englishman learned to his cost what German pride and slowness were. At first, the emperor was desirous of granting him the favor of kissing his feet. Before this supreme judge, the king of England presented himself as the accuser of Philippe of Valois. The emperor, the globe in one hand, the sceptre in the other, while a knight held over his head a naked sword, defied the king of France, declared him to have forfeited the protection of the empire, and graciously conferred on Edward his diploma as imperial vicar on the left bank of the Rhine.‡ This was all that the Englishman could get out of him, for the emperor pondered, felt scruples, and instead of involving himself in a hazardous war with France, turned his steps towards Italy. Here, however, Philippe of Valois had the passage of the Alps barred against him by a son of the king of Bohemia. §

Returning with his diploma, the English king repaired to the duke of Brabant, where he could show it to the barons of the Low Countries. The duke fixed upon the little town of Herck, Arras on the frontiers of Brabant, as the place of meeting. "When all were met, know that the town was filled to crowding with lords, knights, squires, and all manner of people, and the town-hall, where were sold bread and flesh, of little worth, was hung with rich and fine clothes, like to the greater chamber of the king, and the English king was seated with a crown and noble crown of gold, which he carried five feet higher than the rest of the company, in a velvet's bench, where he assembled all his barons. Never had such a banquet seen in the world." ¶

While all the lords were doing homage on this velvet's bench to the new vicar imperial, the duke of Brabant, and the king of France, entered the hall, exclaiming that they had come to defend him. When Edward defied Philippe by his name, and by the name of the barons, the duke declared that he preferred sending his de-

\* *Chron. Angl.* 1213.

† *Chron. Angl.* 1213.

‡ *Chron. Angl.* 1213.

§ *Chron. Angl.* 1213.

¶ *Chron. Angl.* 1213.

¶ *Chron. Angl.* 1213.

fiance apart; and, in short, when Edward prayed him to follow him to Cambrai, he confined himself to promising that as soon as he should hear that Edward had sat down before that city, he would join him with twelve hundred good lances.

During winter, the German and Low Country barons were tampered with by French gold; and they became the more inactive. Edward could not put them in motion until the September of the year following, (A. D. 1339.) Cambrai was better defended than had been supposed. The season was advanced; Edward raised the siege, and entered France. But, when on the frontier, the count of Hainault declared that he could not follow him beyond it; that holding fiefs both of the empire and of France, he would willingly serve on the imperial territory; but that as soon as he was on the French soil, he must obey the king as his suzerain, and that he should straightway go and join him against the English.\*

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was in the city of Rennes when she heard of the seizure of her lord; and, notwithstanding the great grief she had at heart, as may well be supposed, for she had rather her lord had been killed than in prison, she did not behave like a distressed woman, but like a bold and proud man, and did all she could to comfort and reanimate her friends and soldiers. Showing them a young child, called John, after his father, she said, 'Oh, gentlemen, do not be cast down by what we have suffered through the loss of my lord; he was but one man; look at my little child here: if it please God, he shall be his restorer, (avenger,) and shall do you much service. I have plenty of wealth, which I will distribute among you, and will seek out for such a leader as may give you a proper confidence.' \* Being besieged in Hennebion by Charles of Blois, she headed a sortie, burned the tents of the French, and, not being able to regain the town, made for the castle of Auray, (Brest?) where she soon collected five hundred men-at-arms, and, at their head, again rode past the French camp and re-entered Hennebion, "with great triumph and sound of trumpets and nakirs." † It was time for her to arrive. The Breton lords had begun to talk of capitulation openly, when she saw approaching the succors which she had so long expected from England. "The countess of Montfort came down from the castle to meet them, and with a most cheerful countenance, kissed Sir Walter Manny, and all his companions, one after the other, like a noble and valiant dame." ‡

The English monarch came himself, about the close of the year, to succor Brittany; and the king of France drawing nigh with his army, it seemed as if this petty war of Brittany was about to become a great one. However, nothing important took place. The wants of both kings compelled them to a truce, in which their allies were comprehended—the Bretons alone remaining free to make war.

Montfort's captivity strengthened his party; and Philippe of Valois managed to strengthen it still more by putting to death fifteen Breton lords whom he believed to favor the English. One of them, Clisson, when prisoner in England, had been most kindly treated; and it is said that the earl of Salisbury out of revenge on Edward, who had debauched his beautiful countess, informed the French king of the secret treaty concluded between his master and Clisson. § Philippe invited the Bretons to a

tourney, when they were seized, and put to death without trial. The brother of one of them, who was a priest, was not included in the same punishment; but he was exposed on a ladder, where the people stoned him.

Shortly afterwards, Philippe had three Norman barons executed, without trial. He sought, too, to get the count of Harcourt in his power, but the count escaped, and was no less serviceable to the English than Robert of Artois.

Hitherto, the barons had been little scrupulous about treating with the foreigner. The feudal man still considered himself a species of sovereign, who might negotiate on his own account. The near connections between the French and English nobility, and community of tongue, (the English nobles still spoke French,) favored intimacies of the kind. Clisson's death raised a barrier between the two kingdoms.

In one and the same year, the Englishman lost Montfort and Artaveld. The latter had become altogether English. Feeling Flanders escaping out of his grasp, he sought to hand it over to the prince of Wales. Edward was already at Sluys, presenting his son to the burgh-masters of Ghent, Bruges, and Ypres, when Artaveld was slain.

With all his popularity, this king of Flanders was at bottom only the chief of the large cities, the defender of their monopoly. They prohibited the smaller ones from engaging in the woollen manufacture. A revolt from this cause had taken place in one of them, which was put down by Artaveld; and he had killed a man with his own hand. Even within Ghent, the two guilds of clothiers made war with each other. The fullers required a rise of wages from the weavers or cloth manufacturers, who refused, and a furious combat was the consequence. There was no means of separating these bulldogs; and the priests vainly exposed the host in the public place. The weavers, supported by Artaveld, crushed the fullers, (A. D. 1345.¶)

Artaveld, who trusted to neither, was anxious to escape from his dangerous position, to resign what he could not keep, or else to reign under a master who needed and would support him. Recalling the French was not to be dreamed of. He therefore invited the English, and went over to Bruges and Ypres, to arrange and negotiate. In the interim, Ghent slipped from his hands.

On his return, he found the populace already

\* Froissart, b. i. c. 72.

† Id. and c. 81.

‡ Chronique de Flandre, pp. 173, 174.—Froissart, b. 1. c. 77, and c. 90.

[This story of Clisson's being betrayed by the earl of Salisbury, is not in Froissart, but may be found in the Hist. de Bretagne, vol. i. p. 255.—Lord Hales observes of the whole expedition, into his account of which Froissart interweaves his tale, "The passion of Edward's passion for the countess of Salisbury." All this seems to be fabulous, and to have been invented by one person who meant to impose on the inquisitive credulity of Froissart. It cannot be reconciled with known historical dates, with the characters and condi-

tions of the persons therein mentioned, or with the general tenor of authenticated events." Annals of Scotland, v. c. p. 211. — TRANSLATOR.

¶ *Malus dies hinc (Don quiden in senectute) . . . pagani hinc texores contra fullores ac parum quoniam. Ita texorum Gerardus erat, quibus et Artaveldus accessit. . . .* Black Monday . . . the weavers fought against the fullers and poor workmen. Gerard was the leader of the weavers, with whom Artaveld sided. Meyer, p. 146. "Who have slain more than fifteen hundred fullers, drove the rest of the said trade out of the city, and reduced the trade of the fullers to nothing, as it remains to this day." Ough f. 271.





plunder of Caen alone loaded many vessels;\* and Saint Lô† and Louviers they found stored with cloth.‡

To encourage his people still more, Edward discovered at Caen, most opportunely, a deed by which the Normans offered Philippe de Valois to conquer England at their own expense, on condition of its being partitioned out among them as it was between the companions of William the Conqueror.§ This deed, written in the pitiable French then spoken at the English court,|| is probably a forgery; but it was translated into English by Edward's orders, and read after the sermon in all the churches through England. Before leaving his kingdom, the English king had charged the popular preachers, the Dominicans, to preach up the war and expound its causes. Not long afterwards, (A. D. 1361,) he ordered French to be disused in all public acts. There was but one tongue, but one English people. The descendants of the Norman conquerors and those of the Saxons, were knit together by hatred of the new Normans.

Finding the bridges cut down at Rouen, the English marched up the left bank of the river, burning on their march Vernon, Verneuil, and Pont-de-l'Arche. Edward halted at Poissy, to throw a bridge over the river, and to celebrate

the festival of the Virgin Mary; while his men pushed on so far as to burn St. Germain, Bourg-la-Reine, St. Cloud, and even Boulogne, close to Paris.

All the success which the French king gave Normandy, was to dispatch to Caen the constable and the count de Tancarville, who allowed themselves to be taken prisoners. His army was in the south, a hundred and fifty leagues off. He thought the speediest way would be to summon his German and Low-Country allies. He had just had the young Charles IV., the son of John of Bohemia, elected emperor; but expelled by the Germans, Charles came to take the king's pay. His arrival, with that of the king of Bohemia, of the duke of Lorraine, and of other German lords, caused the English to ponder.

They had displayed sufficient bravado and audacity. They saw themselves involved in the heart of a large kingdom, in the midst of burnt towns, ravaged provinces, and a people pushed to desperation. The French king's forces increased daily. He was in haste to punish the English, who had insulted him by their near approach to his capital. His good citizens of Paris, too, had begun to wag their tongues. He had wished to throw down the houses adjoining the city walls; and a revolt had well-nigh taken place.

Edward resolved to retire through Picardy, to effect a junction with the Flemings, who had just laid siege to Béthune, and to traverse Ponthieu, his maternal inheritance. But he had to cross the Somme. Philippe guarded all the bridges, and pressed the enemy closely; so closely, indeed, that at Airaines he found Edward's table laid, and ate his dinner.

Edward had ordered search to be made for a ford, but none could be found. He was brooding over his thoughts when a youth of Blanche-Tache (White-spot, or White-ford) undertook to show him the ford of that name. Philippe had stationed some thousands of troops there; but, urged by the sense of their imminent peril, the English made a great effort and effected their passage. Philippe came up shortly after, but had no means of pursuing them; the tide had set into the Somme; the sea protected the English.

Edward's situation was not cheering. His army was wet, hungry, and newly-levied. The men who had taken and wasted so much booty, looked so many beggars. This rapid and shameful retreat, threatened to be as fatal as a defeat. Edward resolved to risk a battle.

Besides, arrived in Ponthieu, he felt himself stronger; he was now on his own ground, at least. "Let us post ourselves here," he exclaimed, "for we will not go further before we have seen our enemies. I have good reason to wait for them on this spot, as I am now upon the lawful inheritance of my lady-mother, which was given her as her marriage portion; and I

\* "Both the armies of sea and land went forward, until they came to a strong town, called Barfleur; . . . the inhabitants surrendered immediately; . . . but that did not prevent the town from being pillaged and robbed of gold, silver, and every thing precious that could be found therein. There was so much wealth, that the boys of the army set no value on gowns trimmed with fur." Id. *ibid.* "The English continued masters of Caen for three days; in this time they amassed great wealth in cloths, jewels, gold, and silver plate, and other valuables, which they sent in barges down the river of Estuham to St. Sauveur, two leagues off, where their fleet was. The earl of Huntingdon made preparations therefore, with the two hundred men-at-arms and his four hundred archers, to carry over to England the riches and prisoners. The king purchased, from Sir Thomas Holland and his companions, the constable of France and the earl of Tancarville, and paid down twenty thousand marks for them." Id. *ibid.* c. 123.

† "In the town of Lô was much drapery, and many wealthy inhabitants; among them you might count eight or nine score who were engaged in commerce . . . No one can imagine the quantity of riches they found in it, nor the number of bales of cloth." Id. *ibid.* c. 122.

‡ "He went on towards another town, called Louviers, which was in Normandy, and where there were many manufactures of cloth; it was rich and commercial. The English won it easily, as it was not inclosed; and having entered the town, it was plundered without opposition. They collected much wealth there . . ." Id. *ibid.* c. 124.

§ According to this deed, they promised to furnish 4000 men-at-arms, and 20000 infantry, 5000 of the latter to be crossed by sea, and landed in the province, with the exception of 1000 men-at-arms, whom the duke of Normandy was to be at liberty to levy elsewhere, but whom he was to pay. They bound themselves to maintain this force for ten, or even twelve weeks. Should England be conquered, as it is hoped, the lands and rights of the English, noble, plebeian, and ecclesiastical, to be transferred to the churches, barons, nobles, and knights of Normandy. The property appertaining to the church of Rome, and that of English monks, to be sold, and the revenues, Robert of Artois, Duke of Burgundy, Nicholas Count of Flanders, and the Count of Flanders, to be the only found, according to the deed, c. 124. The whole language of this document is so full of the spirit of conquest, that it can compare with the language of the English law, of the country.

|| Robert's papers, p. 17, and 1346.



The English king, who surveyed the battle from an eminence near a windmill, perceived that the French were on the point of being overpowered.\* Some had got entangled in the first confusion, among the Genoese; others, after cutting their way to the heart of the English army, found themselves surrounded. The heavy armor, which began to be worn about this time, would not admit of a knight's rising, when once he was down. The Welsh and Cornish dagsmen (couteillers) flung themselves on the unhorsed knights, and slew them with their knives without mercy, no matter how highly born. Philippe de Valois was a witness of this butchery. His horse was slain under him. He had no more than sixty men around him, but could not be torn from the field of battle. The English, astonished at their victory, did not budge a step; otherwise they would have taken him. At last Jean de Hainaut (John of Hainaut) seized his horse by the bridle and drew him off.

On the English reviewing the field of battle and numbering the dead, they found amongst the slain, eleven princes, eighty lords-banneret, twelve hundred knights, and thirty thousand common men. While they were numbering the dead, there came up the commons of Rouen and Beauvais, and then the troops of the archbishop of Rouen, and of the grand prior of France. These poor people, who knew nothing of the battle, came to swell the number of the dead.†

This overwhelming blow only led the way to a greater. The Englishman settled in France. The seaports of England, exasperated by the depredations of our Calais corsairs, furnished Edward with a fleet. Dover, Bristol, Winchester, Shoreham, Sandwich, Weymouth, and Plymouth, fitted out each from twenty to thirty vessels; and Yarmouth alone forty-three.‡ The English merchants, who were being ruined by this war, had made a last and a prodigious effort to become masters of the strait. Edward proceeded to lay siege to Calais, and fixed himself there as at a post where he would live or die. After the sacrifices which had been made for this expedition, he could not face his commons until he had brought it to a successful issue. He built between Calais and the river and bridge, houses of wood; they were laid

out in streets, and thatched with straw or broom; and in this town of the king's there was every thing necessary for an army, besides a market-place, where there were markets every Wednesday and Saturday, for butcher's meat, and all other sorts of merchandise: cloth, bread, and every thing else which came from England and Flanders, might be had there, as well as comforts, for money."\*

The Englishman, well posted, and in the enjoyment of plenty, left those outside and inside of the town to do what they liked, but would not give them the chance of a battle. He preferred starving them out. Five hundred persons, men, women, and children, put out of the town by the governor, died of cold and hunger between it and the camp: such, at least, is the statement of the English historian.†

Edward had struck root before Calais. Even the pope's mediation could not tear him away. Word was brought him that the Scots were on the point of invading England. He did not stir. His perseverance had its reward. He soon heard that his troops, encouraged by his queen, had made the king of the Scots prisoner. The following year, Charles of Blois was also taken, while besieging Roche-de-Riez. Edward might fold his arms; fortune labored for him.

There was great and urgent necessity for the French king to relieve Calais.‡ But so great was his penury, and so inert and embarrassed his semi-feudal government, that he could not put himself in motion until the siege had gone on for ten months, and the English had fortified and even intrenched themselves with palisades and deep ditches. Having picked up a little money by an alteration in the coinage,§ by the gabelle, by the ecclesiastical tenths, and by the confiscation of the property of the Lombards, he at last set out with a large, cumbersome army, like that which had been defeated at Crecy. The only road to Calais was through marshes, or across the downs. To take the first was to perish, for the passes had either been broken up or were strongly guarded; nevertheless, the men of Tournay bravely carried a tower, without machines, and by the strength of their arms.¶

\* "He built it," says Froissart, "as if he were to dwell there ten or twelve years, and it was his intention to live in it winter and summer, until he had reduced the town." Froissart, i. p. 355, ed. Buchon.

† Froissart, De l'event, Ang. l. iv.—On the contrary, Froissart says that he "allowed them to pass in safety, ordered them a hearty dinner, and gave to each two shillings, by charity and alms;" b. i. c. 132.

‡ The English having given chase to two vessels that attempted to slip out of the harbor, intercepted a letter from the governor to Philippe de Valois, in which was the following passage:—"We are agreed, that if we are not quickly relieved, we will sellily forth to live or die, for we prefer honorable death in the field to eating one another." Froissart, p. 444, note, ed. Buchon.—The Countess of Burgundy, that Philippe had continually tried to throw on Philippe, both by Philip and son, but that they had been intercepted, p. 469.

§ Ord. i. pp. 254, 256, 263.

¶ "When the French had taken up their quarters on the hill of Sangatte, those from Tournay, who might amount to

\* "When Edward then came down from his post, who all day long had not put on his helmet . . ." Id. ib. c. lxx.

† "There were slain in this flight in the open fields, and in ditches, and in bushes, upwards of seven thousand . . ." Id. ib. c. lxxviii.—"In the morning the English rode forth seeking only to find many Frenchmen who had lost the road, and thus strayed, and had bin in the open fields, not knowing where to come of the king, or their own leaders. The king put to the sword all they met; and it is shewed us that he rode forth of that host of soldiers, sent from the king to the relief of Calais, there were slain, the English counted four times as many as in the battle of Crecy." Id. ib. c. lxxviii.

‡ "The commons of the said strait likewise assembled, but in a very different proportion. The powerful city of Yarmouth alone vessel had nine men." Anderson's Annals of Commerce, vol. i. p. 322.



turned English, was, for two centuries, a gate opened to the stranger. England was, as it were, rejoined to the continent. The straits had disappeared.

Let us retrace these sad events, and search their true results: it will afford some comfort.

The battle of Crécy is not merely a battle, the taking of Calais is not simply the taking of a town,—these two events involve a great social revolution. The entire chivalry of the most chivalrous nation in the world had been exterminated by a small band of foot-soldiers. The victories of the Swiss over the Austrian cavalry at Morgarten and Laupen were analogous; but they had not the same important effect, they did not cause the same vibration throughout Christendom. A new system of tactics arose out of a new state of society, and which was the work neither of genius nor of reflection. Edward was neither a Gustavus Adolphus, nor a Frederick. For lack of cavalry he had employed infantry. In his first expeditions, his armies had consisted of men-at-arms, of nobles, and of their followers. But the nobles had become wearied of these long campaigns. A feudal army could not be kept together such a length of time. With all their liking for emigration, the English, nevertheless, love home. The baron required to return after a few months' service to his *baronial hall*, to revisit his woods and dogs, and indulge in the fox-hunt.\* The mercenary soldier, so long as he was poor, and shoeless, and stock- ingless, like the Irish and Welsh whom Edward took into his pay, did not set his heart on return, but heartily followed up a good war which fed and clothed him, not to speak of filling his purse. The foregoing will account for the English army's consisting almost wholly of a mercenary infantry.

The battle of Crécy revealed a secret unsuspected by all—the powerlessness, in a military point of view, of those feudal warriors, who had believed themselves the whole warlike world. No private wars of the barons, or of canton with canton, during the primitive isolation of the middle age, could teach the lesson; in these, gentlemen were conquered by gentlemen only. Their reputation had not been damaged by two centuries of defeat during the crusades. All Christendom was interested in concealing from itself the advantages gained by the unbelievers. Besides, the wars with them took place at such a distance, that there was ever some excuse ready to account for reverses; and all was redeemed by the heroism of a Godfrey or a Richard. In the thirteenth century, when the feudal banners were wont to follow the royal standard to the field, when so many baronial courts united to form one alone, brilliant beyond all the fictions of

romance, the nobles, as their power abated, waxed in pride; lowered in themselves, they felt exalted in their king. They valued themselves in proportion as they shared in the royal fêtes. He who won most applause in the tourney, deemed himself, and was deemed by others, the most valiant in battle. Flourishes of trumpets, the approving countenance of royalty, and favoring glances from bright eyes, intoxicated the brain more than real victory. So overpowering was this intoxication, that they suffered Philippe-le-Bel to destroy their brothers, the Templars—usually, the younger sons of noble houses—without a word of remonstrance. They held these knightly monks just as cheap as they did the other monks or priests. Their aid was ever ready for the monarch against the pope. The nobles had a good share of the tenths that were extracted from the clergy, under cover of a crusade or of some other pretext.\* The time, however, was approaching, when the noble, after having helped the monarch to fleece the priest, was to take his own turn.

In palliation of their defeat at Courtrai, the nobles alleged their heroic thoughtlessness, and the fosse which stood the Flemings in such stead; and their reputation was restored by the two easy massacres of Mons-en-Puelle and Cassel. For many years they accused the king of keeping them from victories. At Crécy, they might have conquered their fill: all the chivalry of the kingdom was there collected, every banner given to the wind with its haughty blazon,—lion, eagle, tower, bezants of the crusades, and all the proud symbolism of heraldry. There stood before them—three thousand men-at-arms excepted—only the barefooted English commons, rude Welsh mountaineers, and Irish swineherds; reckless and savage races; ignorant alike of French, English, or the laws of chivalry. Their blows at the noble banners were not less true; and they but slew the more. There was no tongue in common between the combatants, in which to sue for quarter. The Welshman or Irishman did not understand the dismounted baron, whose offered ransom would have enriched him for life—he answered with his knife.

Despite the romantic bravery of John of Bohemia, and of many another, the brilliant banners were on that day besmirched. To have been dragged in the dust, not by the

\* "In those days (A. D. 1346) our lord the king, with consent of the pope, levied tenths from the churches . . . and innumerable sums of money were raised on different pretexts; but, in truth, the more that was thus extorted, the poorer grew our lord the king. The money was levied to maintain a numerous and noble soldiery, for the aid and defence of the throne and country; but it was all continuously wasted on idle shows, gaming, and wantonness." Contin. G. de Nangis, p. 109.

† Of the thirty-two thousand men of whom Edward's army consisted, Froissart expressly says that there were only fourteen thousand English, (four thousand men-at-arms and ten thousand archers.) The other eighteen thousand were Welsh and Irish, (twelve thousand Welsh, and six thousand Irish.)

\* The English *fox hunter* is by no means a modern character. See, further on, book ix. c. 3, the description of Henry the Fifth's entry into Paris.



selves lost to all eternity. At length, the Dominicans, who had persisted in officiating for some time, departed like the rest. Three men only, three mystics, paid no attention to the interdict, and remained to console the dying.—the Dominican, Tauler, the Austin friar, Thomas of Strasburg, and the Carthusian, Ludolph. This was the flourishing period of the mystics. Ludolph wrote his *Life of Christ*; Tauler his *Imitation of the Poor Life of Jesus*; Suso his book of the *Nine Rocks*. The great Tauler himself went to consult, in the forest of Soigne, near Louvain, the aged Ruysbroek, the *ecstatic doctor*.

But among the people at large, ecstasy was fury. Abandoned as they were by the church, and filled with contempt for the priests,\* they did without sacraments, substituting for them bloody mortifications and frantic processions. The whole population of a place would set out, they knew not whither, as if urged by the breath of the Divine vengeance. They wore red crosses, and would scourge themselves, half naked, in the public places, with whips whose lashes were pointed with iron, and singing canticles unheard before.† They remained in each

town they came to only a day and a night, and scourged themselves twice a day. When they had gone on in this fashion thirty-three days and a half, they believed themselves to be as pure as on the day of baptism.\*

The flagellants proceeded first from Germany into the Low Countries. Then the fur reached France through Flanders and Picardy, passing no further than Reims. The pope denounced them; and the king gave the word to fall upon them. Nevertheless, by Christmas, 1349, they amounted to nearly eight hundred thousand,† and these not from among the people only, but including gentlemen and barons. Noble dames hastened to follow the example.‡

There were no flagellants in Italy. The sombre enthusiasm of Germany and of Northern France, that war declared against the flesh, forms a strong contrast with the picture which Boccaccio has left us of Italian manners at the same epoch.

The prologue to the Decameron is the principal historic evidence we possess with regard to the great plague of 1348. Boccaccio asserts that at Florence alone, a hundred thousand perished. The contagion spread with terrible rapidity. "I have seen," he says, "two hogs in the street shake with their tusks the rags of a dead body; a short hour afterwards, they turned, and turned, and fell—they were dead. Friends no longer bore the coffin

Schmidt, of Strasburg, on the mystics of the fourteenth century.

\* Johannes Vitorodanus, p. 49, ap. Gieseler, ii. 2, p. 63.

† Noviterque inventus. Contin. G. de Nangis, iii.—A very remarkable canticle, which the Brothers of the Cross were accustomed to sing during their ceremonies, has been published by M. Mazure, bookseller, of Putiers. The following is a specimen:—

"Or avant, entre nous tous freres  
Battons nos charognes bien fort  
En remembrance la grant misere  
De Dieu et sa pitieuse mort,  
Qui fut pris en la gent amere  
Et vendus et trais a tort  
Et battu sa char vierge et clere  
Au nom de ce, battons plus fort, &c."

(Now on, brothers all together, let us strenuously lay it on our carionary carcasses, remembering the great misery of God and his piteous death, who was taken by the hard-hearted rascal, and sold and dragged to death, and his pure and fair flesh scourged. . . . In his name, let us lay it on harder, &c.)

Dr. Lingard gives the following free version of the above stanzas:—

"Through love of man the Saviour came,  
Through love of man he died;  
He suffered want, reproach, and shame,  
Was scourged and crucified.  
Oh! think then on thy Saviour's pain,  
And hush thee, sinner, hush again."

(This canticle is cited by M. Levesque in his *Histoire des Cinq Premiers Valses*, t. i, pp. 530, 531.—Lord Hailes dates the ravages of this plague in 1349, observing:—"The great pestilence, which had so long desolated the continent, reached Scotland. The historians of all countries speak with horror of this pestilence. It took a wider range, and proved more destructive than any calamity of that nature known in the annals of mankind. Barnes, pp. 438-441, has collected the accounts given of this pestilence by many historians; and hence he has, unknowingly, furnished materials for a curious inquiry into the populousness of Europe in the fourteenth century."

Lingard says, (vol. iii, pp. 65-70, 4th ed.) "We first discover it in the empire of Cathai; thence we may trace its progress through different provinces of Asia to the Delta and the banks of the Nile; a south wind transported it into Greece and the Grecian islands: from which it swept the coasts of the Mediterranean, depopulated Italy, and crossed the barriers of the Alps into France. A succession of earthquakes, which shook the continent of Europe from Calabria to the north of Poland, ushered in the fatal year 1348; and though

England escaped this calamity. It was delayed from the month of June to December with almost incessant torrents of rain. In the first week of August the plague made its appearance at Dorchester: in November it reached London, and thence gradually proceeded to the north of the island. . . . When historians tell us that one half, or one third of the human race perished, we may suspect them of exaggeration: but it is easy to form some idea of the mortality from the fact, that all the cemeteries in London were soon filled; that Sir Walter Manny purchased for a public burial-place a field of thirteen acres, where the Charter-house now stands; and that the bodies deposited in it during several weeks, amounted to the daily average of two hundred. It is observed, that though the malady assailed the English in Ireland, it spared the natives. The Scots too were exempted for several months; and the circumstance afforded them a subject of triumph over their enemies, and introduced among them a popular oath, 'by the foul death of the English.' They had even assembled an army to invade the neighboring counties, when the contagion insinuated itself into their camp in the forest of Selkirk: five thousand died before they disbanded their forces; and the fugitives carried with them the infection into the most distant recesses of Scotland.

"A colony (of flagellants) reached England, and landed in London to the amount of one hundred and twenty men and women. Each day at the appointed time they assembled, ranged themselves in two lines, and moved slowly through the streets, scourging their naked shoulders, and chanting a sacred hymn. At a known signal all, with the exception of the last, threw themselves flat on the ground. He, as he passed by his companions, gave each a lash, and then also lay down. The others followed in succession, till every individual in his turn had received a stroke from the whole brotherhood. The citizens gazed and marvelled, pitied and commended: but they ventured no further. Their faith was too weak, or their feelings were too acute: they allowed the strangers to monopolize to themselves their novel and extraordinary grace. The missionaries made not a single proselyte, and were compelled to return home, with the barren satisfaction of having done their duty in the face of an unbelieving generation."—

TRANSLATOR.

\* MS. des Chroniques de St. Denis, quoted by M. Mazure.

† Ibid.

‡ Contin. G. de Nangis, ii. 111.





of four-and-twenty, the heiress of Boulogne and of Auvergne, and who brought him, together with the guardianship of her infant son, the government of the two Burgundies. The kingdom was suffering, but its bounds extended. The king had just bought Montpellier and Dauphiny.\* The king's grandson married the duke of Bourbon's daughter, and the count of Flanders the duke of Brabant's. Nuptials and fêtes thronged upon each other.

These fêtes derived a fantastic brilliancy from the new fashions which had been for some years introduced into France and England. The courtiers, perhaps for the sake of greater contrast to the *knights-at-arms*, the men of the long robe, had taken to close-fitting garments, often parti-colored; and these, with their hair tied up *en queue*, their bushy beards, and shoes with long turned-up points,† gave them a whimsical appearance, something like a devil or a scorpion. The women loaded their heads with an enormous mitre, from the summit of which ribands floated in the air like the streamers from the head of a mast. They disdained the use of a palfrey, and must be mounted on spirited chargers. They wore two daggers at their girdle.—The church vainly denounced these prideful and immodest fashions. The severe chronicler denounces them in rough terms: "They (the men) began," he says, "to wear a long beard, and short robes, so short as to show their breech. All this gave rise to no small derision among the people. As the event proved, they were in a much fitter state to race from the enemy."‡

These changes announced others. The world was about to change actors as well as dress. These follies in the midst of miseries, these nuptials, hurried on the morrow of the plague, were to have their obsequies as well. The aged Philippe de Valois soon drooped away by the side of his young queen, and left the crown to his son, (A. D. 1350.)

## CHAPTER II.

JOHN.—THE BATTLE OF POITIERS.—A. D. 1350—1356.

Among other celebrated personages, the plague of 1348 carried off the historian John Villani, and the beautiful Laura de Sades, she who, living and dead, was the object of Petrarch's song.

Laura, daughter of Messire Audibert, syndic of the borough of Noves, near Avignon, had mar-

ried Hugues de Sades, of an ancient burgher family of this city. She lived honorably at Avignon with her husband, by whom she had twelve children. It was, undoubtedly, this pure and faithful union, this beautiful family picture in a town so obnoxious to the charge of immorality as Avignon, which touched Petrarch's heart. She appeared to the young Florentine exile for the first time, on the 6th of April, 1327, or Good Friday, in church, and, most probably, with her husband and children by her side. From that moment, this noble image of youthful matronly grace was ever present to his eyes.

Let not the little I have to say of a Frenchwoman who made so lasting an impression on the greatest poet of the age, be objected to me as a digression. The history of morals is, above all, that of woman. We have spoken of Heloise and of Beatrice. Laura is not, like Heloise, a loving and self-sacrificing woman. She is not Dante's Beatrice, in whom the ideal prevails, and who is at last lost in eternal beauty. She does not die young; she has not the glorious transfiguration of death. She fulfils her destiny on earth. She is wife, mother—and aged; yet is still adored.\* So faithful and disinterested a passion at this epoch of gross sensuality, was deserving of the perpetuity it has gained among the most touching remembrances of the fourteenth century. We love to descry, in these deathly times, a living soul, a true and pure affection which inspired a passion that endured thirty years. We grow young again when contemplating this lovely and immortal youth of the soul.

He saw her for the last time in September, 1347. It was in the midst of a circle of females. She was serious and pensive, without pearl or chaplet. Dread of contagion reigned around. The poet withdrew, full of emotion, to restrain his tears. . . . In the course of the following year he heard of her death at Verona, and wrote the touching note which is still to be read in his Virgil, and in which he observes that she died in the same month, on the same day, and at the same hour on which he had first beheld her twenty years before.†

\* "It was not the form I so loved, as the mind. . . . the more she waxed in years . . . the devotest grew my worship; and if the spring flower visibly drooped as time went on, the graces of her mind improved." . . . At a later period, he seems to have recognised the vanity of his love:—"How often hast thou not . . . in this city, which I will not term the cause, but the occasion of thy woes, after thinking thyself whole once more . . . walking through the well-known neighbourhoods, and reminded by the mute aspect of the well-known spots of former vain illusions, suddenly stopped, stupefied, and with difficulty refrained from tears. Then, the old wounds opening thou hast fled, owning to thyself—I feel in my heart the workings of my ancient enemy: death hovers here." . . . He Cont. Muniz, p. 391, ed. Basilus, 15-1.—See, also, among other works relative to Petrarch, the *Memoirs of the Abbe de Sades*, the *Vie de Petrarcha*, and M. Fouquet's excellent article in the *Biographie Universelle*.

† "Laura, illustrious by her own virtues, and long the theme of my song, first appeared to my eyes, in my spring of life, the 6th of April, the first hour of the day, (old in the morning,) in St. Clara's church, Avignon, in the year 1327.

\* Hist. de Longueville, l. xxx. c. 39. Hist. du Dauphine, Preuves, t. 136, p. 346.

† Chaucer, 129. Gaguin, apud Spond. 448. Langard, vol. iii, p. 69, 430.

‡ Ad fugiendum coram inimicis magis apti. Contin. G. de Nangis, p. 103.

The poet had seen all the hopes and dreams of his life fade away within a few years.\* In his youth, he had hoped that the nations of Christendom would forget their quarrels, become one, and find internal peace in a glorious war against the infidels. It was then he wrote the celebrated sonnet, "O aspettata in ciel, beata e bella." . . . . But who was the pope that preached the crusade? John XXII., the son of a cordwainer at Cahors, a lawyer before he became pope, himself a *Cahorsin* and usurer, who amassed millions, and sent those who spoke of pure love and poverty to the stake.

Italy, on whom Petrarch next rested his hopes, equally failed him. Her princes flattered Petrarch and styled themselves his friends; but none of them listened to him. And what friends for the credulous poet were the ferocious and crafty Visconti of Milan! . . . Naples, seemingly, was better worth. Its learned king, Robert, had placed the crown on the poet's head when Petrarch was crowned in the capitol. But, on his repairing to Naples, Robert was no more. Queen Joanna had succeeded him;† and scarcely had the poet arrived, before he saw the combats of the gladiators renewed in her court by a sanguinary nobility.‡

and, in the same city, the same month of April, the same day of the month, and at the same hour of the year 1344, the light was removed from the world, when I was, alas! at Verona, ignorant of my hapless fate. The sad tidings reached me in a letter from my friend Luze, which found me at Parma, in the morning of May the 19th of the same year. That chaotic and lovely body was deposited in the church of the Brothers-Minors (Minorites), the evening of the same day that she died. Her soul, I nothing doubt, is assumed to heaven whence it came. To preserve the painful memory of this loss, I find a certain pleasure, mixed with bitterness, in writing this; and I write it, preferably, in this book, which often meets my eyes, in order that I may no longer find any pleasure in this life, and that my strongest bond to it being broken, I may be warned by the frequent sight of these words, and a just sense of a fleeting life, that it is time to quit Babylon. This, by the help of the divine grace, will become easy to me by manfully and courageously reviewing the superfluous cares, the vain hopes, and unexpected events which have agitated me during my sojourn upon earth."

\* "What shall we now do, my brother? We have tried all, and rest is not to be found. When will it come, where such it! Time is slipping from between our fingers, our old hopes sleep in the grave of our friends. The year 1344 has isolated us, has impoverished us—and not as regards such wealth as the Indian or Carpathian seas can renew. . . . There is one only consolation, we shall follow those who have gone before us. . . . Despair makes me more calm. What can be fear who has so often struggled with death—

"*Un minus velle nullam sperare salutem*."

(A ghost despair is the only refuge of the conquered.)

You shall have me acting and speaking every day, with greater heart, and if a worthy subject is offered to my pen, my pen shall be the stronger. Petrarch, Epist. Fam. Fred. p. 379.

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Epist. p. 368. "I am at Naples, I have seen the queen, and have present at their councils. Oh, shame! oh, pity! May God avert perils of this kind from our Italian shores!" . . . Ibid. pp. 646-1.

‡ "To walk by night here is like threading thick forests, doubtful and full of danger, armed young soldiers at every turn. . . . And how, wonder . . . when in mid-day in sight of prince and people, a fight of gladiators is intimated by ostentation in an Italian city, with more than barbarian accompaniment." . . . Ibid. pp. 646-4.

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\* "Behoove, I beseech thee, of smiling with thy own hands the under four wrath on thy brow. None but thy self, who hast laid them, can tear up the foundations of this on a laying. . . . The world behind thee fall from the leader of the good, to be the satellite of the wicked. Weigh well thyself, use no self-deceit, search who thou art, what whence comest. . . . What part thou art playing, what name thou hast taken, the hopes thou hast laid out thy preferences—and thou wilt see that thou art not the lord of the republic, but the servant." Ibid. pp. 677-8.

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§ See Gibbon, vol. xii. p. 608.

of four-and-twenty, the heiress of Boulogne and of Auvergne, and who brought him, together with the guardianship of her infant son, the government of the two Burgundies. The kingdom was suffering, but its bounds extended. The king had just bought Montpellier and Dauphiny.\* The king's grandson married the duke of Bourbon's daughter, and the count of Flanders the duke of Brabant's. Nuptials and fêtes thronged upon each other.

These fêtes derived a fantastic brilliancy from the new fashions which had been for some years introduced into France and England. The courtiers, perhaps for the sake of greater contrast to the *knights-at-law*, the men of the long robe, had taken to close-fitting garments, often parti-colored; and these, with their hair tied up *en queue*, their bushy beards, and shoes with long turned-up points,† gave them a whimsical appearance, something like a devil or a scorpion. The women loaded their heads with an enormous mitre, from the summit of which ribands floated in the air like the streamers from the head of a mast. They disdained the use of a palfrey, and must be mounted on spirited chargers. They wore two daggers at their girdle.—The church vainly denounced these proud and immodest fashions. The severe chronicler denounces them in rough terms: "They (the men) began," he says, "to wear a long beard, and short robes, so short as to show their breech. All this gave rise to no small derision among the people. As the event proved, they were in a much fitter state to race from the enemy."‡

These changes announced others. The world was about to change actors as well as dress. These follies in the midst of miseries, these nuptials, hurried on the morrow of the plague, were to have their obsequies as well. The aged Philippe de Valois soon drooped away by the side of his young queen, and left the crown to his son, (A. D. 1350.)

## CHAPTER II.

### JOHN.—THE BATTLE OF POITIERS.—A. D. 1350–1356.

AMONG other celebrated personages, the plague of 1348 carried off the historian John Villain, and the beautiful Laura de Sades, she who, living and dead, was the object of Petrarch's song.

Laura, daughter of Messire Audibert, syndic of the burgh of Noves, near Avignon, had mar-

ried Hugues de Sades, of an ancient burghess family of this city. She lived honorably at Avignon with her husband, by whom she had twelve children. It was, undoubtedly, this pure and faithful union, this beautiful family picture in a town so obnoxious to the charge of immorality as Avignon, which touched Petrarch's heart. She appeared to the young Florentine exile for the first time, on the 6th of April, 1327, or Good Friday, in church, and, most probably, with her husband and children by her side. From that moment, this noble image of youthful matronly grace was ever present to his eyes.

Let not the little I have to say of a French woman who made so lasting an impression on the greatest poet of the age, be objected to me as a digression. The history of morals is, above all, that of woman. We have spoken of Heloise and of Beatrice. Laura is not, like Heloise, a loving and self-sacrificing woman. She is not Dante's Beatrice, in whom the ideal prevails, and who is at last lost in eternal beauty. She does not die young; she has not the glorious transfiguration of death. She fulfils her destiny on earth. She is wife, mother—and aged; yet is still adored.\* So faithful and disinterested a passion at this epoch of gross sensuality, was deserving of the perpetuity it has gained among the most touching remembrances of the fourteenth century. We love to descry, in these deathly times, a living soul, a true and pure affection which inspired a passion that endured thirty years. We grow young again when contemplating this lovely and immortal youth of the soul.

He saw her for the last time in September, 1347. It was in the midst of a circle of females. She was serious and pensive, without pearl or chaplet. Dread of contagion reigned around. The poet withdrew, full of emotion, to restrain his tears. . . . In the course of the following year he heard of her death at Verona, and wrote the touching note which is still to be read in his Virgil, and in which he observes that she died in the same month, on the same day, and at the same hour on which he had first beheld her twenty years before.†

\* Hist. de Languedoc, l. xxx. c. 30. Hist. du Dauphine, Preuves, c. 136 p. 346.

† Chénier, 1794. Gaguin, apud Spond. 448. Lingard, vol. iii. p. 69, 70.

‡ Ad fugiendum coram inimicis magis apti. Contin. G. de Nangis, p. 103.

\* "It was not the form I so loved, as the mind . . . the more she waxed in years . . . the devotest grew my worship; and if the spring flower visibly drooped as time went on, the graces of her mind improved." . . . At a later period, he seems to have recognised the vanity of his love:—"How often hast thou not . . . in this city, which I will not term the cause, but the occasion of thy woes, after thinking thyself whole once more . . . walking through the well-known neighborhoods, and reminded by the mute aspect of the well-known spots of former vain illusions, suddenly stopped, stupefied, and with difficulty refrained from tears. Then, the old wounds opening, thou hast fled, owing to thyself—I feel in my heart the workings of my ancient enemy: death hovers here." . . . De Cont. Mundil, p. 360, ed. Basilie, 1581.—See, also, among other works relative to Petrarch, the Memoirs of the Abbe de Sades, the Viaggi di Petrarca, and M. Foinet's excellent article in the Biographie Universelle.

† "Laura, illustrious by her own virtues, and long the theme of my song, first appeared to my eyes, in my spring of life, the 6th of April, the first hour of the day, (six in the morning,) in St. Clara's church, Avignon, in the year 1327,

The poet had seen all the hopes and dreams of his life fade away within a few years.\* In his youth, he had hoped that the nations of Christendom would forget their quarrels, become one, and find internal peace in a glorious war against the infidels. It was then he wrote the celebrated sonnet, "O aspettata in ciel, bonta e bella." . . . . But who was the pope that preached the crusade? John XXII., the son of a cordwainer at Cahors, a lawyer before he became pope, himself a *Cahorsin* and usurer, who amassed millions, and sent those who spoke of pure love and poverty to the stake.

Italy, on whom Petrarch next rested his hopes, equally failed him. Her princes flattered Petrarch and styled themselves his friends; but none of them listened to him. And what friends for the credulous poet were the ferocious and crafty Visconti of Milan! . . . . Naples, seemingly, was better worth. Its learned king, Robert, had placed the crown on the poet's head when Petrarch was crowned in the capitol. But, on his repairing to Naples, Robert was no more. Queen Joanna had succeeded him;† and scarcely had the poet arrived, before he saw the combats of the gladiators renewed in her court by a sanguinary nobility.‡

and, in the same city, the same month of April, the same day of the month, and at the same hour of the year 1348, this light was removed from the world, when I was, alas! at Verona, ignorant of my hapless fair. The evil tidings reached me in a letter from my friend Laurent, which found me at Parma, in the morning of May the 16th of the same year. That chance and lovely lady was deposited in the church of the Brothers-Minors, (Minorites), the evening of the same day that she died. Her soul, I nothing doubt, is assumed to heaven whence it came. To preserve the painful memory of this loss, I find a certain pleasure, mixed with bitterness, in writing this; and I write it preferably, in this book, which often meets my eyes, in order that I may no longer find any pleasure in this life, and that my constant bond to it being broken, I may be warned by the frequent sight of those words, and a just sense of a fleeting life, that it is time to quit Babylon. This, by the help of the divine grace, will become easy to me by manfully and unconqueringly reviewing the superfluous cares, the vain hopes and unexpected events which have agitated us during my sojourn upon earth."

"What shall we now do, my brother? We have tried all, and rest is not to be found. When will it come, where shall it? Time is slipping from between our fingers, our old hopes sleep in the grave of our friends. The year 1348 has treated us, has impoverished us—and not as regards such wealth as the Indian or Carpathian seas can renew. . . . There is one only consolation, we shall follow those who have gone before us. . . . Despair makes me more calm. What can he fear who has so often struggled with death."

"Can virtue virtue nullum sperare salutem."

(A ghost despair is the only refuge of the conquered.)

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¶ Ibid. p. 648-1.

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Nevertheless, men talked of the restoration of Roman liberty by the tribune Rienzi. Petrarch entertained no doubt of the approaching union of Italy, of the whole world, under the good state, and sang beforehand the virtues of the liberator, and the glories of the new Rome. Meanwhile, Rienzi threatened death to the Colonna, Petrarch's friends. The poet long refused to credit this, and wrote a melancholy and anxious letter to the tribune, praying him to give the lie to these malicious reports.\*

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§ See Gibbon, vol. xii. p. 608.

lable asylum, begirt by the sea, was at the time the only spot to which the pious hand of the poet could with safety intrust, in his dying hour, the erring gods of antiquity.

This duty fulfilled, he went to warm his aged veins for a time in the sun of Arqua. Here he died in his library, his head resting on a book.\*

These vain regrets, this obstinate fidelity to the past, which led the poet all his life in pursuit of shadows, and tempted him credulously to hope in tribune and in emperor, are not Petrarch's weakness alone, but that of the age. France herself, which seems to have so roughly repudiated the middle age by sacrificing the Templars and Boniface, turns back to it in her own despite, and hardens herself in her belief. The defeat of the feudal armies, and the great lesson taught by the battle of Crécy, which should have opened her eyes to the fact that another world had begun, only serve to awaken her regrets for her mounted knights. She learns nothing from the English archers. She understands not the modern genius which dashed her to the ground at Crécy with Edward's artillery.

Philippe de Valois' son, king Jean, is the king of gentlemen. More chivalrous still, and more luckless than his father, he takes for his model the blind John of Bohemia, who fought, fastened to his horse, at Crécy. Not less blind than his model, king Jean, at the battle of Poitiers, dismounted from his horse in order to receive the charge of horsemen. But he had not the happiness to be killed, like John of Bohemia.

On his accession, Jean, to please the barons, issued an ordinance, empowering them to defer the payment of their debts.† He created a new order for them, that of the Star; which offered a place of retreat to its members, and might be styled the *Invalides* of chivalry. A sumptuous mansion, destined to this purpose, was begun in the plain of St. Denys, but was never finished.‡ The members of the order swore never to give ground four acres' length, except as dead or prisoners. And prisoners they became.

This chivalrous prince signalizes his accession by brutally slaying, on mere suspicion, the constable d'Eu, his father's chief adviser, and

throws every thing into the hands of a favorite, a Southern, a cunning, grasping man, Charles d'Espagne, for whom he had "a dishonest affection."§ This favorite is made constable, and procures, besides, a county belonging to the young king of Navarre, Charles, whom Jean had already stripped of Champagne.¶ Charles, descended from a daughter of Louis Hutin's, believed himself, like Edward III., wronged of the crown of France. He assassinated the favorite, and attempted Jean's life; who threw him into prison, and made him entreat pardon on his knees.‡ This dishonored man will be the demon, the evil genius, of France. His surname is, *the wicked*. Now Jean slays the constable, slays d'Harcourt, and others, besides; but he remains *Jean the good*.

By *good*, we must understand the confiding, giddy, and lavish. No prince had lavished his people's money with such rapidity. He went about, like the man in Rabelais, eating his grapes sour, and his corn in the blade. He turned all into money, eating up the present and pledging the future. One would have said that he foresaw he had but a short time to remain in France.

His chief resource was altering the currency.¶ Philippe-le-Bel, and his son, Philippe de Valois, had largely employed this form of bankruptcy; but their doings were forgotten in Jean's, who went beyond all possible royal or national bankruptcy. To read the abrupt and contradictory ordinances issued by this prince in so few years seems a dream. It is the law run mad. At his accession, the mark of silver was worth five livres, five sous; at the end of the year, eleven livres. In February, 1352, it had fallen to four livres, five sous; a year after, it was raised to twelve livres. In 1354, it was fixed at four livres, four sous; in 1355, it was worth eighteen livres. It was reduced to five livres, five sous; but the coin was so adulterated, that in 1359 it rose to the rate of *a hundred and two livres*.||

\* Such, says Villani, was the common rumour, *lib. c. 95*, p. 219.

† Charles had also to complain of the insolence of the constable, who called him *billonneur-messire*, (false coiner.)

‡ Froissart, *append. t. iii. c. 335*, pp. 437-439, ed. Buchon; and *Séroussié, Hist. de Charles le Mauvais*, l. p. 25.

§ On many of these coins the king of England was represented under the figure of a lion or a dragon, trampled upon by the king of France. *Leblanc, Traité des Monnoies*, pp. 343, 344.

|| *Ibid.* p. 361. At first, John endeavored to keep those shameful falsifications secret. He charged the officers of the mint—"On your oath to the king, observe the profoundest secrecy as to this matter . . . so that neither the money-changers or others may entertain any suspicion of it through you: for if it escape through you, you shall be so punished as to be an example to all others." (24th March, 1350.) . . . "Should you be asked the alloy of the silver coin, pretend that it is six deniers." He enjoined them to imitate the older coins scrupulously. "So that the merchants may not detect the depreciation, under pain of your being proclaimed traitors." Before this, Philippe de Valois had used similar precautions, but, subsequently, he became bolder, and proclaimed as a right that which he had at first concealed as a fraud. John could not be less daring than his father. "Be it known," are his words, "that to us

\* A few days before, Boccaccio had sent him his Decamerone. The aged poet learned the *Patient Griselda* by heart—that beautiful tale which purifies the rest of the work.

† *Ord. ii. p. 391*, (March the 30th, 1351,) and p. 447, (September.)

‡ "At this time king John appointed a fine company after the manner of the Round Table, which was to consist of three hundred noble knights, and king John covenanted to build a fine large mansion for the companions, at his own cost, at St. Denys; and the companions were to repair thither at all the solemn festivals of the year . . . the house was nearly finished, and still stands near St. Denys; and if it should chance that any of the companies should in their old age need relief, be weak of body, and wanting in worldly goods, the expenses for himself and two knaves (*serfets*) were to be well and honorably defrayed in the mansion, if he chose to remain there." *Froiss. lib. 53-58*, ed. Buchon.

These royal banksies are at bottom the pollution of the bur by the nobles. The across and noble kn... say siege to the good ing, and take from him all that he takes from others. His queen Blanche obtained for her own single share the confiscation of the *Anbards*, and forced payment to herself of whatever was owing to them over the whole kingdom.\*

The nobility, beginning to live at a distance from their castles, and sojourning at great expense at court, became daily more rapacious. They would no longer give their service; but required to be paid for defending their lands from the ravages of the English. These mighty barons descended with a good grace to the rank of mercenaries,† appeared under arms on occasion of grand musters (*montres*, *shows*) and royal reviews, and held out their hands to the paymaster. Under Philippe de Valois, the knight contented himself with ten sous a day. Under Jean, he required twenty, and the knight-banneret had forty. The enormous expense thus entailed on him, forced king Jean to assemble the States oftener than any of his predecessors. So the nobles contributed, indirectly and unwittingly, to raise the States, especially the third estate, (*le tiers-état*), the State which found the money, to an importance unknown before.

As long previously as 1343, his wars had forced Philippe de Valois to ask the States to impose a duty of four deniers in the livre upon merchandise, to be paid each time of sale. This was not a duty merely, it was an intolerable tax and grievance; it was to declare war against trade. The collector pitched his tent at the market-place, played the spy on dealer and buyer, put his hand into every pocket, and demanded (as it happened in Charles the Fifth's reign) his share out of a halfpenny-worth of grass. It is this duty, which is no other than the Spanish *alcavala*, then recently imposed on occasion of the wars with the Moors, that has struck the death-blow of Spanish industry. By way of indemnification, Philippe de Valois promised to coin good money, *as in the days of St. Louis*.‡

With new wants come new promises. In the crisis of 1346, the king promised the States of the North to restrict the right of prisage,

"to what would suffice for the maintenance of his hotel, of his dear companion the queen, and of his children." He suppressed some sergeants' places, abolished contradictory jurisdictions, and called in the letters allowing the barons to adjourn the payment of their debts.\* The States of the South granted him ten sous on each hearth or family, on the faith of his promise to suppress the gabelle, and the duty on sales.†

In 1351, Jean, on seeking from the States the customary gratification on a new king's mounting the throne, (*son droit de joyeux avènement*), received their reclamations, no matter how clashing and contradictory, with the utmost graciousness. He promised the nobles of Picardy to tolerate private wars;‡ the Norman bourgeois, to interdict them.§ They both granted him six deniers on all sales. He gave the manufacturers of Troyes a monopoly of narrow cloths or *couvre-chefs*;|| and fixed the salaries which the Paris masters were to pay their workmen, and which had risen to an extravagant height through the decrease of the population and the plague.¶ The bourgeois of Paris, who were consulted in person, and not through the medium of their deputies, granted in their assembly, held at their common hall, (*parloir aux bourgeois*), the duty on sales.\*\* They are summoned by the king to the *parloir*; they will soon find their way there without him.

In 1346, the king had promised reforms; and the States, believing him, had voted with the utmost docility. They got through their business in one day. In 1351, the Picard nobles refuse to allow their vassals to pay taxes, except they themselves enjoy an exemption, and except the king's vassals and those of the princes are made liable as well as their own.

In 1355, the English lay waste the South, and it behooved to ask for more money. The States of the North, or of the *langue d'Oïl*,†† convened on the 30th of November of the same year, showed little docility. It was necessary to promise them the abolition of the direct robbery called *prisage*, (*droit le prize*), and of the indirect robbery committed by tampering with the currency.‡‡ The king declared that the new tax should extend to all, both clerks and nobles, and that he would himself pay it, as should the queen and the princes.

The States had no confidence in these fair words. They would neither trust the king's promise, nor his receivers. They chose to re-

use, and of our royal right, it belongs to make such money as we please throughout our kingdom, and to give it currency." Ord. ii. p. 223.—And as if it were not the people that suffered, he used this resource as a private revenue, which he applied to the public expenses, "which we could not well discharge without oppressing the people of the said kingdom, were it not for the domain and revenue arising from the profit of our mint." Pref. Ord. ii.

\* The States of 1353 required these prosecutions to be suspended. Ord. iii. p. 261.

† In 1359, the nobles of Languedoc complained that the taxes which they had been paid during the wars of Gascony were not proportioned to those which they had rendered in the other wars waged there. This was just at the English. The States of Languedoc, 1359.

‡ Ord. i. art. 2. l. p. 209.

\* Ord. ii. pp. 223, 241.

† Hist. de Languedoc, l. xxi. c. 17. p. 226.

‡ Ord. ii. pp. 263, 15\*, and 447, 448.

§ Ibid. pp. 609, 57\*.

|| Ibid. p. 244.

¶ Ibid. p. 250.

\*\* Ibid. pp. 622, 628, 634.—"Letters in which the king forbids his domestics carrying off the mattresses and cushions from the houses in Paris where he shall stay." AMES Ordres. pp. 635-637.

†† (Or of the *Langue d'Oïl*, or French proper, as distinguished from the *Langue d'Occ*, or Romance tongue.) TRANSLATION.

‡‡ Ord. iii. pp. 25-26.

ceive themselves, through receivers of their own appointing, have the accounts brought before themselves, meet again on the first of March, and then a year after on St. Andrew's day.\*

To vote taxes and to receive them, is to reign. None of that day were conscious of the whole bearing of this bold demand of the States; not even Marcel, the celebrated provost of the merchants, whom we see at the head of the deputies from the towns.†

The assembly purchased this sovereignty by the enormous grant of six millions of *livres Parisis*, to go to the pay of thirty thousand men-at-arms. This sum was to be raised by two taxes; the one on salt, the other on sales: bad taxes, doubtless, and pressing on the poor; but how devise any other in a time of urgent need, and with the South a prey to the spoiler?

Normandy, Artois, and Picardy, sent no representatives to these States. The Normans were encouraged by the king of Navarre, the count d'Harcourt, and others, who declared that the gabelle should not be levied on their lands, saying—"That no man shall be found bold enough to enforce it in the name of the king of France, or sergeant to levy fines in default, but shall pay for his temerity with his body."‡

The States gave way. They repealed the two taxes, and substituted in their stead an income tax of five per cent. on the poorest, four on those of moderate means, and two per cent. on the wealthy. The richer one was, the less one paid.

The king, mortally offended by the opposition of the king of Navarre and his friends, had said, "that he should never know happiness as long as they were alive." He started from Orleans with a few knights, rode thirty hours without drawing bridle, and surprised them in the castle of Rouen as they were sitting down to table. They were the dauphin's guests. Jean beheaded d'Harcourt and three others. The king of Navarre was thrown into prison, and threatened with death. A report was spread that they had tempted the dauphin to escape to the emperor, and make war on his father.§

The opposition to the taxes voted by the States, laid the kingdom at the mercy of the English. The prince of Wales overran our southern provinces at his ease, with a small army, consisting this time mostly of men-at-arms and knights. The war was not carried on in a more knightly manner for it; for they burned and destroyed like brigands, who leave the

track they never mean to retrace a desert. First, they traversed Languedoc, an untouched country which had not yet suffered,\* and which they sacked and harried just as Normandy had been in 1346. They brought back to Bordeaux five thousand wagon loads of spoil.† Then, after depositing their booty in safety, they methodically resumed their cruel expedition through Rouergue, Auvergne, and the Limousin, entering everywhere without a blow being struck, burning and pillaging, loaded like pedlars, and glutted with the fruits and wines of France. They next made a descent upon Berry, and traversed the banks of the Loire. However, three knights, who had thrown themselves into Romorantin with a few men, sufficed to check their progress. They were thunderstruck at such resistance; and the prince of Wales swore he would force the place, and lost many days there.‡

King Jean, who had begun the campaign by seizing on those strongholds belonging to the king of Navarre, into which the latter might have introduced the English, at last made his appearance with a large army, as numerous as any France has lost. The whole face of the country was covered by his foragers; so that food failed the English. Each, too, was ignorant of the exact position of his enemy. Jean, believing the English to be before him, hurried after them, while he was in reality leaving them behind. Equally well informed, the prince of Wales believed the French to be behind him.§ It was the second time, and not for the last time either, that the English had blindly entangled themselves in the midst of the enemy's country. Without a miracle they were lost; and Jean's thoughtlessness served them for one.

The prince of Wales's army, half English, half Gascon, was composed of two thousand men-at-arms, four thousand archers, and two thousand *brigands*, hired in the South, light troops. Jean was at the head of the great feudal mass of the ban and arrière-ban, which made up full fifty thousand men. He had with him his four sons, twenty-six dukes or counts, and a hundred and forty knights-bannerets, with their banners given to the wind—a magnificent spectacle; but the army was not worth the more for all this.

\* "Know that this country of Carcassonne, the Narbonne, and the Toulouse, where the English were at this time, was one of the very richest countries in the world. Inhabited by good and simple people who knew not what war was, for they had never been warred upon before the prince of Wales turned his steps thither." Froiss. iii. p. 104, ed. Buchon.

† "Nor did the English set any store on velvets, or on any thing save silver plate and good florins." Id. t. iii. p. 103, 19th addit. "So was it burned and destroyed by the English, that there scarcely remained a place to stable a horse in; nor could the heirs, or the bourgeois, fix or say to a certainty, 'This is my property.' So was it treated." Id. t. iii. p. 190, ed. Buchon.

‡ He was compelled to bring up against these three knights all the apparatus of a siege,—cannons, carreaux, bombards, and Greek fire. Id. c. 340, p. 169, ed. Buchon.

§ Id. c. 353, p. 174, ed. Buchon.

\* Ibid. p. 22, et seq.—Froiss. iii. c. 340, p. 450, ed. Buchon.

† "The citizens answered by Stephen Marcel, provost of merchants in the good town of Paris, that they were willing to live or die for the king." Froissart, b. I, c. 154, who gives a minute account of the assessment made by the States.

‡ Froiss. iii. p. 185, ed. Buchon.

§ Id. Ibid. Addit. p. 131, and c. 341, p. 457.—Béconne, Preuves de l'Hist. de Charles-le-Mauvais, ii. p. 47.

Two cardinal legates, one of whom was named *Talleyrand*, interfered in order to hinder the effusion of Christian blood.\* The prince of Wales offered to surrender all he had taken, places and men, and to take an oath not to carry arms against France for seven years. Jean refused, as was natural. It would have been disgraceful to suffer these plunderers to escape. He demanded the surrender of the prince of Wales, together with a hundred knights.

The English had intrenched themselves on the hill of Mauportuis, near Poitiers; a stiff hill, planted with vines, and enclosed by hedges and thickets of thorn. Its side bristled with English archers. There was no need to attack them. To keep them there was all that was wanted. Hunger and thirst would have tamed them down in two days' time. Jean thought it more chivalrous to force his enemy.

There was only one narrow path by which the hill could be scaled. The French king employed his knights on this service. The scene was almost that of the battle of Morgarten. The archers rained down their arrows, riddled the horses, terrified them, and forced them back one over the other.† The English seized the moment to sweep down.‡ A panic seized the vast army; and three of the king's sons withdrew from the field of battle by their father's orders,§ taking with them for escort a body of eight hundred lances.

The king, however, kept his ground. He had employed knights to force the mountain; with the same good sense, he ordered his men-at-arms to dismount, to receive the charge of the English on horseback.‖ Jean's resistance

was as fatal to his kingdom as the retreat of his sons. His companions of the order of the Star were, like him, faithful to their vows. They did not yield one step backwards. "They fought in troops and companies, just as they came together." But the multitude fled towards Poitiers, which closed its gates against them; "upon which account, there was great butchery on the causeway before the gate, where such numbers were killed or wounded, that several surrendered themselves the moment they saw an Englishman." . . .

The day, however, was still disputed:—"King Jean did wondrous deeds of arms with his own hand, and with his axe defended himself, and fought only too well." By his side, his youngest son, who deserved his surname of *Hardi*, (the hardy or bold,) directed his blind courage, crying out to him on each fresh assault, "Father, guard your right, guard your left." But their assailants thickened around them, eager for so rich a prey. "The English and Gascons poured so fast on the king's division, that they broke through the ranks by force; and the French were so intermixed with their enemies, that at times there were five men-at-arms attacking one gentleman." The press was greatest around the king, "through eagerness to take him; and those who were nearest to him, and knew him, cried out, 'Surrender yourself! Surrender yourself! or you are a dead man.' In that part of the field was a young knight from St. Omer, who was engaged by a salary in the service of the king of England; his name was *Denys de Morbeque*, who for five years had attached himself to the English, on account of having been banished in his younger days from France for a murder committed in an affray at St. Omer. It fortunately happened for this knight that he was at the time near to the king of France, when he was so much pulled about; he, by dint of force, for he was very strong and robust, pushed through the crowd, and said to the king in good French, 'Sire, sire, surrender yourself.' The king, who found himself very disagreeably situated, turning to him, asked, 'To whom shall I surrender myself? to whom? Where is my cousin, the prince of Wales? if I could see him, I would speak to him.' 'Sire,' replied Sir *Denys*, 'he is not here; but surrender yourself to me, and I will lead you to him.' 'Who are you?' said the king. 'Sire, I am *Denys de Morbeque*, a knight from Artois; but I serve the king of England because I cannot belong to France, having forfeited all I possessed there.' The king then gave him his right-hand glove, and said, 'I surrender myself to you.' There was much crowding and pushing about, for every one was eager to cry out, 'I have taken him.' Neither the king nor his

\* *Frederick*, b. l. c. 120.

† "The engagement now began on both sides: and the battalions of the marshals was advancing before those who were intended to break the battalion of the archers, and had crossed the line where the hedges on both sides were lined by the archers; who, as soon as they saw them fairly entered, began shooting with their bows in such an excellent manner, from each side of the hedge, that the horses, smitten under the pain of the wounds made by their pointed arrows, would not advance, but turned about, and by their confusion, threw their masters, who could not escape them; nor could those that had fallen get up again for the confusion." *Id.* b. l. c. 161. "To say the truth, the English archers were of infinite service to their army: for they shot so thickly and so well, that the French did not know which way to turn themselves, to avoid their arrows." *Id.* *ibid.*

§ . . . "Sir John Chandos said to the prince, 'Mr. Sir, now push forward, for the day is ours: God will this day put it in your hand. Let us make for our adversary the king of France; for where he is will be the main stress of the business: I well know that his valor will not let him fly; and he will remain with us, if it pleases God and St. George: but he must be well fought with; and you have before said that you would show yourself this day a good knight.' The prince replied: 'John, get forward; you shall not see me turn my back this day, but I will always be among the foremost.' He then said to Sir *Walter Woodhead*, his banner-bearer, 'Banner, advance, in the name of God and St. George.'" *Id.* *ibid.*

§ I have follow the continuator of *Guillaume de Nangis*, in preference to *Frederick*. See the important letter written by the count of Armagnac, published by M. *Lacabane*, in his excellent *Éssai de Charles V.* *Dictionnaire de la Conversation*.

§ *Frederick* only says -- "the chivalrous side --" And charged no opponent -- as of giving ground when he met. And he made all

three slight who were on horseback, and putting himself at the head of his knights, a battle-axe in his hand, he ordered the banners to advance in the name of God and of St. *Denys*." *Frederick*, c. 202, p. 211, ed. *Boswell*.



youngest son Philippe were able to get forward, and free themselves from the throng."<sup>\*</sup>

The prince of Wales did honor to the unheard-of fortune which had placed such a hostage in his hands. He took good care not to treat his captive as if he himself not Jean were king; to treat him not as "John of Valois," as the English were in the habit of styling him, but as the true king of France. It was of too much consequence to him that John should be really king, in order that the kingdom might appear captured in the person of its monarch, and might ruin itself to pay his ransom, to act otherwise. He waited on John, at table, after the battle. On making his public entry into London, he mounted him on a large white horse, (the sign of suzerainty,) while he himself followed on a small black hackney.<sup>†</sup>

The English were no less courteous to the other prisoners, who were twice as numerous as the men they had to guard them. For the most part, they set them free on parole, requiring them to pledge their words to be in England by the festival of Christmas, with the enormous ransoms which they were held to pay. The French were too good knights to forfeit their pledge. In this war between gentlemen, the worst that could befall the conquerors, was to take a share in the fêtes of the conquerors, to partake the amusement of the chase or tourney, and to enjoy in good faith the ostentatious hospitality (*l'insolente courtoisie*) of the English.<sup>‡</sup>—a noble war, no doubt, which immortalized the villain alone.

Great was the consternation at Paris when the fugitives from Poitiers, with the dauphin at their head, came with the news that France had no longer king or barons, that all were either taken or slain. The English, who had withdrawn for a moment in order to ensure the safety of their prize, would be sure to return. And when they did, it was to be expected that they would take possession not of Calais only, but of Paris and the whole kingdom.

### CHAPTER III.

CONTINUATION OF THE PREVIOUS CHAPTER.—  
THE STATES-GENERAL.—PARIS.—THE JAC-  
QUERIE.—THE PLAGUE.—A. D. 1356-64.

THERE was not much to be hoped for from the dauphin, or from his brothers. The prince was feeble, pale, diminutive. He was but

<sup>\*</sup> Froissart, b. i. c. 163.

<sup>†</sup> "The king of France, as he rode through London, was mounted on a white steed, with very rich furniture, and the prince of Wales on a little black hackney by his side. He rode through London, thus accompanied," &c. *Id. ibid.* b. i. c. 172.

<sup>‡</sup> "Shortly afterward, the king of France and all his household were removed from the palace of the Savoy to Windsor castle, where he was permitted to hunt and hawk, and take what other diversions he pleased in the neighborhood," &c. *Id. ibid.*

nineteen years of age. All that was known of him was his having invited the friends of the king of Navarre to the fatal dinner at Rouen, and given at Poitiers the signal for flight.

But the city did not need the dauphin. It proceeded to put itself at once in a state of defence. Stephen Marcel, the provost of the merchants, made every arrangement. First, to prevent surprise by night, chains were forged and stretched across the streets. Next, the walls were raised by parapets, and balistæ and other engines put upon them, with whatever cannon could be got. But the old walls of Philippe-Auguste no longer contained Paris: it had overflowed on every side. Other walls had been built, which protected the university: and which, on the opposite side, extended from the church of Ave Maria to the gate of St. Denys, and thence to the Louvre. The island even was fortified; and seven hundred and fifty sentry-boxes placed on the ramparts. All these vast preparations were completed in three years.<sup>\*</sup>

I cannot explain the revolution which is about to follow, and the part which Paris played in it, without explaining what Paris is.

The arms of Paris are a ship. Primitively, Paris is itself a ship, an island, which floats between the Seine and the Marne, already united, but not confounded.<sup>†</sup>

On the south is the learned, on the north the commercial town; in the centre, the City, the cathedral, the palace,—authority.

The beautiful harmony produced by a city thus floating between two different towns which gracefully close it in, would alone make Paris unique, and render it the most lovely of all cities, ancient and modern. Rome and London present nothing like it; they are cast on one side of their rivers alone.<sup>‡</sup> Not only is the form of Paris beautiful, but it is truly organic. The city is the primitive rudiment, the individual germ, round which the two universalities of commerce and science have grouped themselves—the whole constituting the true capital of human sociability.

The ruling power, the City, was the island. But on the two banks were two asylums opened to independence. The University had its jurisdiction for scholars; the Temple its jurisdiction for artisans.<sup>§</sup>

When Guillaume de Champeaux, worsted by Abelard in the schools of Notre-Dame, took

<sup>\*</sup> To complete these fortifications it was necessary to pull down many large and fine houses, both within and without the city. Charles V. had the fosses widened and deepened, and added fosses behind the walls, as well as walls flanked with towers. *Félibien, Hist. de Paris, p. 635.*

<sup>†</sup> By the island of Louviers, the two rivers are often distinctly marked by the different color of their waters.

<sup>‡</sup> On this side, as early as Charles the Bald's time, we meet with the fair of Landit, between St. Denys and La Chapelle. *Félibien, p. 97.*

<sup>§</sup> They have only a suburb on the other side.

<sup>||</sup> Five centuries after the fall of the Templars, the precinct of the Temple, greatly circumscribed it is true, still afforded the lesser tradesmen refuge against the rules of the corporations.

refuge in the abbey of St. Victor, the conquering legions pursued him thither, and pitched his tent at St. Gèneviève.\* This war, this *secours* to another Aventine, was the origin of the schools of the Mountain. Abelard, whose word sufficed to create a city in the desert,† was thus one of the founders of our southern Paris. The crissick town had its birth in dispute.

Westwards, it could not extend itself. On this side it huddled against the immoveable wall of St. Germain-des-Prés. The old abbey, which had remembered the town in its infancy, and had at first assisted it in its growth, was surrounded and besieged by it. But the abbey held out. Born of the Seine, this town extended itself on the other bank at least. There, were its markets, its slaughter-houses, its burial-place,—Innocents' cemetery, (*cimetière des Innocents*.) But once hemmed in on this side between the Louvre and the Temple,‡ it belled out, being prevented from stretching itself lengthwise, and acquired that punch which fills the space between the Châtelet and the gate St. Denis.

The ecclesiastical jurisdictions, those of Notre-Dame and St. Germain, found rude adversaries in our kings. It is known that queen Blanche herself forced the prisons of the canon, in order to release their debtors.§ The first royal provost, (A. D. 1302,) a Stephen, had also wished to force St. Germain's; but for the purpose of taking out of it, to meet a pressing want of the king's, Childebert's valuable cross.¶ These provosts would seem to have reserved their devotion for the king only. Another Stephen, (Etienne Boileau,) obtained St. Louis's permission to hang a robber on a Good Friday. Our fifth Charles's provost was persecuted by the clergy, as being friendly to the Jews.

The university was often at war with the Notre-Dame and St. Germain-des-Prés. The monarch abetted it. He almost invariably sided with the scholars against the bourgeois, and even against his provost, who had commonly to make reparation for having done justice.‡ The king had need of the university, and was pleased to rely on this formidable instrument, without entertaining a suspicion that it might turn against him. Philippe-le-Bel summoned to the Temple the masters of the university, in order to have read to them the charge against the Templars. Philippe-le-Long, for the support of his disputed succession, invited their presence on the occasion of his barons taking the oath which he required of them, and obtained their approbation. Thus the daughter of kings bears herself as judge of kings. Philippe de Valois makes her judge the pope; and the pope who has so long supported

the university against the bishop of Paris, is threatened by her with condemnation.\* Soon the pride of the university will be swelled to the utmost by the occurrence of schism: it will choose between popes, govern Paris, and lord it over the king.

The university constituted a people of itself. When the rector, at the head of the faculties of the nations, led the university to the fair of Landit, between St. Denys and La Chapelle, when he repaired with the parchment-makers of the university to sit in despotie judgment on the parchments for sale within the city liberties, (*la banlieue*), the bourgeois would remark with pride that the rector had reached the plain of St. Denys, while the tail of the procession was at the Mathurins-Saint-Jacques.

But northern Paris was still more populous, as may be judged by two grand reviews which were held in Paris in the course of the fourteenth century, and in which the university, which was composed of priests, scholars, and foreigners, bore no part. In the first review, (A. D. 1313,) commanded by Philippe-le-Bel, in honor of his son-in-law, the king of England, the numbers present were estimated at twenty thousand horsemen and thirty thousand foot soldiers.† The English were thunderstruck. In 1383, the Parisians marched out by way of Montmartre and ranged themselves in battle array, in order to welcome Charles VI. on his return from Flanders. They mustered in several divisions, one of crossbow-men, one of buckler-men, (*pavechiens*), and another, armed with mallets or maces, which alone consisted of twenty thousand men.‡

The population of Paris was not only very large, but very intelligent, and much superior to the France at large of that day. Not to dwell upon its connection with so great a university; commerce, banking, and the Lombards, must have extended their ideas. The parliament, whither were brought appeals from all the courts of justice, baronial or others, in the kingdom, attracted a host of counsellors to Paris. The Chamber of Accounts, that great financial tribunal, the *Empire of Galilee*, as it was termed,§ could not fail to attract numbers at this fiscal epoch. Burgesses filled the most important offices. Barbet, master of the mint under Philippe-le-Bel, and Poilvilain, king Jean's treasurer, were bourgeois of Paris. The king made a show of confidence in the good city. Notwithstanding the revolt on account of the coinage in 1306, he himself summoned the townsmen to his royal garden, at the time of the prosecution of the Templars.¶

The natural head of this large population was, not the royal provost, a police magistrate

\* Fœtillon, p. 164, seq.

† See above, p. 236.

‡ Legendre propo Parisiens. Philippe Auguste completed his mission about the year 1204.

§ Fœtillon, p. 228.

¶ Ibid. p. 220.

|| Ibid. p. 120.

\* Rayn. Annal. Eccles. ann. 1331, par. 63.

† Chron. de St. Victor, p. 608.

‡ Froissart, t. viii. p. 377, ed. Buchan. See, further on, b. vi. c. 1.

§ An allusion to the street of Galilee, near which the Chamber was situated.

|| See, above, p. 374.

and almost always unpopular, but the provost of the merchants, the natural president of the aldermen (*échevins*) of Paris. In the deserted condition of the kingdom, after the battle of Poitiers, Paris took the initiative; and, in Paris, the provost of the merchants.

Four hundred deputies from the good cities, and, at their head, Etienne Marcel, provost of the merchants, met and constituted the States of the north on the 17th of October, a month after the battle. As the barons were mostly prisoners, they could only appear there by proxy, and so with the bishops. All the power rested with the deputies from the towns, and especially with those from Paris. In the memorable result of the meeting of these States,—the ordinance of the year 1357,—the revolutionary spirit, and, at the same time, the administrative genius of the great commune, are striking. The clearness and unity of the views which characterize this act, are susceptible of no other explanation: France would have done nothing without Paris.

The States, who at first assembled in the parliament-house, and then, at the Franciscan convent, nominated a committee of fifty deputies to inquire into the state of the kingdom. They desired "to have further information as to what had become of the immense sums levied on the kingdom in time past, by tenths, maltoltes, subsidies, and minting of coin, and extortions of every kind, with which their folk had been vexed and harassed, and the soldiers ill-paid, and the kingdom badly guarded and defended,—but no one could render an account of it."<sup>\*</sup>

All that was known was, that there had been monstrous prodigality, malversation, and shock to general credit. When the public distress was at its height, the king had given fifty thousand crowns to one of his knights.† Not one of the royal officers had clean hands. The committee gave the dauphin to understand that in full assembly they would demand of him to prosecute his officers, to set the king of Navarre at liberty, and to associate with himself thirty-six deputies of the States, twelve from each order, in the government of the kingdom.‡

The dauphin, who was not king, could hardly place the kingly power in the hands of the States on this fashion. He adjourned the sitting of the States, alleging letters that he had received from the king and emperor, and then recommended the deputies to return and consult their fellow-townsmen, while he would advise with his father.§

The States of the south, assembled at Toulouse, close to the seat of danger, were more

tractable, and readily voted money and troops. The provincial States, those of Auvergne for instance, voted grants as well, but still reserving to themselves the right of checking the expenditure.\* All this time the dauphin was at Metz, in order to receive his uncle, the emperor, Charles IV.; a poor dauphin, and a poor emperor, who could do nothing the one for another. On her side, the queen had gone to Dijon to marry her little duke of Burgundy, her son by her first marriage, to the little Margaret of Flanders; an expensive journey, which had the distant advantage of approximating Flanders and France. What was to become of Paris, thus abandoned, and without king, queen, or dauphin? The peasants, with their families, and scanty goods, crowded into it through every gate; and then, in long and mournful files, the monks and nuns of the environs. All these fugitives had fearful tales to tell of the scenes that were taking place in the country, where the barons, taken prisoners at Poitiers, and released on parole, had hastened to raise their ransom-money, and ruined the peasantry on their domains. To complete the general ruin came the disbanded soldiers, who pillaged, ravished, murdered; and who had been known to put to the torture those who had no longer any thing, in order to force them still to give.† They were the terror of the country, like the *warmers* (*chauffeurs*)‡ of the Revolution.

The States being again assembled on the 5th of February, 1357, Marcel and Robert le Coq, archbishop of Laon, laid before them a schedule of grievances, and it was resolved that each deputy should communicate the same to the province which sent him; and this communication, which was made with exceeding rapidity for that age, especially taking into account the season of the year, occupied no longer than a month. The schedule was handed in to the dauphin on the 3d of March, by Robert le Coq, formerly a lawyer of Paris, and who, having filled the offices of counsellor to Philippe de Valois, and president of the parliament, had become bishop-duke of Laon, and enjoyed the independence of the great dignitaries of the church. Le Coq, at once the king's man and the commons' man, mediated between the two, and was counsellor to both parties. He was likened to the carpenter's twibill, (*besaigue*) *bis-acuta, which cuts at both ends.*§ After he

\* Secousse, *Préf.* p. 57.

† Duce Normannæ, qui Regnum jure hereditario . . . defendere et regere tenebatur, nulla remedia apponente, magna pars populi rusticanti . . . ad civitatem Parisiensem . . . cum uxoribus et liberis . . . accurrere . . . Nec parebatur in hoc Religiosis quibuscumque. Propter quod monachi et moniales . . . sorores de Palastre, de Longo Campo, &c. Contin. G. de Nang. p. 116.—"Another band plundered the whole country between the Seine and the Loire, so that no one durst travel from Paris to Vendôme, Orléans, or Montargis; and no one durst remain there, but all the inhabitants of the flat country fled to Paris or to Orléans." Froiss. iii. pp. 244-245, ed. Buchon.

‡ (A description of these ruffians will be found in Vi-doucq's *Memoirs*.) TRANSLATOR.

§ Secousse, l. i. 111.

\* Froiss. iii. c. 372, p. 254, ed. Buchon.

† Sismondi, t. x. p. 430.

‡ Secousse, *Préf.* pp. 50, 51.

§ In discussing them to their respective provinces, he relied, no doubt, on the innumerable divisions that must arise among so many different interests, on the jealousy felt by the nobles of the towns, and by the towns of Paris—whose influence had brought about the last revolution.

has spoken—the lord of Pequigny, on behalf of the nobles, a lawyer of Bâville on behalf of the commons, and Marcel on behalf of the burghesses of Paris, declared their concurrence in all he had just said.

This remonstrance of the States was at once an harangue and a sermon. They began with exhorting the dauphin to fear God, to honor him and his ministers, and to keep his commandments. He was to dismiss evil counsellors, and to transact nothing through the medium of the young, simple, and ignorant. He could not, he was told, possibly entertain any doubt as to the States expressing the sentiments of the people at large, since the deputies were nearly eight hundred in number, and had advised with the provinces which had sent them. As to what he had been told of the plot of the deputies to make way with his counsellors, it was, they assured him, a calumnious falsehood.\*

They required him to take to assist him in the government of the kingdom, during the intervals of the sittings of the States, thirty-six deputies chosen by the States, twelve from each order; and others were to be sent into the provinces with almost illimitable powers, empowered to condemn without the formality of trial,† to borrow, to constrain, to decree, to pay, to chastise the king's officers, to assemble provincial states, &c.

The States voted an aid for the equipment of thirty thousand men-at-arms. But they made the dauphin promise not to levy or expend the aid by his own officers, but by good, prudent, loyal, solvent men, appointed by the three States.‡ A new coinage was to be issued, after the pattern and models in the hands of the provost of the merchants of Paris.§ No change was to be made in the coin, without the consent of the States.

Troops were not to be entered into or the services called out, without their authorization.

Every man in France is to provide himself with arms.

The nobles are not to quit the kingdom on any pretext. They are to suspend all private

war: "In case of infringement of this regulation, the authorities of the place, or, if need be, the good people of the country, do arrest such peace-breakers . . . and compel them, by imprisonment and fines, to make peace, and cease to carry on war."¶ Here are the barons subjected to the supervision of the commons.

The right of prisage is to cease. The collectors may be resisted, and the people assemble against them by summons, or by tolling the bell.‡

No more gifts out of the royal demesnes; and all such gifts from the days of Philippe-le-Bel to the present time are to be revoked. The dauphin promises to put a stop to all superfluous and voluptuous outlay in his own expenses. He is to exact an oath from his officers that they will ask him for no grants, save in presence of the grand council.

One office is to content one individual. The number of officers of justice is to be reduced. Provostships and viscountships are no longer to be farmed out. Provosts, &c., are not to be appointed to the districts in which they were born.

No more commissions are to be issued for trials. Criminals are not to be allowed to make composition, but "full justice is to be done."

Although one of the principal framers of the ordinance, Le Coq, had been an advocate and president of the parliament, it deals severely with magistrates. They are prohibited from carrying on trade,‡ from entering into understandings with each other, and from encroaching on each others' jurisdiction. They are upbraided with their idleness. In some cases their salaries are reduced. These reforms are just; but the language in which they are couched is rude, and its tone bitter and hostile. It is evident that the parliament refused to abet the States and the communes.

The presidents, and other members of the parliament, who sit on courts of inquiry, are to take only forty sous a day. ¶ Many have been wont to take too large a salary, and to use four or five horses, whereas, had it been at their own expense, they would have been contented with two or three.¶

The grand council, the parliament, and the

\* 226. de la Bibliothèque Royale, fonds Dupuy, No. 646, and *Manuscrits*, No. 276.

† "Sous figure de jugement." Commission des trois États des États pour les diocèses de Clermont et de St. Flour. (Commission of the three deputies appointed by the States to the dioceses of Clermont and of St. Flour.) March 2, 1595-97. *Ordonn.* iv. p. 181.

‡ "They will swear on God's holy gospels not to give or distribute the said money to our lord the king, or to us, or to any one, save to the soldiery. . . . And if any of our officers seek to take, we will the said receivers to resist them; and, if they have not force at hand, to call upon their neighbors of the good towns." (art. 2.)—The aid is granted for a year only. The States, whether summoned or not, are to assemble the Sunday next after Easter on which day, the duke of Burgundy, the count of Flanders, and other nobles or deputies of the towns, who did not come to the States, are required to be present, with an intimation that in case of absence, they will be held to whatever or demands shall be passed by those who attend, (art. 3.) (*Ibid.* 22, pp. 182-3.

§ A l'illustration et aux patrons qui sont entre les mains du prévôt des marchands de Paris."

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\* "Que si aucun fait le contraire, la justice du lieu, ou s'il est breton, ces bonnes gens du pays, prennent tels guerriers . . . et les contraignent sous peine par retenue de corps et exploitation de leurs biens à faire paix, et à cesser de guerroyer."

† "L'assemblée contre eux par cri, ou par son de cloche."—Only when the king, queen or dauphin travel, their masters d'hôtel may except in the towns, order the peace-officers of the district, to take tables, cushions, chairs, and carriages for their use paying for the same, and only for a day. (*Ibid.* iii.)

‡ Dehors aux consueils et officiers de faire marchandise — "By their evil practice the price of provisions is often greatly raised, and what is worse, through these great gossamer there are few who dare to price these provisions which they, or their fathers for them, desire to buy." Art. 31. *Ibid.*

§ "Plusieurs ont accoustumé de prendre malice trop escheval, et d'aller à quatre ou cinq chevons, quelques-uns s'allaient à leurs de pans, il leur eussent bien d'aller à deux chevons ou à trois."

chamber of accounts are accused of negligence. "*Decrees, which ought to have been pronounced twenty years ago, are still to pronounce.*"\* The counsellors assemble late, their dinners are long, their afternoons (après-dîners) *unprofitable*. The officers of the chamber of accounts are to swear on God's holy gospels, that they will expedite the causes of the good people well, loyally, and in due order, *without keeping them waiting*, (sans eux faire muser.†) The grand council, the parliament, and chamber of accounts, are to meet at *sunrise*.‡ Those members of the grand council also who shall not be present *betimes in the morning*, (bien matin,) shall lose their day's salary. Notwithstanding their high office, these members are treated unceremoniously by the burgess legislators.

This great ordinance of 1357, which the dauphin was compelled to sign, was much more than a reform. It effected a sudden change of government. It placed the administrative power in the hands of the States, and substituted a republic for the monarchy. It gave the supreme authority to the people, while there was as yet no people. To construct a new government in the midst of such a war, was as singularly perilous an operation, as for an army to change its order of battle in the presence of an enemy. The odds were that France would perish in thus putting about.‡

The ordinance destroyed abuses. But it was on abuses the crown lived. To destroy them was to destroy authority, to dissolve the state, to disarm France.

Did France really enjoy a political personality; could one attribute one common will to it? All that can be affirmed is, that authority seemed to it wholly vested in the crown. It desired only partial reforms. In all probability the ordinance approved by the States was only the work of one commune, of one great and intelligent commune, which spoke in the name of the kingdom at large, but which would be abandoned by the kingdom in the hour of action.

The dauphin's noble counsellors, full of baronial contempt for the burgesses, and of provincial jealousy of Paris, instigated their master to resistance. It was March when he signed the ordinance presented to the States; and, by the 6th of April, he forbade payment of the aid which the States had voted. On the 8th, on the representations of the provost of the merchants, he revoked this prohibition.§ Thus the young prince fluctuated between two impulses, following the one to-day, the other the

day after; and both, perhaps, sincerely at the time. There was large room for doubt at this obscure crisis. All doubted; none paid. The dauphin was left disarmed; the States as well. Public authority was defunct; there was no king, nor dauphin, nor States.

Without strength, expiring as it were, and losing all self-consciousness, the kingdom lay prone like a corpse. Gangrene had set in, the worms swarmed—worms, I mean brigands, English and Navarrese. In this general decay and corruption, the members of the poor body fell away from each other. The kingdom was talked of: but there were no longer any States that could be truly termed general. There was nothing general; no communication, and no roads to carry it on. The roads were cut-throats; the country, a battle-field, the combat raging in every direction, and no possibility of distinguishing friend from foe.

In the midst of this dissolution of the kingdom, the commune remained living. But how could the commune live alone, unassisted by the surrounding country? Paris, not knowing where to lay the blame of her distress, accused the States. The dauphin, taking courage, declared that he would govern, and would henceforward dispense with a guardian. The commissioners of the States took their leave. But he was only the more embarrassed. He endeavored to raise a little money by selling offices;\* but the money did not come. He quit-  
ted Paris; the country was in flames. There was no town in which he would not risk being carried off by brigands. He returned to hide himself in Paris, and throw himself into the hand of the States, which he summoned to meet on the 7th of November.†

During the night between the following 8th and 9th, a Picard, a friend of Marcel's, the lord of Pecquigny, rescued Charles-le-Mauvais from the fortress in which he was imprisoned, by a sudden and successful dash. Marcel, who saw the dauphin always surrounded by a threatening crowd of nobles, had need of a sword to oppose to these men of the sword, of a prince of the blood to oppose to the dauphin. The burgesses, in their boldest attempts for liberty, loved to follow a prince. It seemed becoming, too, and chivalrous, when chivalry had behaved so ill, for burgesses to take it on themselves to repair so great an act of injustice, and to redress the injury done by kings. The populace, ever open to generous emotions, welcomed the prisoner with tears of joy. The restoration of this bad, but unfortunate man, seemed to the people that of justice to herself. He came to Paris, escorted by the commons of Amiens, and was received at St. Denis by a crowd of citizens who had gone forth to meet him.‡ He stopped

\* Ord. iii.

† This is not in the ordinance, but in the remonstrance referred to above; in which it was also stated, "That they who chose to govern being only two or three, great delays were incurred, and that suitors—knights, squires, and burgesses—were such sufferers from these delays, as to be obliged to sell their horses and depart without any answer, dissatisfied, &c." *MS. de la Bibl. Royale, fonds Dupuy, No. 646, and Brienne, No. 276.*

‡ (Que la France périrait dans ce revirement. The metaphor is a nautical one.)—TRANSLATOR.

§ Chron. de Saint-Denis, f. 232, verso, col. 2, and f. 233.

\* Ord. iii. p. 180.

† Séconasse, *Préf. des Ord.* iii. p. 70.

‡ "And even the duke of Normandy flattered him sumptuously. But it behooved; for the provost of the merchants and those of his party, recommended him so to do." Froissart, iii. p. 290, ed. Buchon.

outside the walls, at St. Germain-des-Prés. The second day after his arrival, he preached to the people from a pulpit or tribune, reared against the abbey-wall, and where the judges sat who presided at the judicial combats in the Pré-aux-Cleres—the limit of the two jurisdictions. The dauphin, whose permission he had asked to enter the city, and who dared not refuse it, went to hear him; in the hope, perhaps, that his presence would be a check on his tongue. But his harangue was all the bolder. He began in Latin, then digressed into the vulgar tongue.\* He spoke to the admiration of all. He was, say contemporary writers, little, lively, and of a subtle wit.

The text of his harangue, taken, according to the usage of the time, from Scripture, afforded room for launching out into the pathetic:—*Iustus Dominus et dilexit justitiam; vidit equitatem vultus ejus.*† The king of Navarre, addressing with invidious gentleness the dauphin himself, took him to witness to the injuries he had sustained. How wrong to mistrust him: was he not French both on father's and mother's side! Was he not nearer the crown than the king of England, who claimed it! All his wish was to live and die in defence of the kingdom of France . . . His harangue was so long, that supper was over in Paris when he stopped.‡ But although the citizen liketh not to have his hours changed,§ there was not the less favor shown to the orator. All were eager to press money on him.¶

From Paris he repaired to Rouen: where he dejected on his misfortunes with equal eloquence.‡ He took down from the gibbet the bodies of his friends, executed after the terrible dinner at Rouen,\*\* and followed them to the cathedral, bells tolling, and with lighted tapers. It was Innocents' day, (the 28th of December;) and he spoke on the text, "The innocent, and the just held by me, because I clung to you, O Lord."††

The dauphin, too, preached at Paris.‡‡ He

harangued at the halla, and Marcel at St. Jacques'. But the populace did not go with the first. The people loved not the mean appearance of the prince. Wise and sensible as he might be, he was a cold declaimer by the side of the king of Navarre.

The infatuation of Paris for the latter was strange. What did this popular prince require? That the kingdom should be still further weakened, that whole provinces should be placed in his hands, and those the most vital to the monarchy—all Champagne, part of Normandy, the English frontier, the Limousin, and numerous places of strength and fortresses. To place our best provinces in such auspicious hands would have been to lose, by one dash of the pen, as much as had been lost by the battle of Poitiers.

The Parisians imagined that if the king of Navarre had his way, he would at once deliver them from the bands of brigands who starved their town, and called themselves Navarrese. In reality, they were neither the king of Navarre's subjects, nor any one's else. Had he wished to call in these plunderers, he would have been unable.

Meanwhile, citizens, provosts, and university, surrounded and besieged the dauphin. They called on him to do justice to the poor king of Navarre. A Jacobin, speaking in the name of the university, declared to him that it was settled that the king of Navarre having once put in all his demands, the dauphin should restore him his fortresses; that the town and the university would take the rest into consideration. A monk of St. Denys followed—"You have not said all, master," he exclaimed. "Say that whether it be my lord the duke, or the king of Navarre, who does not hold by our decision, we will declare against that one."§§

A negative was impossible, and the dauphin gave a gracious promise. He then instructed the commandants and captains to reply, that having received their charges from the king, they could not give them up on the dauphin's orders.

Living in a city indisposed to him, he had no other means of raising money than by tampering with the coin, (ordinances of the 23d and 23d of January, and 7th of February)¶ The States, which met on the 11th of February, conferred the title of regent of the kingdom upon him,‡ no doubt in order to stamp with authority whatever ordinances they should pass

the people, in his turn, at St. Jacques de l'Hôpital. The duke attended, but could not get a hearing. (I mean, a portion of the province's, spoke against the officers, these were, he said, so many words that the good word could not spring up. Jean de Saint André, a lawyer, one of the receivers general, as des généraux des aides,) declared that part of the money had been diverted from its proper destination, and that several knights, whom he named, had received by order of the duke of Normandy, from 20,000 to 30,000 gold pieces—"As the register here witness." Sciremus. Hist. de Charles le Mauvais, p. 170.

\* (Hist. de St. Denys, ii. folio 962.

† (Ibid. iii. p. 193, seq.

‡ Ibid. p. 222.

\* Putschier, iii. p. 391, ed. Bachelon.—In Latino valde pulchre. Costus. G. de Nangis, p. 116.

† "The Lord is just, and a lover of justice; his countenance always regardeth equity."

‡ Chronique de St. Denys, folio 22R, verso, col. 2.

§ De mysu cardinal de Retz.

¶ Questions de parvus Rhodomegones accessit, deus tamen de parvitate melle & civibus receptis. Costus. G. de Nangis, p. 117.

‡ Marcius was exposit . . . eleganter. Ibid.

\*\* The count d'Harcourt's body had been removed long before. The other three bodies were buried by three lay brothers of St. Margaret's, Rouen. These bodies were placed in separate coffins, and there was an empty one to answer for the count d'Harcourt's—the latter was carried in a bier, &c. (char & daniel.) Mémoires, p. 163.

†† Christus pascite . . . servate per ipsum regem pasci. Scire, ubi accipitis thronos istos. "Innocentes et sancti saltem mibi." (Ps. lxxiv. 21.) Ibid.

‡‡ His wish, he said, was to live and die with them. The authority he was raising, was for the defence of the kingdom against enemies who were ravaging it with impunity, through the fault of those who had usurped the administration of affairs. He would already have driven them out of the kingdom, had he been intrusted with the care of the finances, but he had not touched a denier or half a denier of all the money raised by the States.—Marcel, opposed of the effect produced by this discourse, assembled

in his name. Perhaps, too, the committee of thirty-six, chosen by the influence of Marcel, but presenting a majority of nobles and ecclesiastics, desired to strengthen the dauphin against the citizens of Paris.

The ill-will of the burghesses had been inflamed to the utmost by the following tragical occurrence. A money-changer, named Perrin Macé, having sold two horses to the dauphin, and being unable to procure payment, arrested in the street Neuve-Saint-Merry the treasurer, Jean Baillet. The latter refused to pay; no doubt advancing in excuse the right of prisage. A dispute arose. Perrin slew Baillet, and sought refuge in the church of Saint-Jacques-la-Boucherie. The dauphin's men, Robert de Clermont, marshal of France, Jean de Châlons, and Guillaume Staise, provost of Paris, hastened to the spot, forced the asylum, dragged Perrin to the Châtelet, cut off his hand, and hanged him. The bishop loudly complained of this violation of the right of sanctuary, had Perrin's body delivered up, and gave it honorable burial in the church of St. Merry. Marcel was present; while the dauphin followed Baillet to the grave.\*

Collision was imminent. To encourage the citizens by the sight of their numbers, Marcel made them wear blue and red hoods; these were the city colors.† He wrote to the good cities to beg them to mount these distinctive signs. Amiens and Laon did not fail him. Few of the other towns complied so far.

Meanwhile, from the ravages committed in the country, the peasantry crowded into Paris in such numbers as sensibly to diminish the supply of food and raise its price. The citizens, who had their little properties in the Isle of France, from which they drew their eggs, butter, cheese, poultry, and a thousand agreeabilities, found this source of comforts fail; and thought it exceedingly hard.‡ On the 22d of February, the dauphin issued a new ordinance for a fresh alteration of the coin.

On the next day, the provost of the merchants mustered all the trades in arms at St. Eloi's. About nine o'clock, this armed mob recognised in the street one of the dauphin's counsellors, advocate to the parliament, master Regnault Dacy, who was returning from the palace to his own house, near Saint-Landry's. They began running after him. He fled into a pastry-cook's, and was there killed outright be-

fore he had time to utter a cry. However, the provost, followed by a crowd of red and blue hoods, entered the dauphin's hotel, ascended to his very chamber, and sharply told him that he ought to put the affairs of the kingdom into order; that as, after all, this kingdom would be his, it was his business to secure it from the bands which laid waste the country. The dauphin, whose usual advisers, the marshals of Champagne and of Normandy, were on either side of him, answered more boldly than was his custom. "I would cheerfully do so, had I the means; but he who enjoys the taxes and profits, ought to take upon himself the defence of the kingdom as well."\* Some sharp words passed, and the provost broke out. "My lord," he said, "be not surprised at what you are about to witness; the thing must be done." Then, turning to the men in red hoods, he said, "Do quickly what you are come for."† On the word, they threw themselves on the marshal of Champagne, and slew him close to the dauphin's bed. The marshal of Normandy they followed into a closet, into which he had betaken himself, and put to death as well. The dauphin considered himself lost; the blood had spirted out upon his robe.‡ All his officers had fled. "Save my life!" he cried to the provost. Marcel told him to fear nothing. He changed hoods with him, thus covering him with the city's colors,§ and all the day he wore boldly the dauphin's hood. The people expected him at the Grève, and here he harangued them from a window, maintaining that those who had been put to death were traitors, and asking the people whether they would support him. Numbers cried out, that they avouched all he had done, and pledged themselves to him for life and for death.

Marcel returned to the palace with a crowd of armed men, whom he left in the court-yard. He found the dauphin, grief and terror-struck. "Distress not yourself, my lord," said the provost to him; "that which has been done, has been done to avoid greater danger, and by the will of the people."¶ And he besought him to give his approval to the whole.

The dauphin had, perforce, to approve of the whole, in default of being able to do better. He found himself compelled also to give a gracious reception to the king of Navarre, who returned four days afterwards. Marcel and Lecoq reconciled them, will ye, nill ye, and made them dine together every day.

This monarch's return, only four days after the murder of the dauphin's counsellors, gave but too clear a clue to the whole tragedy. He could return: Marcel had made room for him

\* Matt. Villani, l. viii. c. 29, p. 484.

† "In the first week of January, those of Paris ordered them all to wear hoods, one half red, the other blue." MS. Besides these hoods, the provost's partisans wore silver clasps, of red and blue enamel, with the motto '*à bonne fin*.' (to a happy issue.) In sign of agreement to live and die with the said provost against all men. *Lettres d'Abolition* du 10 Août, 1358. Secousse, *ibid.* p. 163.

‡ Grieved and marvelling heret, because the evil was not remedied by the regent and the barons about him, the provost of the merchants and the citizens often besought the dauphin. . . . Who gave them fair words, but . . . Nay, both then and afterwards, the barons appeared to delight in the increasing woes and afflictions of the people." *Contin. G. de Nangis*, p. 116.

\* Froiss. iii. p. 288, ed. Buchon.

† Tunc dirigenz verba illis sic capacitate dixit: "Eia, breviter facite hoc propter quod huc venistis." *Contin. G. de Nangis*, p. 117.

‡ Froiss. iii. p. 288, ed. Buchon.

§ "They gave him a hood to wear, and covenanted that he would pardon the slaying of his three knights." *Ibid.*

¶ *Chronique de Saint-Denis*, li. fol. 244.

by the death of his enemies, and had given him a fearful pledge which bound him to him for ever. It was evident that all was over between Marcel and the dauphin. The crime had probably been forced on the provost\* by Charles-le-Mauvais, who was no stranger to murders. Marcel thus in his power, it was for Charles to calculate what he would do with him, and whether it would be more to his interest to abet or to sell him.

Marcel supposed that he had gained the king of Navarre for ever; and he lost the States. That is to say, the law, which he had violated by a crime, was no longer with him. Those deputies of the nobility who still remained in Paris, quitted it without waiting for the closing of the session. Several, even of the commissioners of the States, associated with the dauphin in the government during the intervals of the sessions, left their posts and abandoned Marcel. Not discouraged, he appointed burgesses of Paris to the vacant places.† Paris took upon herself the government of France: but France would not endure it.

Pearcy, which had entered so heartily into the release of the king of Navarre, took the lead in refusing to send up the produce of the taxes to Paris.‡ The States of Champagne met, and Marcel was unable to hinder the dauphin from attending. From this time, his doom was sealed. The royal authority only wanted a hold, to resume every thing. Marcel's agents accompanied the dauphin, and, at first, he dared not say a word against what had taken place in Paris. But the nobles of Champagne did not fail to raise their voices. The count of Braine put the question to him, whether the marshals of Champagne and of Normandy had deserved death. The dauphin replied, that they had ever served him well and loyally. This scene was repeated at Compiègne, (at the meeting of the States of the Vermandois:§) to which city the dauphin, altogether reassured, took it on himself to transfer the meeting of the States of the Langue d'Oïl, which had been summoned to assemble the 1st of May at Paris.¶ Few deputies attended: however, as far as it went, it was a manifestation of the kingdom against Paris.

The States did homage to the reforms of the great reforming ordinance, by adopting the

greater number of its articles. The aid which they voted was to be collected by the respective deputies. Marcel was alarmed at this affectation of popularity; and got the university to implore the dauphin to spare the good city: but peace was no longer possible. The prince insisted on ten or twelve of the chief offenders being given up to him; then, lowered his demands to five or six, pledging himself that he would not put them to death.¶

Marcel would not trust to this. He at once completed the walls of Paris, without sparing the houses of the monks which stood in the way.‡ He took possession of the tower of the Louvre, and sent to Avignon to hire troops of *brigands*.‡

The battle was about to begin between the nobles and the commons, and both parties were already eyeing each other, when a third arose which no one had dreamed of. The sufferings of the peasant had exceeded endurance: all had rained blows upon him, as on a brute that has fallen down under its load. The brute, maddened, recovered its legs, and bit.

#### THE JACQUERIE.

In this chivalrous war, which the French and English barons waged on each other in all courtesy,§ there was, as we have already observed, in reality but one enemy, but one victim of the calamities of war—the peasant. Before the war, he had been drained to equip the barons magnificently, to pay for those beautiful arms, those embroidered escutcheons, those rich banners which were after all taken at Crécy and Poitiers. And then who paid the ransom!—still the peasant.

The prisoners, released on parole, came to their domains, and quickly raised the monstrous sums which they had promised, without any bargaining, on the field of battle. It did not take long

\* Non interduco eorum mortem. Custin. G. de Nangis, p. 117.

† Ibidem, pp. 117, 118. On continuing these labors, the foundations of towers were met with, which were considered to have been the work of the Parisians. Here, according to ancient chronicles, there had formerly been a camp, named *Altum-Pidum*, (see *Heute Praille*—High Leaf street,—see *Pierre Barrois*—*Pierre Moret* street.) Ibid.

‡ Jean Donati left on the 14th of May, 1354, for Avignon, the bearer of 2000 gold agnates from Marcel to Pierre Malherbe, whom Marcel instructed to buy brigands, and purchase arms.—Marcel, according to Froissart, maintained in Paris a great number of men-at-arms, of Navarrese and English soldiers, archers, and other companions. Froissart, p. 294-6.

§ The agnus, or *montes d'or*, was a coin on which was impressed the figure of a lamb, with this inscription, "Agnus Dei, qui tollis peccata mundi, miserere nobis!"—"Lamb of God, that takest away the sins of the world, have mercy upon us!" On the reverse was a cross, with these words, "Christus vincit, Christus regnat, Christus imperat"—"Christ conquers, Christ reigns, Christ commands."—From the impression of the lamb, which the vulgar took for a sheep, the coin was commonly called *montes*, in Latin *montes*—"mountains." See *Barrois*—*Théobaldus*.

¶ "The knights and squire ransomed them with all courtesy, either for money, conveyance, or harness; or, if a poor gentleman had no means, they would take his services for a quarter of a year, or for two or three." Froissart, lib. p. 293, ed. Buchan.

\* "Would it had never been done—and this the provost himself owned in my hearing, and that of many others." Custin. G. de Nangis, p. 116.

† "Now I tell you that the nobles of the kingdom of France, and the prelates of the Holy Church, began to tire of attending to the three estates, and left the provost of the merchants and some of the Paris burghers to meet by themselves." Froissart, lib. c. 201, p. 297, ed. Buchan. Custin. Mat. Villani, l. viii. c. 24, p. 601.

‡ "Requiring him to put the principals in the business to death, or if he could not . . . manifestly to attack the city, and on long called city of Paris, (expugnare viriditer civitatem de non die dictam urben Parisiensem) . . . and to destroy it by cutting off its supplies." Custin. G. de Nangis, p. 117.

§ Froissart, *Polit. Ord.* lib. p. 73.



to make an inventory of the peasant's property—meager cattle, wretched harness, plough, cart, and some iron tools. Household goods, he had none. He had no stock, save a small quantity of seed-corn. These things taken and sold, what remained for the lord to lay his hands upon—the poor devil's body, his skin. Something more was tried to be squeezed out of him. The boor must have some secret store in a hiding-place. To make him discover it, they did not spare his carcass: his feet were warmed for him. At any rate, they had no mercy on the fire and iron.

Few castles remain. Richelieu's edicts and the destroyers of the Revolution did their work too well. Even still, however, as we pass under the walls of Taillebourg or of Tancarville, when in the heart of the Ardennes, in the defile of Montcornet, we look up and see hanging over our heads the small, sinister casement which seems to eye our steps, our heart is conscious of a pang, and we feel a reflex of the sufferings of those who, for so many ages, languished at the feet of those towers. No need to have read old histories to feel this. The souls of our fathers still vibrate within us for forgotten griefs, almost as the maimed feels the throbbing of the limb which he has lost.

When ruined by his lord, the peasant was not yet done with. Such was the atrocious character of these wars of the English: while they held the kingdom at large to ransom, they plundered it in detail. Free companions sprang up in every direction, styled English or Navarrese. Griffith, a Welshman, laid waste the whole country between the Seine and the Loire: Knolles, an Englishman, ravaged Normandy. The first sacked to his own share Montargis, Etampes, Arpajon, Monthléry, in all more than fifteen cities or large burghs. In another direction, Audley, an Englishman, or the Germans Albrecht and Frank Hennekin, carried on the work of spoliation. One of these leaders of free companies, Arnaud de Cerveles, surnamed the archpriest, because, though a layman, he really owned an archpriesthood, turned his back on the despoiled provinces, traversed the whole of France, and pushed on to Provence, sacking Salon and St. Maximin, by way of making Avignon fear her turn was next. The trembling pope invited the brigand, received him as if he were a son of France,\* made him dine with him, and gave him forty thousand crowns, and absolution into the bargain. This did not prevent Cerveles, on quitting Avignon, from pillaging Aix; whence he proceeded into Burgundy, to do the same.†

The leaders of these bands were not, as might be supposed, upstarts, mere men-at-arms, but of noble birth, and often great barons.

\* Froissart, b. i. c. 176.

† Philip the Bold, duke of Burgundy, called him his "gossip." Froissart styles him, "My lord," iv. c. 495, p. 225, ed. Buchon.

The king of Navarre's brother went about plundering, just like the rest. In the passes which they sold to the merchants who supplied the towns, they expressly excepted military equipments, and other things considered the exclusive use of the nobles—"beaver hats, ostrich feathers, and sword-blades."<sup>2</sup>

The knights of the fourteenth century felt a very different call from that of the knights of romance—their vocation was to crush the weak. The sire d'Aubrecicourt robbed and killed at random to *deserve well of his lady*, Isabelle de Juliers, niece of the king of England, "for he was young, and desperately in love." He made up his mind to become, at the least, count of Champagne † The fallen condition of the monarchy awoke the most extravagant hopes in these plunderers. Their only thought was to take, by force or stratagem, some well-guarded castle. The governors of the strongholds conceived themselves freed from their oaths. No more king, no more faith. They sold or exchanged their fortresses and garrisons.‡

After so many years' submission to their kings, the barons delighted in this life of misrule and adventure. They were like school-boys on a holiday, who go to play as if it were the business of life. Their historian, Froissart, is never tired of telling their marvellous haps. His feelings go with these marauders, and he bounds with joy at their good fortune:—"And the poor brigands were ever gaining,"§ &c. Nowhere does he seem to doubt of their honor and good faith; nay, scarcely to have a doubt of their salvation.¶

\* Froissart, iii. c. 306, p. 334, ed. Buchon.

† Id. ibid. c. 411, p. 357.

‡ Id. ibid. c. 418, p. 369.

§ "Four rogues took advantage of such times, and robbed both towns and castles; so that some of them, becoming rich, constituted themselves captains of bands of thieves: there were among them those worth forty thousand crowns. Their method was, to mark out particular towns or castles, a day or two's journey from each other; they then collected twenty or thirty robbers, and, travelling through by-roads in the night-time, entered the town or castle they had fixed upon about day-break, and set one of the houses on fire. When the inhabitants perceived it, they thought it had been a body of forces sent to destroy them, and took to their heels as fast as they could. The town of Douaure was taken, and afterwards ravaged. Among other robbers in Languedoc, one had marked out the strong castle of Coubourne in Limousin, which is situated in a very strong country. He set off in the night-time with thirty companions, took and destroyed it. He seized also the lord of Coubourne, whom he imprisoned in his own castle, and put all his household to death. He kept him in prison until he ransomed himself for twenty-four thousand crowns paid down. The robber kept possession of the castle and its dependencies, which he furnished with provisions, and thence made war upon all the country round about. The king of France, shortly afterwards, was desirous of having him near his person: he purchased the castle of him for twenty thousand crowns, appointed him his usher-at-arms, and heaped on him many other honors. The name of this robber was Bacon, and he was always mounted on handsome horses of a deep ruan color, or on large palfreys, apparelled like an earl, and very richly armed; and this state he maintained as long as he lived." Froissart, b. i. c. 147.

¶ "Croguart's horse stumbled, and broke his master's neck. I know not what became of his money, or who had his soul; but I know that such was the end of Croguart." Froissart, iii. p. 493, ed. Buchon.

So great was the alarm at Paris, that the citizens had vowed to our Lady a taper as long, it was said, as the city tower was high.\* They left off ringing the church bells, except at curfew time, for fear the sentinels on the walls should suppose the enemy was upon them. What must not the terror have been in the country! The peasants no longer slept. They who lived on the banks of the Loire passed whole nights in the islands, or in boats moored in the centre of the stream. In Picardy, the affrighted inhabitants dug hiding-places for themselves in the ground. Between Peronne and the mouth of the Somme, thirty of these caves might still be seen in the last century.† Enter them, and you understood the horror of those days. They were long, arched passages, from seven to eight feet wide, with from twenty to thirty recesses or rooms at the sides, and a well in the centre, for the sake of both air and water. Round the well, were large recesses for the cattle. The care and solidity observable in the construction of these caves, prove them to have been the ordinary dwelling-places of the wretched population of that day. Here, families huddled together on the approach of the enemy; and here the women and children wasted away for whole weeks and months, while the men timidly stole to the steeples to see if the men of war had left the country.

But they did not always leave it soon enough for the poor inhabitants to sow, or gather in the harvest. In vain did they hide themselves under ground. Famine reached them there. In the Brie and the Beauvoisis, above all, the whole land was left bare.‡ Every thing was spoiled, or destroyed. Provisions were to be had in the castles alone. The peasants, maddened with hunger and misery, forced them, and cut the throats of the barons.

The latter had never dreamed of such a height of daring. How often had they laughed when seeking to arm these simple and docile

folk, and forcing them to the wars. The peasant was called in mockery, *Jacques Bonhomme*, (Jack Goodman:) just as we call our conscripts, *Jeanjean*.\* Who could fear ill-treating men who handled arms so clumsily? The barons had a saying—"Stroke the clown, he'll pummel you; pummel him, he'll stroke you."

*Jacques Bonhomme* will pay off his lord centuries of arrears. His vengeance was that of the despairing, of the damned. God seemed to have sickened him of this world. . . . Not only did the peasants butcher their lords, but they tried to exterminate the families of their lords, murdering their heirs, and slaying their honor, by violating their ladies.† And then would these savages trick out themselves and their wives in rich habiliments, and bedeck themselves with glittering, but bloody spoils.

Yet were they not so savage as not to march with a kind of order, under banners, and led by a captain chosen from among themselves, a crafty peasant, called Guillaume Callet.‡ "These bands consisted mostly of the meaner sort, with a few rich burghesses, and others."§ "When they were asked," says Froissart, "for what reason they acted so wickedly, they replied, they knew not, but they did so because they saw others do it; and they thought by this means they should destroy all the nobles and gentlemen in the world."||

Therefore, the great and the noble all declared against them, without distinction of party. Charles-le-Mauvais flattered them, invited their principal leaders;¶ and while pretending to treat with them, put them to the sword. Their king, Jacques, he crowned with an iron tripod, heated red-hot.\*\* He afterwards surprised them near Montdidier, and slaughtered great numbers of them. The barons took heart, armed themselves, and began killing and burning throughout the country, right and left.††

\* *Chronique de Saint-Denis*, 337, V. c. 2.

† These caves appear to have been dug at the time of the Norman invasions. They were probably enlarged from age to age. Part of the territory of Hanterre, in which there were three of these caves, was called *Territorium Sancte Liberatensis*, (The Territory of Holy Refuge.) Paper by the abbé Labrousse in the *Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscriptions*, t. xxvii. p. 178.

‡ "The kingdom was so full of the Navarrese, they were masters of all the flat countries, the rivers, and the principal towns and cities. This caused such a scarcity of provisions in France, that a small cask of herrings was sold for thirty golden crowns, and every thing else in proportion. Many of the poor died with hunger. This famine lasted more than four years." Froissart, b. i. c. 193.

The churchmen themselves were great sufferers: "Numbers of abbots, monks, and abbesses, reduced to poverty, were compelled to repair to Paris and other places away from home. There might you see those who had been accustomed to travel with a troop of well-mounted men at arms, content themselves now with a single servant on foot, and wearing dirt." Contin. G. de Nangis, li. 122—Want, and the insults of the marauders, often inspired the churchmen with extraordinary courage. On one occasion, we find the canon de Beaucourt bearing down three Navarrese on his first charge with his lance. After this, he did wonders with his arm. The bishop of Noyon kept up a fierce war on these brigands. Froissart, b. i. p. 253, ed. Buchon. Recension, t. iv. p. 253, 254.

\* Contin. G. de Nangis. The other etymologies given are ridiculous. See Baluze, Pap. Avon t. 333, 34.

† Quarante nobles et eorum numerus cum uxibus et liberis extirpare. . . . Thomas nobles suas vias liberas opprimebant. Contin. G. de Nangis, 119.

‡ De Callet in the *Chroniques de France*. Marie, in the *Continuateur of Nangis*. Jacques Bonhomme, according both to Froissart and the anonymous writer of the *first Life of Innocent VI*.—"El l'elurent le plus des mauvais et ce roi on appeloit Jacques Bonhomme." And they elected the worst of the wicked, and called this king Jack (goodman.) Froissart, li. p. 294, ed. Buchon.

§ Chron. de St. Denis, li. fol. 340.

¶ Froissart, b. i. c. 193.

|| Blaudius adlocutus, invited them with flattering words. Contin. G. de Nangis, p. 119.

\*\* Vita Prima Innoc. VI ap. Baluze, Pap. Avon t. 334.

†† Chateaubriand, *Etudes Historiques*, edit. 1821 t. iv. p. 179. The complaints in Latin which were sung on the miseries of this period are still extant. This stanza, too, has been preserved.

\* Jacques Bonhomme.

C'est un croco, gros d'arme et potent,  
Il piler et manger le Bonhomme.  
Qui de longtrains Jacques Bonhomme,  
Se nomme.

Jack Goodman. A coarse, coarse man at arms and soldier, plundering and eating up the good men, who has long been called Jack Goodman.

Is this stanza of any antiquity? For the complaints in Latin, see *Mém. collection Fortet*, t. v. p. 261.

The Jacquerie was a favorable diversion, drawing off attention from the war against Paris, and Marcel was interested in keeping it up. But it was a hideous alliance, to seek support from wild beasts. The commons hesitated. Senlis and Meaux welcomed them. Amiens sent them a few men; who were soon recalled.\* Marcel, who had taken advantage of their rising up to dismantle several fortresses round Paris, ventured to send them assistance to take the Marché de Meaux. He sent them, first, five hundred men under the provost of the mint; and then a reinforcement of three hundred under a grocer of Paris.

The duchess of Orléans, the duchess of Normandy, and numbers of noble dames, demoiselles, and children, had taken refuge in the Marché de Meaux, which is surrounded by the Marne, and from which they saw and heard the "Jacks," who filled the town. They were half dead with fear; momentarily apprehending outrage and murder. Happily, unexpected succor was at hand. The count of Foix and the captain of Buch† (the latter served with the English) were on their return from the crusade in Prussia, with a body of knights. Learning at Chalons the danger of these ladies, they put spurs to their horses, and entering the Marche, (market-place,) "having opened the gate, they posted themselves in front of these clowns, dirty, little, and badly armed, and fell upon them with their lances and their swords. Those who were foremost, feeling the weight of their blows, turned about so fast in their fright, (*hideur*), they fell one over the other. The men-at-arms then rushed out of the barriers, drove them before them, striking them down like beasts, and clearing the town of them; for they kept neither regularity nor order, slaying so many that they were tired. They flung them in great heaps into the river. In short, they killed upwards of seven thousand. . . . On their return, they set fire to the disorderly town of Meaux. . . ."

In all directions the nobles massacred the peasantry, without inquiring whether or not they had taken any share in the Jacquerie. "And," says a contemporary, "they wrought so much harm to the country, that there was no need of the English coming to destroy the kingdom. They never could have done the mischief which the barons did."‡

\* Chronicle, published by Sauvage in his edition of Froissart, pp. 196-7.

† ("The title of *captain*," says Mr. Jones in his translation of Froissart, "had anciently been ascribed by some of the most illustrious lords of Aquitaine. It seems that it was originally equivalent to the title of count, and marked even a superiority, as the word *capitalis* announces principal chief. This dignity, at first personal, as well as all the others, became, in length of time, attached to particular families, and to the estates of which they were possessed. In the time of the first duke of Aquitaine, there were several capitals: but this title, perhaps by neglect, was replaced by others, so that, towards the fourteenth century, there were no more than two capitals acknowledged, that of Buch and that of France.—See Ducange, at the word *Capitalis*.)"—TRANSLATOR.

‡ Froissart, b. i. c. 184. § Contin. G. de Nangis, p. 119.

They endeavored to treat Senlis as they had done Meaux. Having got its gates opened, by giving out that they came from the regent, they raised shouts of "The town is taken—the town is won!" But they found the burgesses under arms, and, with them, other nobles who had come to defend the town. Wagons were rolled down the steep high-street, which threw them into disorder, and boiling water rained upon them from the windows. "Some fled to Meaux to bear the news of their defeat, and got laughed at; the rest, who remained in the high-street, will do no more harm to the people of Senlis."\*

It is wonderful that in the midst of this devastation of the country, Paris should not have perished of famine; and the fact reflects high credit on the ability of the provost of the merchants. But he could not keep this large, omnivorous city supplied without the good-will of the country; and hence the seeming inconsistency of his conduct. He allied himself with the "Jacks," and then, with the king of Navarre, the destroyer of the "Jacks." This prince's cavalry was indispensable to him, to enable him to keep open some of the roads, while the dauphin kept possession of the river. At his instigation, the title of captain of Paris was conferred on Charles, (15th of June;) who, however, was no longer a free agent. He was deserted by many of his gentlemen, who would not assist the mob against the higher orders, and the citizens themselves turned against him, hating him for his carnage of the "Jacks," and suspecting that they had no great friend in him.

Meanwhile, provisions rose in price. The dauphin, with three thousand lances, was at Charenton, and intercepted all supplies by the Seine and the Marne. The burgesses called on the king of Navarre to defend them, to sally forth, to do something. Forth he went; but it was to betray them. The two princes had a long and secret interview; and parted good friends. Venturing to return to Paris, Charles's most determined partisans and Marcel joined in depriving him of his title of captain of the city. He was loud in his complaints: the Navarrese and the citizens quarrelled; and some fell on both sides.

Marcel's position became dangerous. The dauphin had possession of the upper Seine, Charenton, and St. Maur; the king of Navarre occupied the lower Seine and St. Denys. They scoured the country, and all supply was cut off. Paris was at the last gasp. Charles, who knew this, allowed both parties to try to buy him. The dauphiness, and numbers of good people, (*beaucoup de bonnes gens*), that is to say, of lords and of bishops, mediated, and went to and fro between the dauphin and the king. They offered Charles four hundred thousand florins to give up Paris and Marcel.† The treaty was

\* Qui vero mortali remanserunt, genti Silvanectensi amplius non nocuerunt. Idem, *ibid*.

† Froiss. III. p. 305, ed. Buchon.

already signed, and a mass ordered to be said, at which the two princes were to partake of the same host; but the king of Navarre excused himself, on pretext of not having fasted.\*

The dauphin promised; Marcel gave him money. He sent Charles two loads of silver every week, to pay his troops. He had no hope but in him. He visited him at St. Denys, conjured him to remember that it was the Parisians who had released him from prison, and who, too, had put his enemies out of the way. The king of Navarre gave him fair words, and exhorted him "to provide himself with plenty of gold and silver, and send it boldly to St. Denys—he would give a good account of it."†

This king of the brigands could not, and, no doubt, would not hinder them from pillaging. The burgeses saw their money take its departure to the plunderers, but that provisions came in none the more plentifully. The provost was ever going over to St. Denys, ever negotiating. Suspicion awoke of the sums raised by Marcel; did he not keep a good share? Satiates were already rife on the salaries which the commissioners of the States had liberally allotted themselves‡

Most of the Navarrese, English, and other mercenaries had followed Charles to St. Denys. Some had stopped at Paris, to get rid of their money. The citizens were ill-inclined to them. Scuffles took place, and more than sixty were killed. Marcel, who dreaded nothing so much as a rupture with the king of Navarre, saved the rest by throwing them into prison; and, that same evening, sent them back to St. Denys.¶ The burgeses never forgave him this.

Meanwhile, the Navarrese foraged up to the very gates; so that the citizens were afraid to stir out of town. The Parisians began to chafe, and told the provost plainly, that they would chastise these brigands. He was obliged to give way, and allow them to sally forth in search of the Navarrese. Having rode about the whole day in the direction of St. Cloud, they were returning exceedingly wearied, (this was the 22d of July,) trailing their swords, and with their banners off, full of complaints at having encountered no one, when, on a turn of the road, four hundred men spring up, and fall upon them. They fled as fast as their legs could carry them, but, before reaching the gates, seven hundred of them lost their lives; and more were slain the next day, when the citizens went to look after the dead bodies. This mishap completed their discontent with Marcel. It was his fault, they said; he had got into the city before them, he had not supported them,

perhaps it was he who had given the enemy warning.

The provost was a lost man. His only resource was to hand over himself, and Paris, and the kingdom, if he could, to the king of Navarre. Charles-le-Mauvais touched the very summit of his ambition.\* The gravest of the contemporary historians, an eye-witness of the whole of this revolution, and, moreover, favorable to Marcel, confesses that he had promised the king of Navarre the keys of Paris, to enable him to seize the city, and put to death all who were opposed to him. Their doors were even marked beforehand.†

It was on the night between the 31st of July and the 1st of August, that Etienne Marcel undertook to betray the city which he had put in a state of defence, the walls which he had built. Up to this time, he appears always to have consulted the aldermen, and even with regard to the murder of the two marshals. But now, he saw the rest were bent on saving themselves by his ruin. The alderman on whom he most relied, who was the most deeply pledged to him, his gossip, Jean Maillart, had picked a quarrel with him that very day. Maillart had come to an understanding with the leaders of the dauphin's party, Pepin des Essarts and Jean de Charny, and all three, with their men, stationed themselves at the bastille St. Denys, which Marcel was about to deliver up. "They all came properly armed, a little before midnight . . . and found the provost of the merchants with the keys of the gate in his hand. Upon this, John Maillart said to him, calling him by his name: 'Stephen, what do you here at this time of night?' The provost replied, 'John, why do you ask it?' I am here to take care of, and to guard the city, of which I have the government.' 'By God' answered John, 'things shall not go on so: you are not here at this hour for any good, which I will now show you,' addressing himself to those near him; 'for see how he has got the keys of the gate in his hand, to betray the city.' The provost said, 'John, you lie.' John replied, 'It is you, traitor, who lie,' and, rushing on him, cried to his people, 'Kill them, kill them—now strike home, for they are all traitors.' There was a very great bustle, and the provost would gladly have escaped, but John struck him such a blow with his axe on the head, that he felled him to the ground, although he was his comrade, and never left him until he had killed him. Six others who were present were also killed. the remainder were carried to prison."‡

According to a more probable account, it was not Maillart, but Jean de Charny who struck the first blow §

The murderers at once put themselves in

\* Secousse, l. p. 278.

† Froissart, iii. p. 308, ed. Buchon.

‡ Froissart, iii. p. 322. Rev. also, Villani.

§ Chronique de France, c. 100.

¶ They came back in crowds quite fatigued, some carrying their helmets in their hands, others slung them round their necks, some dragged their swords after them on the ground, while others hung them on their shoulders." Froissart, b. l. c. 100.

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\* Ad hoc totis viribus anhelabat. Cresset, G. de Nangis, p. 120.

† Quoniam totis signis peroptat. Id. ibid.

‡ Froissart, b. l. c. 107.

§ See note by Mr. Johnson, ibid.

motion, giving the alarm and awakening the people. In the morning, all the citizens flocked to the market-place, where Maillart harangued them. He told them how, that night, the city was to have been sacked (*courue*) and destroyed, had not God been pleased to awaken him and his friends, and reveal the treacherous plot to them. The crowd learned with emotion the peril it had been in, without knowing it, and all joined hands in thanks to God.

Such were the first feelings. Let it not, however, be believed that the people were ungrateful to him who had done so much for them. Marcel's party, which counted many able and eloquent men,\* survived its chief; and some months afterwards a conspiracy was entered into to avenge him.† The dauphin ordered all the provost's moveables, which had not been given away or lost in the confusion following his death, to be restored to his widow.‡

This man's career was short and terrible; cruelly intersected with good and evil. In 1356 he saves Paris, and puts it in a state of defence. In concert with Robert le Coq, he dictates to the dauphin the famous ordinance of 1357; and such a reform of the kingdom by the influence of a commune, can only be accomplished by violent means. Marcel is plunged, deeper and deeper, into a multitude of irregular and fatal acts. He takes Charles-le-Mauvais out of prison, in order to oppose him to the dauphin, but finds that he has given the bandits a leader. He lays hand on the dauphin, and slays his counsellors, the king of Navarre's enemies.

Deserted by the States, he kills the States by fashioning them according to his will; by creating deputies; by replacing the deputies of the nobles by Paris burgesses. Paris could not yet lead France after it. Marcel had not the resources of the Reign of Terror; he could neither besiege Lyons, nor guillotine the Gironde. By the necessity of keeping Paris supplied with provisions, he was rendered dependent on the country. Hence his alliance with the "Jacks;" and, on their downfall, with the king of Navarre, to whom, having first given himself to him by a crime, he next endeavored to give the throne: in which attempt he failed, as he deserved.

The classical doctrine of the *Salus populi*—of the right to kill tyrants, had been maintained at the beginning of the century by the king against the pope.§ Half a century has scarcely passed, and Marcel turns it against the crown, and the servants of the crown. Vain and brutal empiricism which knows no other than *heroic* remedies, and thinks to cure every thing by shedding blood. . . . Were the remedy efficacious, yet wo to him who has recourse to it. The good of the majority, the *safety of*

*the people*, is no excuse. Could you consult the people, they would exclaim with that divine instinct which is present in the multitude, "Perish the people, rather than humanity and justice!"—I know not whether blood is a fertilizing dew; but, though the tree watered with blood should grow stronger and more beautiful, and spread its branches far and wide, though it should hide the world with them, it will not hide murder. . . .

This bloody stain which sullies the memory of Etienne Marcel, must not make us forget that our old charter was partly his work. His doom met him as the friend of the Navarrese, whose success would have dismembered France—as the representative of Paris in opposition to the kingdom, as the last embodiment of narrow, communal patriotism—as such, he is dead; but, in the ordinance of 1357, he lives and will live for ever.

This ordinance is the first political act of France, as the Jacquerie is the first outburst of the peasantry. Our kings carried out almost all the reforms indicated in the ordinance: the Jacquerie, commenced against the nobles, was continued against the English. By degrees, nationality and a military spirit were awakened. The first manifestation given of this spirit occurs, perhaps, in a circumstance narrated by the continuator of Nangis, as happening in the year 1359. This grave witness of passing events, who notes from day to day all that he sees and hears, forgets his ordinary dryness as he narrates at length one of those encounters in which the peasantry, left to themselves, began to pluck up courage against the English. He dwells on it complacently—"because," he naively remarks, "the thing happened near my own country, and was bravely performed by the peasants, by *Jacques Bonhomme*."<sup>\*</sup>

"There is a tolerably strong place in the little village near Compiègne, which holds of the monastery of Saint-Corneille. The inhabitants, seeing that they would be in danger should the English seize this fortress, with the regent's and the abbot's permission, occupied it, collected arms and provisions, and were joined by others, who sought its shelter, from the neighboring villages. They all pledged themselves to their captain, to defend the post until death. This captain, whom they had chosen with the regent's consent from among themselves, was a tall, fine man,† named Guillaume-aux-Allouettes.‡ He had with him another peasant, of incredible bodily strength, enormously huge and tall, vigorous and full of daring, but, notwithstanding his vast size, having a mean and humble opinion of himself. His name was Le Grand Ferré.§ The captain kept him near

\* Per rusticos, seu *Jacques Bon Homme*, strenuus expeditum. Contin. G. de Nangis, p. 123, col. 2.

† Petita licentia a domino regente, et etiam ab abbate monasterii. Id. ibid.

‡ Unum magnum elegantem nomine Guillelmum dictum Alaudis. Id. ibid.

§ Et juxta ejus corporis magnitudinem, habebat in se

\* Multum solennes, et eloquentes quam plurimum, et Jocti. Contin. G. de Nangis, p. 120.

† Trésor des Chartes, reg. 90, p. 362. Sécouasse, l. 403.

‡ Sécouasse, l. 304.

§ See, above, p. 393.

his person, reined in as it were, to give him head at the fitting time.\* Into this place, then, two hundred laborers, or handicraftsmen,† had thrown themselves. The English, who were encamped at Creil, thought little of them, and soon began to say—'Let us drive out these clowns; it is a strong place, and we ought to occupy it.' They made their approach unperceived, and, finding the gates open, entered boldly. Those within are astonished when they look out of the windows, to see these armed men there. The captain is soon surrounded, and mortally wounded. Then Le Grand Ferré and the rest say, 'Let us go down; let us sell our lives dearly; we can expect no mercy.' So they go down, sally out by several doors, and begin striking at the English as if they were thrashing their wheat on the thrashing-floor.‡ Up went their arms, then down—and each blow was mortal. Le Grand, seeing his master and captain§ lying mortally wounded, heaved a deep groan, then threw himself between the English and his comrades, whom he equally overtopped by the head and shoulders, handling a heavy axe, and redoubling stroke upon stroke with such effect that the place was soon clear—not a blow fell without riving helm or beating down arm. Hereupon the English take to flight, and many leap into the fosse and are drowned. Le Grand slays their standard-bearer, and tells one of his comrades to bear the English banner to the fosse. On his pointing out that there was still a crowd of enemies between them and the fosse, 'Follow me, then,' exclaimed Le Grand, and he went straight forward, smiting with his axe right and left, until he flung the banner into the water. . . . He killed on this day more than forty men. . . . ¶ As for the captain, Guillaume-aux-Alouettes, he died of his wounds, and they buried him with many tears, for he was good and wise. . . . ¶ The English were defeated another time by Le Grand, and outside of the walls too.\*\* Several English of noble birth were made prisoners, who would have given good ransoms, had they held them to ransom as the nobles do;†† but they were put to death, that they might do no more mischief. This time, Le Grand, heated by this work, (cette besogne,) drank freely of cold water, and was attacked by a fever. He went off to his own village, gained his cot, and took to his bed, not, however, without keeping by his side his iron axe,‡‡ which an ordinary mor-

tal could hardly lift. The English, hearing that he was ill, one day sent a dozen men to kill him. His wife, seeing them coming, began to cry out, 'Oh! my poor Le Grand, here are the English, what shall we do!' . . . Instantly, forgetting his sickness, he springs up, seizes his axe, and sallies out into the small yard—'Ah! brigands, you think to take me in bed; you have not caught me yet.' . . . ° Then, placing his back against a wall, he slays five off hand; the rest take to their heels. Le Grand returns to his bed; but he was heated, and again drank cold water. His fever returned more violently than before, and, in a few days, after receiving the sacraments of the church, he departed this life, and was buried in the village churchyard. He was wept by all his comrades, by the whole district; for, had he lived, the English would never have come there."†

It is impossible not to be touched by this simple narrative. These peasants, who only undertake to defend themselves by permission of their superiors, this strong and humble man, this good giant, who yields cheerful obedience, like the St. Christopher of the legend—in all this, we see a fine image of the people. They are evidently simple and brutelike still, impetuous, blind, half-man, half-bull. . . . They neither know how to keep their own doors, nor to keep themselves from their appetites. When they have thrashed the enemy, like corn in a barn, when they have wrought a good day's work with their axe, and got heated with their work, worthy workmen as they are, they quaff cold water, take to their bed, and die. Patience; disciplined by the rude education of the wars, and the rod of the English, the brute will become man. Grasped closer hourly, held as if in a vice, they will slip away, will cease to be themselves, will be transfigured. Jacques will become Jeanne; Jeanne, the virgin—the Pucelle.

The common expression—a good Frenchman, dates from the epoch of the "Jacks" and of Mireel.‡ It will not be long before the Pucelle will exclaim, "My heart bleeds, when I see the blood of a Frenchman."

A saying like this is enough to mark in history the true beginning of France. Henceforward, we are Frenchmen. They are Frenchmen, these peasants—blush not, they are already the French people, they are you, O France. Whether you see them in history glorious or foul, under Marcel's hood, or the jacket of Jacques, you must not fail to own them. For my part, I will trace these humble ones, in the midst of the rencounters of barons and good strokes of the lance, in which the heedless

humilitatem et reputationis intrinsecæ puritatem nomine Magnus Ferratus. Id. ibid.

\* Scutum habuit . . . quasi ad frenum suum. Id. ibid.

† Venit enim humiliter sustentantes. Id. ibid.

‡ Super Anglicos ita se habebant at ei laeda in barrens more suo oculis fingebant. Id. ibid.

§ Magistrum et capitaneum. Id. ibid.

¶ Utrius quadragesimæ vicem protraxit et occidit. Id. ibid. p. 294 col. 1.

¶ Plures multum, quia capere fuerat et benignus. Id. ibid.

\*\* Extenuat ad pretium. Id. ibid.

†† Illius nobiles viri fuerunt. Id. ibid.

‡‡ Non tamen sine bacula ferræ. Id. ibid.

\* Veniens in cartumula . . . Olustrum . . . aditus me non habuit. Id. ibid.

† Migravit de seculo. Quamvis videretur, ad locum

litum Angli non venisset. Id. ibid.

‡ Vultu eorum bonos Gallorum. Comte G. de Monthy, p. 181, col. 1, anno 1389.

Froissart delights; will follow them in this grand mellay, under the spur of the gentleman, under the belly of his horse. Sullied, disfigured as they may be, I will bring them forward into the full light of justice and of history, in order that I may be able to say to this ancient people of the fourteenth century, "You are my father and my mother. You have conceived me in tears. You have sweated sweat and blood to make me a France. Blest be you in your tomb. God keep me from ever denying you!"

When the dauphin re-entered Paris, leaning on the murdered, he was received with the shouts and acclamations usual on such occasions. They who in the morning had taken up arms for Marcel, hid their red hoods, and shouted louder than the rest.\*

With all this clamor, however, few had confidence in the dauphin. His long lanky figure, pale complexion, and lengthened countenance, (*visage longuet*),† had never taken with the people. They looked for neither great good nor great harm at his hands: however, prosecutions were instituted in his name against some of Marcel's party. For his own part, he neither loved nor hated any one. It was not easy to move him. As he made his entry, a burgess boldly stepped forward and exclaimed, "By God, sir, if I had been listened to, you should never have come in here; but you won't get much by it." As the count de Tancarville was about to cut down the *vilain*, the prince held him back, and only answered, "I can't believe you, fair sir."

The situation of Paris was not improved. The dauphin could do nothing for it. The king of Navarre took possession of the Seine above and below. Burgundy sent up no more wood; all supplies were stopped from Rouen. The fruit-trees round about were cut down for firing.‡ The satter of wheat, usually sold for twelve sols, says the chronicler, now fetches more than thirty livres.§—The spring was mild and genial: a new source of grief to the numbers of poor countryfolk shut up in Paris, and who could neither till their fields, nor prune their vines.¶

\* *Ilia rubea capacia, quæ antea pompose gerebantur, abscondita.* . . . Contin. G. de Nangis, p. 120.

† *De corsage estoit hault et bien formé, droit et lé par les espaulles, et haingre par les flans; groz bras et beauls membres, visage un peu longuet, grant front et large; la chière ot assez pale, et croy que ce, et ce qu'il estoit moult malgre, luy estoit venu par accident de maladie; chault, furieux en nul cas n'estoit trouvé.* (He was of tall stature and well-made, straight and broad shouldered; his arms large, limbs shapely, face rather longish, forehead high and wide; his countenance was very pale; and I believe that this, and his excessive meagerness, had been the result of sickness; hot and passionate he never was on any occasion.) Christ. de Pisan, t. v. part. i. c. 17, p. 260.

‡ *Unde arbores per itinera et vineas incidebantur.* The chronicler goes on to state, that "a cord of wood which used to be sold for two soldi, now fetches a florin." Contin. G. de Nangis, p. 121.

§ "A quart of good wine . . . twenty-four soldi." Id. p. 125, conf. p. 120.

¶ "The vines which supply that desired fluid, which makes glad the heart of man . . . were left neglected." Id. p. 124.

To move out was impossible. The English and Navarrese scoured the country. The first had taken up their position at Creil, and so commanded the Oise. They seized the forts in every direction, without troubling themselves about truce or treaty. The Picards offered some resistance; but the men of Touraine, Anjou, and of Poitou, bought safe conducts of them, and paid them tribute.\*

On seeing the English thus establish themselves in the heart of the kingdom, the king of Navarre at last becomes more alarmed by it than the dauphin himself, makes peace with him, without stipulating for any advantage, and promises to be a good Frenchman.† Nevertheless, the Navarrese went on taxing the boats on the upper Seine. The reconciliation, however, of the dauphin and the king of Navarre made the English reflect. At the same time, Normans, Picards, and Flemings made a joint expedition to deliver, so they said, king Jean.‡ They contented themselves with burning an English town. At any rate, the English received a personal lesson in the miseries of war.

The conditions which they at first sought to impose on France were monstrous, impossible. They demanded not only all that faces them—Calais, Montreuil, Boulogne, the Ponthieu, not only Aquitaine, (Guyenne, Bigorre, Agénois, Quercy, Perigord, Limousin, Poitou, Saintogne, Aunis), but Touraine, Anjou, and Normandy to boot; that is to say, it was not enough for them to occupy the straits and close the Garonne, but they also wished to close the Loire and the Seine, to block up the slightest glimpse we catch of the ocean, to pluck her eyes out of France.

King Jean had signed all, and promised in addition four millions of gold crowns for his ransom. The dauphin, who could not consent so to despoil himself, caused the treaty to be refused by an assembly of some deputies from the provinces, which he dignified by the title of States-General. Their answer was, "That king Jean must still remain in England, and God would provide a remedy in his own good time."§

The English king took the field; but with the view, this time, of conquering France. He repaired first to Reims, to be crowned there.¶ He was attended on this expedition by the whole nobility of England. Another army, on which he had not reckoned, waited for him at Calais. A swarm of men-at-arms, and of German and Low Country barons, having heard the rumor of the intended conquest, and hoping for a share of the spoil, such as William the Conqueror distributed among his followers, sought

\* *Nullus salvus, nisi ab eis saluum conductum litteratorie obtinebat.* Id. p. 122. . . . *Se eis tributarios reddi derunt.* p. 125.

† *Volo esse bonus Gallicus de cætero.* Id. p. 123.

‡ "They embarked with the design of crossing the straits and invading England." Id. p. 125.

§ Frois. c. 419, p. 404, ed. Buchon.

¶ *Venit ante Remis, ut se ibi civitate expugnata, faceret coronari in regem Francie.* Contin. G. de Nangis, p. 125.

to assist at this "high day and holy day." They were already, in imagination, "possessors of so much wealth that they would never be poor." They waited for Edward until the 28th of October, and he had great difficulty in getting rid of them. He was obliged to help them to return home, and to lend them money which would never be repaid.†

Edward was followed by six thousand men-at-arms completely armed in mail, his son, his three brothers, his princes and great barons. The armament resembled an English emigration into France. To make war in all manner of comfort, they brought along with them six thousand wagons, ovens, mills, forges, and tools of all kinds. So far did they carry their forethought, as to provide themselves with packs of dogs for the chase, and with leather boats for fishing in during Lent. Indeed, they could expect no supplies from a country which was a desert, and where, for three years, the land had never been sown.‡ The towns, closely shut up, took care of themselves; they knew that they had no mercy to expect from the English.

From the 28th of October to the 30th of November, they made their way through mud and rain from Calais to Reims. They had reckoned on the wines; but the heavy rains had ruined the vintage.¶ They remained seven weeks cooling their heels before Reims, and laying waste the surrounding country; but Reims did not budge. Turning their backs on it they passed Chalons, Bar-le-Duc, and Troyes, and then entered the duchy of Burgundy. The duke compounded with them for two hundred thousand gold crowns— a piece of luck for the English, who but for it would have derived no advantage from all this mighty expedition.

Edward encamped close to Paris, passed his Easter at Chanteloup, and then advanced to Bourg-la-Reine. "From the Seine to Etampes," says the eye-witness, "not a living being can be found." All have sought shelter in the three faubourgs of Saint-Germain, Saint-Marcel, and Notre-Dame-des-Champs. . . . Monthery and Longjumeau are on fire. . . . all around we see the smoke of burning villages rising to heaven. . . . On Easter day I saw the priests of ten communes officiate at the Carmelites. . . . the next day, orders were given to burn down the three faubourgs, and all were

allowed to take away what they could, wood, iron, tiles, &c. There was no lack of hands to do this quickly. Some wept, others laughed. . . . Near Chanteloup, twelve hundred human beings, men, women, and children, had thrown themselves into a church. The captain, fearing that they would surrender, set fire to it. . . . The whole church was burnt to the ground, and not three hundred persons escaped. Those who leaped out of the windows found the English beneath, who butchered them, and derided them for having burned themselves. I learned this lamentable event from a man who had escaped, through our Lord's will, and who thanked God for it."\*

The English monarch durst not attack Paris,† but drew off towards the Loire, without having been able to force an engagement, or to take any place. He reassured his men by promising to lead them back to Paris in vintage-time. But this long winter campaign had worn them out; and, near Chartres, they were exposed to a terrific storm which completely exhausted all their patience,‡ and during which, Edward is said to have made a vow that he would restore peace to both countries. The pope implored him so to do. The French nobles, unable to draw any revenue from their possessions, besought the regent to come to terms at any price. No doubt, king Jean, too, was importunate with his son. At the conference, opened at Breteigny on the 1st of May, the English at first demanded the whole kingdom; next, all that had been owned by the Plantagenets—Aquitaine, Normandy, Maine, Anjou, and Touraine. At last, they gave way as regarded the four last provinces. But Aquitaine was made over to them in full possession, and not as a fief; and so was Calais, with the surrounding country, the counties of Ponthieu and of Guines, and the viscounty of Montreuil. The king was to pay the enormous ransom of three millions of gold crowns, six hundred thousand to be paid in four months, before he left Calais, and four hundred thousand yearly, for the six following years. After having killed and dismembered

\* Vol. I. pp. 126, 127.

† The English drew nigh. The barons, many of whom were in the city with the lord regent, passed themselves with rods outside of the walls not far from the fortifiers and faces. However, there was no engagement." Ibid.

‡ Most of the provisions and baggage wagons were left on the road converted into a trough to the dead men."

Their route was covered with the dead bodies of men and horses, the victims of want and fatigue; and in the neighbourhood of Chartres they found themselves exposed to one of the most dreadful storms recorded in history. The violence of the wind and the heat of the barometers then ascending, and the lightning and the sight of the thunder-bolts striking anvil and hammer in the heart of the king's camp, if the barons were moved by his misfortune, in a fit of remorse he sprang from his saddle, and stretching his arms towards the cathedral of Chartres, vowed to God and the Virgin that he would no longer respect the persons of prelates, provided they were co-operative with the preservation of his life. . . . King John's King and soldiers were ed in this. He gave his sword to the King and his soldiers were ed in this. He gave his sword to the King and his soldiers were ed in this.

\* Froiss. c. 220, p. 496, ed. Bouchon.

† They could obtain nothing except some small sums lent them to carry them home again." Froiss. l. iv. c. 26.

‡ These hunts," says Froissart, "were made surprising by well of boiled leather, they were large enough to contain three men, to enable them to fish any lake or pond whatever might be their size. The king had besides thirty falconers on horseback, laden with hawks, every couple of strong hounds and as many greyhounds, so that every day he took the pleasure of hunting or fishing either by land or water. Many lords had their hawks and hounds as well as the king." Froiss. l. iv. c. 210.

¶ Ibid. l. iv. c. 431, p. 16, ed. Bouchon. Ibid. l. iii. p. 11.

¶ As I was told at Paris, where I was when describing these incidents." Contin. G. de Vergy, p. 125.

¶ A domine de la rue aux Etoiles non remanoit vis ne malice. Ibid. p. 126.



France, England continued to press upon her, so that if any life and marrow should be left, she might drain it.

Paris went wild with joy at this lamentable treaty. The English who came with it to procure the dauphin's oath to the terms, were welcomed as angels from heaven, and were presented with what the city esteemed its most precious possession—some thorns from the real crown of thorns preserved in the Sainte-Chapelle. The sage chronicler of the time gives in to the general enthusiasm:—"On the approach," he says, "of the Ascension, of the period at which the Saviour, having restored peace between his Father and mankind, soared to heaven in triumphant joy, he would not allow the people of France to remain afflicted. . . . The conferences began on the Sunday on which the hymn *Cantate* is sung at church. On the Sunday for the hymn *Vocem jucunditatis*, the regent and the English repaired to Notre-Dame, to swear to the treaty. The transports of the people were beyond all words. The bells of this, and of the other churches in Paris, set ringing, murmured in pious harmony, and the clergy sang, in all joy and devotion, *Te Deum laudamus*. . . . All rejoiced, save, perhaps, such as made large gain by the wars, as the armorers, for instance. . . . false traitors and brigands feared the gibbet. But let us leave off speaking of them."\*

This joy was of short duration. This peace, so much wished for, made all France weep. The ceded provinces would not become English. Whether the government of the English were better or worse, their insupportable pride made them everywhere detested. The counts of Perigord, of Comminges, Armagnac, the sire d'Albret, and many others, maintained with reason that the lord had no right to give away his vassals. Rochelle, the more French that Bordeaux was English, besought the king, in God's name, not to desert her. The Rochellers declared that they would rather be taxed every year in *half of their worldly substance*, and still further—"We may submit to the English with our lips, but with our hearts, never."†

They who remained French were but the more wretched for it. France had degenerated into a farm of England's, where one only worked in order to liquidate the enormous amount of the king's ransom. We have still, in the Trésor des Chartes, the receipts given on this account. It makes one ill to look at these parchments—the sweat, groans, and tears each of these bits of rag has cost, can never be

known. The first (dated Oct. 24, 1360) is the receipt for the *charge for King Jean's keep*, at the rate of ten thousand reals a month.\* The noble hospitality, so vaunted by historians, Edward enforced payment for—the jailer, before ransoming, had his *fee* counted out to him. Then comes a fearful receipt for four hundred thousand gold crowns, of the same date. Then, a receipt for two hundred thousand, (December.) Another, for one hundred thousand, (on All Saints' day, 1361;) another, for two hundred thousand, and for fifty-seven thousand gold agnuses, besides, to make up the two hundred thousand promised by Burgundy, (February 21.)—In 1362, are receipts for the several sums of one hundred and ninety-eight thousand; thirty thousand; sixty thousand; and two hundred thousand gold crowns.† The payments continue down to the year 1368, though many of the receipts are missing. The ransoms of the nobles amounted, it is probable, to as considerable a sum.

The first payment could not have been made, had not the king hit upon a disgraceful resource. While he was giving provinces, he gave away one of his own children. The Visconti, the wealthy tyrants of Milan, coveted a marriage with a daughter of France, imagining that the alliance would gain them consideration in Italy. The ferocious Galeazzo, who hunted down men in the streets, and had cast priests, alive, into an oven, asked in marriage for his son, who was ten years of age, a daughter of Jean's, who was eleven. Instead of receiving a dowry, he gave one—three hundred thousand florins in free gift, and as much for a county in Champagne. The king of France, says Villani, sold his own flesh and blood.‡ The little Isabella was exchanged, in Savoy, for florins. The child did not suffer herself to be given up to the Italians with any better grace, than Rochelle did to the English.

By aid of this unfortunate Italian money, the king was enabled to leave Calais—which he did, poor and bare. On the 5th of December, (A. D. 1360,) he was obliged to impose a new aid on his ruined people. The terms in which the ordinance runs are remarkable. The king, in a manner, asks pardon of his people for speaking to them of money. He recalls, tracing back as far as Philippe de Valois, all the ills which *he and his people have suffered*; *he has abandoned to the chance of battle his own body and his children*; *he has treated at Breigny, not so much for his own deliverance only, as to avoid the perdition of his kingdom and of his good people*. He asserts that he will do good and loyal justice, that he will suppress all new tolls, that he will coin good and strong gold and silver money, and *black money for the*

\* Contin. G. de Nangis, pp. 127, 128.

† Et disoient bien les plus notables de la ville, "Nous aourons les Anglois des levres, mais les cuers ne s'en mouvrout ja." Froiss. c. 441, pp. 229, 230, ed. Buchon.—The regrets of the inhabitants of Cahors are not less touching:—"They answered with weeping and lamentations . . . that it was not they who acknowledged the king of England, but our lord the king of France who left them orphans." Communicated to me by M. Lacabane, on the authority of the *Archives de Cahors*, and the *MS. de la Bibl. Royale*.

\* Archives, Section Historique, J. 630, 640

† *Id. ibid.* J. 641.

‡ Mal. Villani, xiv. 617. "The French king, who saw himself in danger, in order to have the money sooner ready, lightly lent himself to the business." Froiss. iv. c. 440, p. 76, ed. Buchon.

*convenience of giving alms to the poor.* "We have ordained, and do ordain, that we must take from the said people of the Langue d'Oïl what is needful to us, and which will not agrieve our people so much as would altering the value of our coin, to wit—twelve deniers the pound on merchandise, to be paid by the seller, an aid of a fifth on salt, and of a thirteenth on wine and other drinks. With which aid, for the great compassion we entertain for our people, we will content ourselves; and it shall be levied only until the completion and verification (enterinement) of peace."<sup>o</sup>

However mild and paternal the mode of the demand, the people were no longer in a condition to pay: all money had disappeared. It behooved to apply to the usurers, to the Jews, and this time, to grant them a fixed settlement, and guaranty them liberty of residence for twenty years. A prince of the blood was appointed guardian of their privileges—which were excessive, as we shall show elsewhere—and took on himself a special obligation, to see that they were paid their debts. For these privileges they were to pay twenty florins each on re-entering the kingdom, and seven yearly. One Manasses, who farmed all the Jewry, was to have for his trouble the enormous percentage of two florins out of the twenty, and one per annum out of the seven.†

The sad and empty years that follow, 1361, 1362, and 1363, present externally only the receipts of the English, and internally, only high prices of provisions, ravages of brigands, dread of a comet, and a great and fearful mortality. This time, the malady attacked adult men and children, more than old men and women, and struck down preferentially the strength and hope of generations. Everywhere were mothers in tears, widows, and women in black.‡

Want of nourishment had much to do with this epidemic. Hardly any thing was brought into the towns. There was no going from Paris to Orleans, or to Chartres; the country was infested by Gascons and Bretons.§

The nobles who returned from England, and who felt that they must be despised, were not less cruel than the brigands. Jean d'Artois quarrelled with the city of Peronne, which had bravely defended itself, and there followed almost a crusade of the barons against the people. Supported by the king's brother, and by the nobility, Jean d'Artois took English into his pay, laid siege to Peronne, took it, and burnt it || Chauny sur Oise, and other towns, were similarly treated. In Burgundy, the no-

bles even acted as guides to the bands which pillaged the country;\* and as these brigands universally called themselves English, the king forbade them to be attacked. He prayed Edward to write to his lieutenants on the subject.†

These plunderers styled themselves the Tard-Venus, (the Late-Comers;) arriving after the war, they yet wanted their share of the spoil. The principal band began operations in Champagne and in Lorraine, then passed into Burgundy. Their leader was a Gascon, who, like the archpriest, was for leading them to see the pope at Avignon,‡ taking Forez and the Lyonnais in his way. Jacques de Bourbon, who happened to be in the South at the time, was interested in protecting Forez, a territory belonging to his nephews and his sister.§ This prince, who was generally beloved,|| soon collected a number of the barons. He was accompanied by the famous archpriest, who had given up the command of the free companies; and had he followed this man's counsels, he would have destroyed them. Coming into presence at Brignais, near Lyons, he fell into a gross snare; believing the enemy weaker than was the case, he attacked them on a hill on which they were posted, and was slain, together with his son, nephew, and numbers of his followers, (April 2d, 1362.)¶ His death, however, was a glorious one. The first title of the Capets to the love of their country is the death of Robert-le-Fort at Brissart; that of the Bourbons, the death of Jacques at Brignais—both slain in defending the kingdom against brigands.

The free companies, having no longer any thing to fear, scoured the two banks of the Rhone. One of their leaders styled himself—The friend of God, the enemy of all the world.\*\* The pope, trembling in Avignon, preached a crusade against them. But the crusaders preferred joining the companies †† Happily for Avignon, the marquis of Montferrat, a member of the Tuscan league against the Visconti, took part of them into his pay, and led them into

\* "Some knights and squires of the country were of intelligence with them, and acted as their guides." Froissart, iv. c. 462, p. 122, ed. Buchon.

† "But there were others who would not obey it, saying that they had most war in the name of the king of Navarre." Froissart, iv. c. 214.

‡ "These free companies resolved that they would advance with their forces about the middle of Lent, towards Avignon, and visit the pope and curia." Id. ibid.

§ "This was very unpleasant news to the lord Jeanne, who had taken the management of the custody of the county of Forez for his nephews as well as to all the other chiefs." Id. ibid. c. 215.

|| "Froissart, iv. c. 465 pp. 121-126, ed. Buchon.—M. Aillon's fine work has unfortunately not come down to Jacques de Bourbon's death. As regards the date, see M. Duclos's remarks. Froissart, iv. c. 135, ed. Duclos.

\*\* Id. ibid. c. 466, p. 120, ed. Buchon.

†† "He [the pope] retained old men, and others, who were desirous of seeing the Romans and of gaining the above-said pensions; but he would not give them any pay, which caused many of them to depart, and some joined those wicked companies, which were daily increasing." Froissart, iv. c. 215.

<sup>o</sup> Ibid. ii. p. 433.

<sup>†</sup> Ibid. p. 467.

<sup>‡</sup> Froissart, iv. c. 130, p. 120.

§ The brigands had captured a fort near Corbeil. A number of men of arms used it to take it, and did not move him to the country, which suffered more from its disorders than from its walls. The dogs fed the wolves to devour the flock. The tale is told by the continuator of Nangis, p. 121.

|| Comin. G. de Nangis, p. 120.

Italy, where they carried the plague. To decide them to depart, the pope gave them 30,000 florins, and absolution.\*

The mortality which depopulated the kingdom, at least gave Jean a fair inheritance. The young duke of Burgundy dying, as well as his sister, the first house of Burgundy became extinct, leaving both Burgundies, Artois, the counties of Auvergne and of Boulogne, without a head. The nearest heir was the king of Navarre, who asked to be allowed to take possession of Burgundy, or, at least, of Champagne, which he had so long claimed. He got neither. It was impossible to suffer these provinces to pass to a foreign prince, and he so odious. Jean proclaimed their perpetual annexation to his own domain,† and set out to take possession, "journeying by small stages, and at great expense, stopping at every town and city in the duchy of Burgundy."‡

Here he learned, without travelling any the quicker, the death of Jacques de Bourbon. About the end of the year, he went down to Avignon, where he spent six months in the midst of festivals, and where he hoped to make a fresh conquest without the trouble of war. Joanna of Naples—she who had suffered her first husband to be murdered—was a widow a second time. Jean aspired to be her third bridegroom. He was himself a widower, and only forty-three years of age. Taken prisoner, but after a splendid resistance,§ this soldier king was an object of interest to Christendom, as Francis the First was after Pavia. The pope had no mind to make a king of France master of Naples and of Provence; and he gave this queen of thirty-six years of age to quite a youthful husband, not a son of France, but Jayme of Aragon, son of the dethroned king of Majorca.

To console Jean, the pope encouraged him in a project which seemed insensate at the first glance, but which would in reality have recruited his fortunes. The king of Cyprus had come to Avignon, to entreat succor and propose a crusade. Jean took the cross, and numbers of the great barons with him.|| The king of Cyprus went to Germany to exhort to the crusade; Jean undertook a similar mission to England. One of his sons, who had been a

hostage there, had returned to France in contempt of treaties. Jean's return to London wore the most honorable appearance. He seemed to have come to repair his son's fault. Some asserted that the miseries of France had driven him thither in disgust: others, that he was attracted by the charms of some mistress.\* However, the kings of Scotland and of Denmark were to meet him there. As king of France, he was the natural president in every assembly of kings. Humiliated by the new system of warfare which the English had introduced, the king of France would have resumed, through the medium of the crusade, under the old banner of the Middle Age, the first rank in Christendom. He would have borne off the free companies along with him, and delivered France from them.† Even the English and the Gascons, notwithstanding the indisposition of the king of England to the enterprise, who alleged his age as a reason for not assuming the cross,‡ said aloud to the king of Cyprus—"That it was in truth an expedition in which all good and honorable men should act together, and that if it pleased God to open a way, he should not go on it alone."§ Jean's death put an end to these hopes. After a winter in London of festivals and feasting,|| he fell ill, and died regretted, it is said, by the English, whom he himself loved, and to whom he had become attached, simple as he was, and without gall, during his long captivity. Edward buried him magnificently in St. Paul's. According to eye-witnesses, there were consumed at his funeral four thousand torches, each twelve feet high, and four thousand tapers, weighing ten pounds each.¶

France, mutilated and ruined as she was, still stood, by the avowal of her enemies, at the head of Christendom. It is this poor France's fate, to see from time to time envious Europe rise against her, and conspire her ruin. Each time they think they have slain her, and imagine that there is no longer a France: they draw lots for her spoils, and joyfully rend asunder her bleeding members. She clings to life; and flourishes again. She survived in 1361, ill-defended, and betrayed by her nobility; she survived in 1709, when aged with the age of her king; and again did she survive in 1815, when attacked by the whole world. . . . Thus

\* "King John and his whole kingdom were much rejoiced when they found themselves delivered from these people; but many of them returned back into Burgundy." *Id. ibid.*

† The king of Navarre was descended from an eldest sister, but in remoter degree, (à un degré intérieur.) John maintained, that according to the written law, descent goes no further in a right line than brothers' sons, but that the nearest of blood inherits. *Secousse, Preuves de l'Hist. de Charles-le Mauvais. t. ii. p. 291.*

‡ Froiss. iv. c. 471, p. 148. ed. Buchon.

§ See the prose Chronicle of Duguesclin, edited by M. Franquière Michel, p. 105.

|| "After the sermon, which was very humble and devout, the king of France, through his great devotion, put on the cross, and requested the pope, with great sweetness, to confirm it to him." *Froissart, b. i. c. 217.*

\* Causa joci, (for sport's sake.) says the severe historian of the time. *Contin. G. de Nangis, p. 132.*

† " . . . To draw out of his kingdom all those men-at-arms, called free companions, who pillaged and robbed his subjects without any shadow of right, and to save their souls." *Froiss. b. i. c. 217.*

‡ "'Yes,' answered the king of England; 'I will never oppose such a work, unless some things should happen to me or to my kingdom which I do not at this moment foresee.' The king of Cyprus could never obtain any thing more from king Edward, in respect to this crusade: but, as long as he remained, he was politely and honorably feasted with a variety of grand suppers." *Id. ibid. c. 218.*

§ *Id. ibid.*

|| *Id. ibid. c. 219.*

¶ Quatuor millia torcia . . . quodlibet torcium de duodecim pedibus in altitudine, &c. *Contin. G. de Nangis, p. 133.*

obstinate alliance of the world against France proves her superiority better than victories. He against whom all readily combine, is, there can be little doubt, first of all.

## CHAPTER IV.

CHARLES V. A. D. 1364-1380.—EXPULSION OF THE ENGLISH.

THE young king was born aged. He early saw much, and suffered much. In person, he was weak and sickly. As the kingdom, so was the king. It was said that Charles-le-Mauvais had given him poison—and hence his pallid countenance, and a swelling of the hand, which hindered him from holding lance. He seldom made excursions on horseback, but generally stayed quietly at Vincennes, or his hotel St. Paul, or his royal library of the Louvre. He read, listened to the counsel of the able, and took his time to deliberate. He was called the sage, that is, the lettered, the clerk, or, it might quite as well mean, the crafty, the astute. Behold the first modern king, a king—seated like the royal image on the seals. Up to this time, one had imagined that a king ought to be on horseback. Philippe-le-Bel himself, with his chancellor Pierre Flotte, had been present—and defeated—at Courtrai. Charles V. fought with more success in his chair. A conqueror in his chamber, surrounded by his lawyers, his Jews, and his astrologers, he defied renowned knights, and the still more formidable free companies. With the same pen, he signed the treaties that ruined the English, and minuted the pamphlets that were to ruin the pope and put the sovereign in possession of the goods of the church.

This sick physician of the kingdom had to cure it of three ailments, the least of which seemed mortal—of the Englishman, the Navarrese, and of the free companies. He got rid of the first, as we have seen, by glutting him with gold, by waiting patiently until he himself gained strength. The Navarrese was beaten, then taken into pay, and hopes given him of Montpellier. The free companies draughted themselves off to Spain.

At first, Charles V. strengthened himself by means of his brothers, intrusting to them the most eccentric provinces,—Languedoc to the duke d'Anjou, Burgundy to Philippe-le-Hardi.\* He directed his own attention to the centre. But he required an arm, a sword. Little warlike spirit at this time survived, except among the Bretons and Gascons. The fight of the thirty, in which the Bretons had defeated the

English,\* was in every one's mouth. Charles attached to himself a brave Breton of Dinan,

\* A monument to perpetuate the remembrance of this event has been raised on the lands of St. Vider, near Plémermel. See the poem published by M. de Frémenville, in 1819, and by M. Crapet, in 1827. See, also, M. de Roubaix, *Hist. de Bretagne*, iii. 391.—Beaumanor's grief, when he met the Breton peasants dragged into slavery by the English, is expressed with touching simplicity—

"Il vit peiner chetifs, dont il eut grand pitié.  
L'un était en un cep et l'autre ferré . . .  
Comme vaches et bruts que l'on mène au marché.  
Quand Beaumanor les vit, du cœur se saigna."

(He saw them dragged captive, and was filled with pity. One was handcuffed, another in chains. . . . They were driven as one drives cows and oxen to market. When Beaumanor saw them, he sighed from the bottom of his heart.)

Beaumanor, complaining of this to Bemborough, an Englishman, receives the following answer—

"Beaumanor, taisiez-vous; de ce n'est plus parlé,  
Montfort si sera duc de la noble duché.  
De Nantes à Pontorson, et même à Saint-Mahe.  
Edouard sera roy de France, couronné."

(Beaumanor, be silent; say no more of the matter. Montfort will be duke of the noble duchy from Nantes to Pontorson, and even to St. Mahe. Edward shall be king of France, crowned king.)

And, according to the poet, Beaumanor humbly replies:—

"Songez un autre songe, cestuy est mal songe;  
Car jamais par tel voie n'en auras demi pie."  
(Dream another dream, this is badly dreamed; for never by such means shall you gain half a foot of the land.)

As the battle is beginning, the Englishman cries out to Beaumanor:

"Rends toi tôt, Beaumanor, je ne t'occiray mie;  
Mais je feray de ton bleu present a ma mie.  
Car je lui ai promis et ne veux mentir mie.  
Que ce soit le nettrai dans sa chambre p.e. honnête.)  
Et Beaumanor répond: Je te le surenvie."  
Le sueur et de sang la terre raspe."

(Surrender at once, Beaumanor, I will not slay you, but I will make a handsome present of you to my mistress. I have promised her, and will not lie to bring you this evening to her pretty honorable chamber. And Beaumanor answers, I wish you joy of it! . . . The earth was bedewed with blood and sweat.)

Beaumanor, asking for drink, receives from Geoffrey Du Bois the famous answer—

"Bois ton sang, Beaumanor, ta soif se passera."

(Drink your blood, Beaumanor, your thirst will pass away.)

The history of the battle, says the poet, was written and painted in tapestry, on tapestries—

"Par treus les s'ats qui sont de et la mer  
Et s'en est esleita maint gentil chevalier  
Et moult noble dame a la bouche s'ie  
Or peuz et Jesus, et Michel et Marie  
Que Dieu leur soit en aide et d'ice en An."

Throughout all the states on this side of the sea, and many a gentle knight has been delighted with it, and many a noble dame with pretty lips. Now, pray! Jesus, and Michael, and Mary that God be their aid, says Anon.

"I have been very much surprised," says M. Johnson, "that Bousset, who on general history is so very accurate, relating every transaction should have omitted an account of this extraordinary engagement." The relation of it, which follows is taken from the *Histoire de Bretagne*, vol. i. p. 394.

After the death of St. Thomas Duguesworth, the king appointed Sir Walter Bentley commander in Britain. The English being much troubled at the death of Duguesworth, and not being able to revenge the murder on those who slew him, it seemed the wisest counsel to burning and destroying it. The marshes, de Beaumanor, one day of putting a ship to this sent to Bentley, who, accompanied by a friend for a passport to hold a conference with him. The marshes represented the condition of the English, and high words passed between them. The marshes had been the company in arms to Duguesworth. At last one of them proposed a combat of thirty on each side. The king appointed for it, was at the battle was called the Bretons and Pontorson, and the day was fixed for the 25th of March, the fourth Monday in Lent 1364. Beaumanor chose nine knights and twenty free-squires. The first were the lord de Lannou, Guy de Rochefort, Yves Charron, Robin Raguen, Huon de St. Yvon, Gabe de Badegat, Olivier Arrel, Gifford de Béh,

\* He confirmed his father's gift of Burgundy to Philip the Bold. *France*, iv. c. 693, p. 221, ed. Buchon  
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the Sire Bertrand Duguesclin,\* whose prowess he had witnessed at the siege of Melun,† and who had fought on the side of France since 1357.

The life of this famous leader of companies, who delivered France both from the companies and the English, has been sung, that is, spoiled and obscured, in a kind of chivalrous *épopée*, which was probably composed to reanimate the military spirit of the barons.‡ Our histories of

John Rousselet, &c. Bembro could not find a sufficient number of English in his garrison; there were but twenty, the remainder were Germans and Bretons. Among them were, Sir Robert Knolles, Croquart, Hervé de Lexualen, John Plesanton, Richard† and Hugh le Gaillart, Jannequin Taillart, Ressefort, Richard de la Lande, Thomella Billefort, Hugh Calverley, Robinet Melipara, Yfal or Isanual, John Russel, Dagorne, and a soldier, named Huhitée, of a very large size, and of great strength, &c.

Bembro first entered the field of battle and drew up his troop. Beaumanoir did the same. Each made a short harangue to his men, exhorting them to support their own honor and that of their nation. Bembro added, there was an old prophecy of Merlin, which promised victory to the English. As they were on the point of engaging, Bembro made a sign to Beaumanoir he wished to speak to him, and represented he had engaged in this matter rather imprudently; for such combats ought first to have had the permission of their respective princes. Beaumanoir replied he had been somewhat late in discovering this; and the nobility of Brittany would not return, without having proved by battle which had the fairest mistresses. The signal was given for the attack. Their arms were not similar; for each was to choose such as he liked. Billefort fought with a mallet 25 pounds weight, and others with what arms they chose. The advantage at first was for the English; as the Bretons had lost five of their men. Beaumanoir exhorted them not to mind this, as they stopped to take breath; when each party having had some refreshments, the combat was renewed. Bembro was killed. On seeing this, Croquart cried out, "Companions, don't let us think of the prophecies of Merlin, but depend on our courage and arms; keep yourselves close together, be firm, and fight as I do." Beaumanoir, being wounded, was quitting the field to quench his thirst, when Geoffry du Bois cried out, "Beaumanoir, drink thy blood, and thy thirst will go off." This made him ashamed, and return to the battle. The Bretons at last gained the day, by one of their party breaking on horseback the ranks of the English; the greater part of whom were killed. Knolles, Calverley, and Croquart, were made prisoners, and carried to the castle of Josselin. Tinteniac, on the side of the Bretons, and Croquart, on the English, obtained the prize of valor. Such was the issue of this famous combat of thirty, so glorious to the Bretons, but which decided nothing as to the possession of the duchy of Brittany.—Johnes's Froissart, b. i. c. 148, edition in two vols. 8vo.)

—TRANSLATOR.

\* "At this time there armed himself, and kept always under arms, François, a knight of Brittany, who was called Messire Bertrand Duguesclin." Froiss. iv. c. 481, p. 179, ed. Buchon.—Duguesclin is named in deeds, severally, Glecquin, Gleaquin, Glayaquin, Glesquin, Gleyquin, Clalkin, &c. This would make him out the true Breton race. He himself inclined to believe that he was descended from a Moorish king, Hakim, who had withdrawn into Brittany, and being driven out of the country by Charlemagne, left behind him in the tower of Glay a son whom Charles had baptized. After the Castilian war, the constable wished to cross into Africa and conquer Bugia. See the manuscript in the Royal Library, (Bibliothèque du Roi.) entitled, Conquête de la Bret. Armorique, faite par le preux Charlemagne sur ung poyen nommé Aquin, qu'il avoist usurpé, &c. No. 33, 336, du P. Lelong.

† Froiss. *ibid.* and Vie de Duguesclin, published by Meunard, c. 8, p. 67, and c. 10, p. 83.

‡ "Citez qui le mist en rime fust Cuveliers,  
Et pour l'amour du prince qui de Dieu soit sauvé,  
Afin qu'on n'eust pas les bons fais oubliés  
Du vaillant conestable qui tant fut redoubté,  
En a fait les beaux vers noblement ordenez."

(He who put him in rhyme was Cuvelier; and for the king's love, whom God save, in order that the good deeds might not be forgotten of the so valiant and redoubted constable, he has composed a nobly ordered poem.) MS. de la Bibl. Royale, No. 7794.

Duguesclin are little more than translations of this *épopée* into prose; nor is it easy to disengage what is serious and truly historical from the poetical figment. Wherever the poem and the romances are consistent with the well-known character of the Bretons, we willingly trust to them, as we may do whenever they candidly confess their hero's disadvantages. They confess, in the first place, that he was ugly,—“of moderate height, brown complexion, flat nose, green eyes, broad-shouldered, with long arms and small hands.”\* They say that from childhood he was a wicked imp, “rough, full of tricks and hardy pranks,” fond of getting his comrades together, forming them into troops, beating and hurting them. His father was obliged to confine him for a time. However, a man had early predicted that the child would turn out a renowned knight; and he was still further encouraged by the predictions of a certain damsel, hight Tiphaine, whom the Bretons looked upon as a witch, and whom he afterwards married. Nevertheless, this intractable battler was, as Bretons are wont to be, a boon companion, free of his money, now rich, now ruined, giving at times all he had to ransom his men; but, on the other hand, greedy of plunder, rude, and merciless in war. Like the other captains of his time, he preferred stratagem to all other means of conquest, and always avoided pledging his word and honor. Before battle, he was the tactician, the man of resources and subtle device. He could foresee and provide. But, once in the fight, his Breton head hurried him away, he plunged into the mellay, and that so far that he could not always draw back again. He was twice taken, and had to pay ransom.

The king's first business was to throw open the Seine; and Mantes and Meulan being in the king of Navarre's hands, Boucicaud and Duguesclin seized on them by an egregious piece of treachery.† These towns had to pay for all the mischief which the Parisians had suffered from the Navarrese; and the citizens enjoyed the pleasure of seeing twenty-eight of their inhabitants hung at Paris.‡

The Navarrese, strengthened by a body of English and Gascons under the capital de Buch,

M. Macé, Professor of History, has given an interesting notice of this important manuscript in the *Annuaire for Dinan*, 1835.

\* “Mals l'enfant dont je dis et dont je vois pariant,  
Je crois qu'il n'est si laid de Rennes à Dinant.  
Camus estoit et noir, malotru et mesant. (!)  
Le père et la mère si le holoient tant . . . .”

(But the child of whom I spoke, and am speaking, I think there was none so ugly from Rennes to Dinant. He was flat-nosed and black, miserable and . . . .) His father and mother hated him so much . . . .) MS. de la Bibl. Royale, No. 7294.

See also the chronicle in prose, reprinted by M. Francisque Michel.

† “In order the better to blind the inhabitants, Sir Bertrand and his forces came full gallop into the town, crying, ‘St. Yves Guesclin! death to the Navarrese!’ They entered, pillaged the houses of whatever they found, and made prisoners of whom they pleased: they also murdered several.” Froissart, b. i. c. 240.

‡ Contin. G. de Nangis, p. 132, col. 2.

sought revenge, by endeavoring to hinder Charles V. from proceeding to Reims; but Duguesclin advanced to meet them with a large troop of French, of Bretons, and of Gascons as well.\* The capital fell back towards Evreux. He halted at Cocherel, on a gentle eminence; but Duguesclin manœuvred so as to deprive him of the advantage of the ground, by sounding a retreat and feigning to fly. The capital could not hinder his English followers from rushing down; they were too haughty to attend to a Gascon general, although a great baron, and of the house of Foix. He was obliged to succumb to his soldiers, and follow them to the plain. Here Duguesclin wheeled round: and thirty of his Gascons, as was planned beforehand, rushed on the capital and burned him away prisoner from the midst of his troops.† The other Navarrese leaders were slain; the battle gained.‡

Gained the 16th of May, it was known on the eighteenth at Reims, the evening before the coronation—a fine new year's gift (*citrene*) to the new monarch. Charles V. bestowed on Duguesclin a reward such as king had never given—a princely establishment, even the county of Longueville, the heritage of the king of Navarre's brother.§ At the same time, he ordered the sire de Saquenville, one of the chief counsellors of the said king, to be beheaded. He treated no better the French who were found in the free companies.¶ It began to be remembered that robbery was a crime.

The next year brought the war of Brittany to an end. Charles of Blois would have consented to a division of the province, but his wife would not.¶ The French king lent Charles, Duguesclin and a thousand lances. The prince of Wales sent to Montfort the brave Chandos, two hundred lances, and as many archers; and many English knights joined the party.\*\*

\* - By the head of St. Antony. Gascon against Gascon will make mischief enough." Froiss. b. i. c. 221. - Lord Bunsen translates, "By Saint Antony's cap. Gascon against Gascon."

† - I therefore think that if we order thirty of our boldest and most expert cavaliers to do nothing but to follow and attack the capital . . . they may seize him, and carry him off between them to some place of safety, where they will remain until the end of the battle." Froiss. b. i. c. 222.

‡ - When the French had drawn up their forces . . . their chiefs . . . long debated what way they should use, and whose banner or pennon they should fit on as a rallying-point. They for a long time determined to cry "Notre Dame Auserre" and to make the earl of Auserre their commander for that day. But the earl would not by any means accept of it . . . This is the first pitched battle I was ever at . . . we have here many very able and experienced knights, such as my lord Bertrand Duguesclin, my lord the archpriest, &c. . . . It was therefore resolved they should cry, "Notre Dame Guescelin." Id. ibid.

§ The letters of gift bear date May 27, 1364. - Duchatelet, Hist. de Duguesclin, p. 207. - In 1365, the king paid part of Duguesclin's ransom, and took back the county. - Froiss. J. 201.

¶ - Quatre was given to all the foreign soldiers - but all brigande French by birth, who had thrust themselves there were put to death." Froiss. v. c. 49. p. 230 ed. Buchon.

\*\* Horn, Hist. de Bretagne, t. ii. l. iv. p. 122.

\*\* Sir John Chandos "slew several knights and squires

Montfort and the English were on an eminence, just as the prince of Wales was at Poitiers. Charles of Blois did not disturb himself about the matter. This devout prince, who believed in miracles, and who performed them, had refused at the siege of Quimper to retreat before the tide. "If it be God's will," he said, "the tide will harm us not." He stopped no more before the hill of Auray, than he had done before the tide at Quimper.

Charles of Blois was the strongest. Many Bretons, even of *Bretagne bretonnante*, had joined him; doubtless, out of hate to the English.\* Duguesclin had drawn up his force in admirable order. Each man-at-arms carried his spear right before him, cut down to the length of five feet; a battle-axe, sharp, strong, and well-steeled, with a short handle, was at his side, or hung from his neck. . . . "they advanced thus handsomely, a foot's pace . . . it was a very fine sight . . . for the French were in such close order, that one could scarcely throw a tennis-ball among them, without its falling on a helmet or a lance."† Sir John Chandos gazed long and intently on the order of their march, "and having well considered the dispositions of the French in his own mind, thought so highly of them, he could not remain silent, but said, 'As God is my help, it appears to me that all the flower and honor of chivalry is there, most wisely and expertly drawn up.'"‡

Chandos had secured a body of reserve, to support each body as might be needed; and it was not without difficulty that he prevailed on one of his knights to remain behind in command of it. He was obliged to have recourse to prayers, and even to tears,§ since the feudal prejudice esteemed the front rank the only honorable post. Duguesclin could not have carried the point with any of his knights.

The two aspirants fought at the head of their troops: the battle was a duel, without quarter. The Bretons were wearied of the war, and desired to bring it to a conclusion by the death of one or the other.¶ Chandos's reserve gave him the advantage over Duguesclin, who was borne to the ground and taken. All fell back on Charles of Blois. His banner was seized, thrust into the dust, and himself slain. The

of Aquitaine to accompany him, but few went except the English." Froiss. b. i. c. 225.

\* "The vicount de Rohan the lord de Leon de Kar goule, herpoutils de Lebrac . . . and many others whom I cannot name." Id. ibid.

† Id. c. 226.

‡ Id. ibid.

§ This conduct nearly brought tears into the eyes of Sir John. He again addressed him gently saying, "He Hagh it is absolutely necessary that either you or I take this command now, consider which can be most spared." Id. ibid.

¶ It appears to me that orders had been given to the English army, that if they should gain the battle and the lord Charles were taken or made prisoner no ransom should be taken for him but that they should kill him. In a similar case the French and Bretons had given the like orders respecting the lord John de Montfort. He in this day such party washed by battle to put an end to the war." Id. c. 227.

noblest barons of Brittany persisted in the hopeless struggle, and fell with him.\*

When the English hurried joyfully to show Montfort his enemy, of whom they had rid him, his French blood awoke within him—it might be the force of kindred—but tears gushed from his eyes.† Under the cuirass of the fallen Charles, it was found that he wore sackcloth. His piety and fine qualities were recalled to mind. He had only recommenced the war out of deference to his wife, as heiress of Brittany. But this saint‡ was a man as well. He made verses, and composed *lays* in the interval of battles. He had been given to love; and a natural son of his was slain by his side, seeking to avenge his death.§

In a few days, the strongest places in the country surrendered to Montfort. Charles of Blois' children were prisoners in England. The king of France, who had carried no passion into the war, came to terms with the conqueror, and persuaded Charles's widow to be contented with the county of Penthievre, the viscounty of Limoges, and a revenue of ten thousand livres.|| The king did wisely. The main point was to hinder Brittany from doing homage to the Englishman. It was a safe bet, that sooner or later, the province would grow weary of England's *protégé*.

To have brought to an end the war of Brittany, and that with the king of Navarre, was something; but it required time for France to recover. The bare enumeration of the ordinances of Charles V., is enough to unveil the deplorable wounds occasioned by the war. The majority are to verify the diminution of *hearthths*, (*de feux*); and to recognise the impossibility of the depopulated communes any longer paying taxes.¶ Others are protections issued by the king to towns, abbeys, hospitals, and chapters. So powerless was the public protection, that a special one was needful. Towns, corporations, and universities, require their privileges to be secured them. Many cities are declared to be inseparable from the crown. The Italian merchants at Nîmes, the Castilians and Portuguese at Harfleur and at Caen, obtain specific privileges. Altogether we find no general law promulgated; all is special and individual. We are conscious how far the kingdom is still off from unity, how weak and suffering it still is.

The great curse of the kingdom was the robberies of the free companies. Dismissed by

the English, and driven from the isle of France, from Normandy, Brittany, and from Aquitaine, the companies fell back on the centre, and scoured Berry and the Limousin, &c. The brigands felt quite at home there. It was their barracks, was their insolent observation.\* They were of all nations, but mostly English and Gascons, with a sprinkling of Bretons. The people called them all English, nor has any thing more contributed to exasperate France against England. Offers were made to the free companies to tempt them to the crusade. The emperors had secured them a passage through Hungary, and offered to defray their expenses in their route through Germany. But the majority had no desire for so distant an expedition;† and few of those who made up their minds to go, in the hope of plundering Germany by the way, arrived there. Led by the archpriest as far as Alsace, they found themselves opposed by a serried and hostile population, who fell upon them on all sides, and the greater number perished. Some made their way into Italy.

But they chiefly emigrated in the direction of Spain and Castile, seeking employment in the wars between Don Henriquez de Trastamare and his brother, Don Pedro *the Cruel*; a surname deserved by all the Spanish kings of the period. In Navarre there reigned Charles-le-Mauvais, (Charles the Wicked,) the murderer and poisoner; in Portugal, Don Pedro the Justicer, he who did such cruel justice on the death of Inez di Castro; in Aragon, Don Pedro the Ceremonious, who, without even the formality of a trial, hung up by the feet a legate charged with the office of excommunicating him. In like manner Don Pedro the Cruel had burnt alive a monk, who had foretold that his brother would put him to death. To learn what Spain was, after having less to fear from the Moors she yielded to their influence, and became Moresco, Jewish, and any thing rather than Christian, turn to the chronicle of Ayala. The unsparing wars carried on against the unbelievers had imparted to the Spaniard a tinge of ferocity, which assumed a darker shade when he was subjected to the severe fiscal yoke of the Jews.‡

This Pedro the Cruel was a sort of furious madman, in whom the two jarring elements of Spain contended for mastery, and made a monster of him. He piqued himself on his high sense of chivalry, as did every Castilian; and, at the same time, intrusted the whole administration of his kingdom to Jews, in whom alone,

\* *Id. ibid.*

† *Id. c. 228.*

‡ "And he was venerated as Saint-Charles." *Id. ibid.*—Urban V., a good Frenchman, ordered, it is true, an inquiry to be held, previously to canonizing Charles of Blois, but he died before it was concluded; and his successor, Gregory II., did not act upon the return made in favor of his canonization, for fear of offending the duke of Brittany. *Hist. de Bretagne*, p. 336, cited in a note by M. Dacier in Buchon's edition of Froissart.

§ "En sien fils bâlard, qui s'appeloit messire Jean de Blois." Froissart, iv. c. 310, p. 264, ed. Buchon. He proved himself, says Froissart, a brave man at arms.

|| Froissart, c. 515, pp. 275-280, ed. Buchon.

¶ Ord. iv. 617, 631.

\* Froissart, iv. c. 517, p. 283, ed. Buchon.

† *Id. ibid.* pp. 284, 285.

‡ The court had to give satisfaction to the people more than once. In 1329, the Jew, Joseph, was forced, in order to appease the general discontent, to render an account of his administration of the Exchequer; and a law was passed, excluding all but Christians from employment in the finance department. In 1360, Don Pedro put to death Samuel Levi, whom Don Juan Alphonso had recommended to him as treasurer ten years before. He had amassed an enormous fortune. Ayala, c. xxi.

and the Moors, he placed any confidence.\* He was said to be the son of a Jewess. But for this partiality to the Jews, the good-will of the communes would have been entirely his, on account of his cruelty towards the nobles.

However, this man of blood loved. His mistress was Donna Maria de Padilla, described by a contemporary as being "*petite, handsome, and witty*."† Out of complaisance to her, he imprisoned his wife Blanche, sister-in-law to Charles V., and at last poisoned her. He had already murdered heaven knows how many of his subjects. His brother, Don Henriquez de Transtamare, who had every thing to fear, fled to the king of France to solicit him to avenge his sister-in-law.

The king readily gave him the free companies which were ravaging France. They were offered a passage through his territories by the king of Aragon, and received authority from the pope to invade Castile. Among other acts of violence, Don Pedro had laid hands on the goods of the Church.‡

Nominally, the young duke of Bourbon was the leader of this expedition: its real leader was to be Duguesclin,§ still a prisoner, and whom the English would not ransom for less than 100,000 francs:¶ so the king, the pope, and Don Henriquez, raised the sum between them.

Duguesclin took command of these adventurers, and led them into Spain, but by way of Avignon, in order to make further demands on the pope's coffers; and drew from him 100,000 francs in gold, besides a general absolution for his men. His army increased by the way.¶

\* In 1264, desiring to attack the king of Aragon, "he sent to Mah-mmed, king of Granada, for the aid of a few gal-  
leys." Id. c. xi.

† "E femme, e pequena de corpo, et de buen entendi-  
miento." Id. c. vi.

‡ "Whom loud and great complaints came daily to  
our holy father, the pope." Froiss. iv. c. 518, p. 295, ed.  
Buckton.

§ There is a Langue-drois ballad extant on this Spanish  
expedition—*Cantien ditta is berist, fitta sur la guerre d'Es-  
paigne, faite par le prince Guocelin seigneur des nobles mou-  
ins de Tholouse, 1367.* Don Morice, l. p. 16, and Froiss. iv.  
p. 294, ed. Buckton.

¶ Charles V. lent him this sum, on condition of his taking  
the free companies out of the kingdom.—"To all whom  
these present letters may concern, I Bertrand du Guesclin,  
knight, count of Longueville, chamberlain of the king of  
France, my much dreaded and sovereign lord, give greeting.  
—We will to know that in consideration of a certain sum  
of money que parus certaine somme de deniers, which the  
said king, my sovereign lord, some time since peys, gave  
us as a loan, as well to put out of his kingdom the companies  
which were in and about Brittany, Normandy, and Chartres  
and elsewhere in the low marches as to be put to pay part  
of our ransom to the noble messire Jehan de Champagne, vis-  
count of St. flourens, and constable of Aquitaine, whose  
prisoner we are, We have promised and promise to the  
said king, my sovereign lord, by his faith and oath, to put  
and to take out of his kingdom the said companies as quickly  
as we may be able, without fraud or subterfuge, and like-  
wise, without permitting them or suffering them to dwell  
or stay in any part of the said kingdom, except halting as  
they journey, and without making any claim on our own  
part, or on that of the said companies, from the said king,  
my sovereign lord, or his subjects, or good cities, for money or  
any aid whatever, &c." August 22d 1365. *Archives*, J. 61.

¶ All the leaders of these companies were there: the  
lords Robert Briquet, Lamoit, the poet Meuchin, the burg-  
master (bourgeois) Chama, &c." Froiss. b. l. c. 328.

for although the English king had prohibited his subjects from taking any part in the war, a crowd of English and Gascon adventurers, reckless of the prohibition, flocked to the Frenchman's standard, to the high displeasure of Edward.\*

These men, whose first step had been hold- ing the pope to ransom, nevertheless pretend- ed to consider this Spanish war a crusade. When arrived in Aragon, they sent to request the king of Castile to give a passage and pro- visions "to God's pilgrims, who had undertak- en through devotion an expedition into the kingdom of Grenada, to revenge the sufferings of our Lord and Saviour, to destroy the infid- els, and exalt the cross. Don Pietro only laughed at their request, and sent for answer that he would never attend to such a beggarly crew."†

Their march, indeed, was like a pilgrimage. There was no enemy to fight. Don Pedro was abandoned, and could find no other asylum than among his friends, the Moors of Andalusia. From thence he repaired to Portugal, thence to Galicia, and finally to Bordeaux, where he met with a favorable reception.‡ The English, driven furious by rage and spite, undertook to lead back Don Pedro in triumph, and restore the executioner of Spain. They were filled with that diabolical pride which has so often turned their head, sensible as they seem to be; that pride, which impelled them to burn the Maid of Orleans, and which, in Pitt's time, would have led them to burn France.

The prince of Wales was so infatuated with the notion of his irresistible power, that he was not content with undertaking to re-establish Don Pedro in Castile, but promised the despoil- ed king of Majorca to restore him to his lost crown of Aragon. The Gascon lords, who had little desire to go so far for English interests on- ly, ventured to tell him that restoring Don Pedro was more difficult than expelling him. "My lord," they said, "you have often heard the old proverb of 'All covet, all lose.' . . . We wish to know from whom we are to have our pay, as it is not customary for men-at-arms to leave their habitations to carry on a war in a foreign country, without receiving wages."§ Don Pe- dro gave them every promise they required—he had left treasures concealed in spots known to himself alone; he would give them six hun- dred thousand florins. ¶ To the prince of Wales he was to give up Biscay, that is to say, the gate of the Pyrenees, which would turn out to Spain a Galas. ¶

All the English adventurers in the army of

\* "Many knights who were attached to the prince  
and several others were of the party." Id. ibid.

† Id. ibid. ; Id. ibid.

‡ Id. c. 522 p. 313, &c. ed. Buckton.

§ Id. c. 521 p. 322. See M. Buckton's note.

¶ As the part of Passages will soon be. The English will  
come on it sooner or later if we are not on our guard.

This note was written in 1367 at the time of the Car-  
list struggle, when the British began war acting in Spain.—  
TRANSLATED.



Don Henriquez were recalled into Guyenne. They left, well paid by him, in order to return and defeat him, and gain as much in Don Pedro's service\*—such were the faith and honor of that day. In like manner, the king of Navarre treated at one and the same time with both parties, taking money from the one to open, from the other to shut, the mountain-passes. So great was his apprehension of compromising himself in the interest of either, that, just as he was about to open the campaign with the English, he contrived to get himself taken prisoner.†

The prince of Wales had more men-at-arms than he wanted,‡ more than he could feed. When he had advanced as far as the Ebro, into a country ruined by wind, rain, and snow, provisions failed, and a small loaf fetched a florin.§ Don Henriquez was counselled to avoid an engagement, seize the passes, and starve out his enemy; but his Spanish pride forbade. He saw himself at the head of three thousand men completely clad in mail, six thousand light cavalry, (according to Froissart,|| twenty thousand men-at-arms,) ten thousand crossbow men, and sixty thousand militiamen, (*comuneros*,) with lances, darts, and slings. After all, this army was little more than an undisciplined mass. The English bowmen were worth more than the Castilian slingers; the English lances carried further than the swords and daggers of which the French and Aragonese were so fond.¶ The battle was ordered by that brave and cool John Chandos, who had already won for the English the battles of Poitiers and Auray.\*\* Notwithstanding the efforts of Don

Henriquez, who rallied his men three times, the Spaniards fled. The free companions remained unsupported, offering useless resistance.\* The whole army was either cut to pieces or taken; and Chandos, for the second time, made Duguesclin prisoner.

This was a proud day for the prince of Wales. It was just twenty years since he had fought at Crecy, and ten since he had gained the battle of Poitiers. "He gave judgment concerning arms, and all things thereunto belonging, in the plain of Burgos, he there kept the field and the wager of battle, so that one may truly say that all Spain for a day belonged to him."†

The French king, much dejected at this news, durst not give Henry of Transtamare his support. On a letter from the princess of Wales, he hastened to forbid the fugitive prince to attack Guyenne, and even threw into prison the young count of Auxerre, who was taking up arms for Don Henriquez.‡

The conquerors remained in Spain, waiting for Don Pedro to pay them out of his buried treasures. They grew exceedingly weary of their stay: the sombre hospitality of the Spaniards did not repay them for so long a sojourn. The heavy heats came on; they threw themselves on the fruits, and were carried off by dysentery in crowds. The prince of Wales was not one of the slightest sufferers. After having lost four-fifths, it is said, of their number, they determined on recrossing the mountains, out of humor, sickly, and ill-paid.§

The prince of Wales, who had passed his word for Don Pedro, being unable to meet their demands, they plundered Aquitaine. At last, he told them to seek their living elsewhere. Elsewhere, was France.¶ Thither they betook themselves; and, as they plundered by the way, they failed not to give out that the prince of

\* . . . "they immediately took leave of king Henry in the most courteous manner they could, without discovering either their own or the prince's intentions. King Henry, who was liberal, courteous, and honorable, made them very hand-some presents, thanking them most gratefully for their services . . . they left Spain, and returned as speedily as possible." Froiss. b. i. c. 233.

† "Some in the army thought it might have been done designedly . . . as he was uncertain what would be the issue of the business between king Henry and Don Pedro." Id. ibid.

‡ "The prince might have had foreign men-at-arms, such as Flemings, Germans, and Brabanters, if he had chosen it; but he sent away numbers, choosing to depend more on his own subjects and vassals than on strangers." Id. c. 235.

§ Id. c. 240.

|| Id. ibid.

¶ Id. ibid.

\*\* (The following is so characteristic of the age, that I cannot refrain from giving it:—"Sir John Chandos advanced in front of the battalions with his banner unceasing in his hand. He presented it to the prince, saying, 'My lord, here is my banner; I present it to you, that I may display it in whatever manner shall be most agreeable to you; for, thanks to God, I have now sufficient lands to enable me so to do, and maintain the rank which it ought to hold.' The prince Don Pedro being present, took the banner in his hands, which was blazoned with a sharp stake gules on a field argent: after having cut off the tail, to make it square, he displayed it, and, returning it to him by the handle, said: 'Sir John, I return you your banner. God give you strength and honor to preserve it.'"

"Upon this, Sir John left the prince, went back to his men with his banner in his hand, and said to them: 'Gentlemen, behold my banner and yours: you will therefore guard it as it becomes you.' His companions, taking the banner, replied with much cheerfulness, that 'if it pleased God and St. George, they would defend it well, and eat worthily of it, to the utmost of their abilities.' The banner was put into the hands of a worthy English squire, called William Allestry,

who bore it with honor that day, and loyally acquitted himself in the service." Froiss. b. i. c. 241.

The editor of the edition of Johnes's Froissart, to which the above reference is given, remarks, "This ceremony gave Chandos the rank of knight banneret, which it is surprising that he, who had seen so many stricken fields, had not received before. This order of knighthood was the most honorable, being conferred only on the field of battle. All the treatises on heraldry say that it must be conferred after the battle, although in this case we see an instance of its being obtained before the fight; the strict rule being probably waived in consideration of the knight's former fields."

. . . The last knight banneret created in England was Sir John Smith, who was advanced to the dignity after the battle of Edgehill, for rescuing the royal standard; he was slain in battle at Alresford, in Hampshire.")—TRANSLATOR.

\* Froiss. c. 554, pp. 408, 409, ed. Buchon.—The poor *comuneros*, hotly pursued, threw themselves into the Ebro, "into muddy, black, hideous water." Ibid. p. 411.

† Froiss. b. i. c. 242.

‡ Id. ibid. c. 243.

§ Knyghton, col. 9939; and Froissart, b. i. c. 243 . . . "the air and heat of Spain had been very hurtful to their health; even the prince himself was unwell, and in low spirits."—Walsingham says the rumor was, that the prince had had poison given him. Wals. p. 117.

¶ "The prince had them spoken to, and entreated that they would change their quarters, and seek elsewhere for a maintenance. . . . they entered France, which they called their home." Froiss. b. i. c. 244.

Wales, their debtor, had authorized them to take payment on this fashion.\*

Through pride, the prince committed another fault. He set Duguesclin at liberty, which was giving the free companies a leader. The wise Chandos, "who was his master," had said that he never should be ransomed.† "Now it happened that one day, when the prince was in great good humor, he called Sir Bertrand Duguesclin, and asked him how he was. 'My lord,' replied Sir Bertrand, 'I never was better: I cannot otherwise but be well, for I am, though in prison, the most honored knight in the world.' 'How so?' rejoined the prince. 'They say in France,' answered Sir Bertrand, 'as well as in other countries, that you are so much afraid of me, and have such a dread of my gaining my liberty, that you dare not set me free; and this is my reason for thinking myself so much valued and honored.'" The Englishman was piqued. "'What! Sir Bertrand,' he answered; 'do you imagine that we keep you a prisoner for fear of your prowess! By St. George, it is not so; pay a hundred thousand francs, and you are free.'" Duguesclin took him at his word.‡

Ayala says that the prince, in order to show how little he cared for Duguesclin, told him to fix his own ransom. Duguesclin's haughty reply was, "Not less than a hundred thousand francs"—above a million of our money. The prince was amazed: "Where will you get them, Bertrand!" On this, according to the chronicle, Bertrand made the following fine reply, which has nothing improbable about it:—"My lord the king of Castile will pay one-half, the king of France the other; and if that be not enough, there is not a French woman who can spin, but will ply her distaff for my ransom."§

He did not presume beyond his value. War was imminent. While Charles V. was giving an honorable reception at Paris to a son of the English king's, who was about to marry at Milan, the free companies dismissed by the English were laying waste Champagne, and scouring the country up to the neighborhood of the capital.¶ It was too bad to pay and to be plundered.

The prince of Wales had returned from Spain, laboring under dropy; and his army was little better. The Gascons, who had engaged in this English undertaking on the faith

of Don Pedro's buried treasures, returned poor, in sorry plight, and in bad humor. Besides, they bore the prince more than one old grudge. He had forced the count of Foix to grant a passage to the free companies, had asked the lord of Albret for a thousand lances, and had left eight hundred on his hands.\* The Southerners disliked the English, not only on account of their exactions, but because they were English; that is to say, tiresome, and disagreeable to live with. These lively, witty, and talkative races, writhed under their proud taciturnity, and constant complacent rumination on the battle of Poitiers.†

The prince of Wales despised the Gascons. He chose, with English tact, this moment of ill-humor to lay on their lands a hearth-tax (*fouage*) of ten sols the hearth.‡ Instead of paying them, he asked them for money—a hearth-rate from the poverty-struck population of the Landes, from poor mountain goatherds—a hearth-rate from those brave petty nobles, who were never rich, save in younger brothers and bastards. The prince had summoned the States to meet at Niort, in the hope of converting the Gascons by the good example of the Poitevins and Limousins: but they were insensible to it. He lost his labor in transferring the States to Angoulême, Poitiers, Bergerac—they had no more fancy to pay at Bergerac than at Niort.

And not only would they not pay, but they applied to the king of France—telling him, with the vivacity of their country, that they wanted justice; that his court was the justest in the world; and that if he would not entertain their appeal, they would seek out another lord.§ The king, who was not prepared for war, endeavored to restrain their impetuosity. He did not march in their defence, he did not dismiss them; but he kept them at Paris, feasted them, supported them: large fortunes were to be made out of this good king. The Englishman did not pay, even after service done; but he paid in advance. He gave, even to petty knights, not money only, but establishments, princely fortunes. He was a father to the Bretons and Gascons. He bore them no ill-will. The more you had drubbed his sol-

\* "Being mightily vexed, he exclaimed, 'My lord, the prince of Wales laughs at me.' In his rage, he called for a secretary, and said to him 'Write my dear lord, have the goodness to understand I cannot separate myself from the rest . . . if any of them be dismissed, I am convinced they will all go their way.' May God keep you in his holy protection!" *France*, b. i. c. 233.

† "And the men of Poitou, Maine, Anjou, Touraine, and Bourgoigne from their nature, cannot love the English, who, in their turn, being proud and presumptuous, cannot love them: nor have they ever loved them, and still less now than ever, but hold them in great despite and scorn." *Id. ibid.* c. 304.

‡ And not of a franc, as Froissart states. See *Letters of the prince of Wales*, Jan. 26th 1463. *Mémoires de la Bibl. Royale*. I am indebted for this note to M. Larnaud.

§ *France* b. i. c. 304.

¶ *Id. ibid.*—"And we will reconcile you with our distant nephew the prince of Wales, who, perchance, is evil counselled." *France*, iv. c. 365, p. 644, ed. Buchan.

\* " . . . some of those who had been made prisoners by the French partisans, said that the prince of Wales encouraged them underneath." *Id. ibid.*

† *Id. ibid.*

‡ Froissart continues—"Sir Bertrand was very anxious for his liberty, and now having heard upon what terms he could obtain it, taking the prince at his word, replied 'My lord, through God's will, I will never pay a less sum.' The prince, when he heard this, began to repent of what he had done." *Id. ibid.*

§ "N'a blâméme en France, qui sache si fier,

Qui ne gagnast ni argent ni finance à fier,

Qu'il en ne me vintrent hors de vos las pieux."

*Mémoires de la Bibl. Royale*, No. 7264, folio 25.  
¶ *France*, c. 305, 304, pp. 637-640, ed. Buchan.

diers, the better he treated you. He welcomed with open arms the Vendean, Clisson; one of those to whom the defeat of the French at Auray was most owing. To the capital de Buch he offered the duchy of Nemours. He bestowed on the lord of Albret the hand of a daughter of France.\* It greatly flattered the Gascons to see a countryman of theirs become a prince, and brother-in-law of the kings of France and Castile.

On the 25th of January, 1369, the prince of Wales received at Bordeaux a doctor of law and a knight, who bore him a summons from the king of France—a polite invitation to come to Paris, and to answer before the peers, touching certain griefs which, “through weak advice and wrong information, the prelates, barons, knights, and commons of the marches of Gascony on the frontiers of our kingdom, have suffered at your hands, to our utter amazement.”† The invalid, having looked at their credentials, haughtily replied in the words of William the Conqueror, “We shall willingly attend on the appointed day at Paris, since the king of France sends for us; but it will be helmet on head, and followed by sixty thousand men . . . It shall cost a hundred thousand lives.” The prince was in such ill-humor, that, after allowing the messengers to depart, he had them pursued, arrested, and thrown into prison on a juggling pretext, “for fear they should go relate their gibes and prattle to the duke of Anjou, who loves us little, and say how they have summoned us personally in our own palace.”‡

The king of France, on the contrary, feigned to believe that this Gascon business did not affect the king of England, and sent him a present, at this very conjuncture, of fifty pipes of good wine; which, however, the Englishman would not accept. He had but recently discharged one of the payments on account of king Jean's ransom.

Charles could endure and wait; his affairs went on not the less prosperously. In the North, he gained over the men of the low countries. He tampered with Ponthieu and Abbeville. In the South, he had long before made the pope appoint creatures of his own to the bishoprics of all the English provinces. Beyond the Pyrenees, he dispatched Duguesclin and some of the free companies to help the Castilians to free themselves from the king whom the English had imposed upon them. In return, Don Henriquez promised to equip against the English a fleet, twice as large as that of the French king.

Many of the communes aided with Don Pedro, for no other reason than his cruelty to the nobles. The Moors and Jews, in particular, were with him; bad auxiliaries, who were unable to defend him, and who gave his party an

evil reputation. He had withdrawn into the least Christian part of Spain, Andalusia; whither Don Henriquez and Duguesclin rapidly following him with a small body of trusty men, did not leave him time to recognise the number of the assailants. The Jews, who, contrary to all their habits, had taken up arms, at once laid them down; and the Moorish arrows could not repel heavy-armed cavalry. Duguesclin ordered no quarter to be given to the unbelievers.\* Don Pedro had but time to throw himself into the castle of Montiel. It is said that Duguesclin promised to allow him to escape, and betrayed him; that the two brothers, suddenly meeting in Don Henriquez' tent, flew at each other; that Don Pedro threw Henriquez down, and that Duguesclin seizing Don Pedro by the leg, and drawing him undermost, his brother ended him with a blow of his dagger.† The romance of this story does not lessen its probability.

The battle of Montiel was fought on the 14th of March. By the end of April, Charles V. broke out, surprised Ponthieu, and challenged the English monarch. The challenge was borne to Westminster by a kitchen lackey;‡ a choice of messenger, which, in a less serious matter, would have seemed a practical epigram. These conquering English, overcome in Spain by the fruits, in France by the wines, were worn out and aged by their excesses. Lionel, a son of Edward the Third's, died at Milan of indigestion. His countrymen averred that he was poisoned.

There were but too good reasons for breaking the peace. The English themselves had broken it, by letting loose the free companies on France. However, Charles V. neither spoke of this, nor of the reclamations of the Gascons at the treaty of Bretigni, and of their violated privileges. He preferred seeking some technical flaw in the treaty itself. The States-General, deferentially consulted by him, decided that his right was valid, (May the 9th, 1369:‡) he got the court of peers to pronounce in his favor the confiscation of Aquitaine; and boldly stated in his proclamation that the suzerainty and right of appeal had been reserved to him by the treaty of Bretigni.

He might lie boldly: all the world was with

\* Id. *ibid.* c. 245.

† Instead of Duguesclin, as stated by Ayala. Froissart ascribes this act to the viscount de Rocaberti.

(The passage is as follows:—"As soon as king Henry had entered the chamber where Don Pedro was, he said: 'Where is this son of a Jewish whore, who calls himself king of Castile?' Don Pedro, who was a bold as well as a cruel man, stepped forward, and said: 'Why, thou art the son of a whore, and I am the son of Alphonsus.' On saying this, he caught hold of king Henry in his arms, began to wrestle with him, and, being the strongest, threw him down under him upon a mattress with a silk covering: placing his hand on a poniard, he would infallibly have killed him, if the viscount de Rocaberti had not been present, who, seeing Don Pedro by the leg, turned him over, by which means king Henry being uppermost, immediately drew a long poniard which he wore in his arse, and plunged it into his body." Froiss. b. i. c. 245.)—TRANSLATOR.

‡ Id. *ibid.*

§ Séances, Proc. aux Ord. vi. p. 1.

\* Froiss. *ibid.* c. 564, p. 440, ed. Buchon.

† Froiss. b. i. c. 247.

‡ Id. *ibid.* c. 248.

him. The free companies declared themselves French. The bishops of Aquitaine, long gained over by the archbishop of Toulouse, put him in possession of their cities; and sixty towns, burghs, or castles, expelled the English—even Cahors and Limoges, whose bishops were apparently thoroughly English.\* Charles V. deserv'd these miracles: invalid as he was, he was ever walking in some devout procession, barefooted.† The popular preachers advocated his cause from their pulpits. The king of England, too, made the bishop of London preach; but not with the same success.‡

All the cities which gave themselves up to Charles V. obtained confirmation and increase of their privileges. The progress of his conquest may be traced from charter to charter: in February, 1370, their charters are confirmed to Rhodes, Figeac, and Montauban; that of Milhaud in Rouergue bears date May; in July follow those of Cahors and Sarlat.§

It is difficult to believe that so cool-headed and wise a prince ever seriously entertained the idea of invading England.¶ He did his best to have it believed that such was his intention, no doubt to draw the English to the North, and so hinder them from crushing the movement in the South. In fact, they landed an army at Calais under the duke of Lancaster. The large overgrown army of the French, five times more numerous than that of the English, had express orders not to engage. It remained immovable, and then withdrew amidst the hootings of the English,¶ who, nevertheless, lost both their time and money. The towns of the North were well affected, and they retook several strongholds in the South, but with a loss that far more than counterbalanced their gains, the irreparable loss of the captain to whom they owed the victories of Poitiers, of Auray, and of Najarra, the wise and able John Chandos.\*\*

\* Froissart, v. 267, p. 56 ed. Buchon.

† The king of France moved by devotion and humanity ordered frequent processions of the whole court, when he himself as well as the queen attended with all ornaments and barefooted. The king ordered all the subjects of his realm to do the same in the streets of the private and chateaux, at this time of tribulation. Froissart, v. 267.

‡ In truth it was but proper that both kings, who were determined on war, should express their thanks to their subjects for the cause of the quarrel. But they might understand it and have the better will to resist the change to which purpose they were accordingly sent in the two kingdoms. Id. ibid.

§ Froissart, v. pp. 291, 324, 333, 339. Sumner, l. i. p. 145.

¶ Froissart, v. 269.

¶ Id. c. 602, p. 110 ed. Buchon.

\*\* Id. c. 613, pp. 123, 129 ed. Buchon.

The closing scene of this "flower of knighthood" is thus beautifully given by Froissart.

These barons and knights of Britain were struck with grief when they saw their renowned Sir John Chandos lying in so painful a way, and not able to speak. They began grievously to lament his loss, saying, "The flower of knighthood is lost, Sir John Chandos, raised to the height of that lance which wounded them, and which has thus in despised this life." Those who were sick and the last in the company bewailed him, which he heard and answered with a groan, but could not utter a word. They, wringing their hands, and bowing their hair, uttering cries and complaints, especially those who belonged to his household.

This brave man had foreseen all. Directly that the prince of Wales persisted, in opposition to his advice, in imposing the fatal hearth-tax, Chandos withdrew into Normandy. Then, on the rising of the South, he returned to repair the mischief, to save the thoughtless who would not listen to him; but he had little hopes from the wars. The historian of the time represents him as very sad and melancholy, (*melancholieux*) as if he had foreseen his approaching death, and the loss of the English provinces. After his death, the English monarch followed his advice, and revoked the tax. It was too late.\*

As it usually happens when misfortune befalls one, the English committed blunder after blunder, mistake after mistake. It was their policy to secure at any cost the king of Navarre, and employ him against France. According to all appearances, the bargain depended on the viscounty of Limoges, which the Navarrese coveted; but the prince of Wales would not break into his kingdom of Aquitaine, feeling the necessity of retaining this gate of France.† Refusing, he lost every thing. The French monarch won back the king of Navarre by giving up to him Montpellier, in fulfilment of an old promise.‡ Shortly afterwards, he had the address to win over the new king of Scotland, the first of the house of Stuart.§ Castile, Navarre, Flanders, Scotland—he detached all from England. He isolated his enemy.

The pride of England was so deeply engaged in this war, that Edward still found means, despite his numerous losses, to send two armies into France. While one of his sons, the duke of Lancaster, went to the relief of the prince of Wales, who was blockaded in Bordeaux, (the end of July, 1370,) another army, under the leading of an old captain, Robert Knolles, entered Picardy, (the same month.) Neither encountered any resistance. Duguesclin, Clisson, &c., recommended the avoiding of a pitched battle, and to confine all operations to skirmishing and the defence of fortified places, leaving the open country to chance. The soldiers of the free companies knew no other criterion than success, and the bravest among the unperished to triumph by stratagem rather than by open means—as to the honor of the kingdom, they knew not what it meant. So the duke of Burgundy had to sit still and see his mother, the mother of the queen of France,

\* Sir John Chandos was slain very gently by his own servants, and upon their hands and targets, and carried off to a hard's place to Montmorency the nearest fort to the place where they were.

† That gentleman knight only survived one day and night, and had little merry on his soul, for never since a hundred years did their exist among the English one more countenance of valor, of every virtue and good quality than him.

Froissart, v. 270. Translation.

\* Froissart, v. 314, p. 145 ed. Buchon.

† See above, Hist. de Charles le Mauvais, p. 131, and

Rymur, vi. p. 677.

‡ See above, ibid. p. 133.

§ Rymur, vi. p. 698.

borne prisoner by the English along the very front of his lines, insultingly paraded in the hopes of bringing on an engagement. He proposed a single combat, but declined battle.\*

A more outrageous insult was offered at Noyon. Seyton, the Scot, leaped over the barriers of the town, hammered away an hour with the French, and returned safe and sound.† The English army penetrated to Champagne, to Reims, to Paris, destroying and burning all on its passage, and seeking in its wantonness to find some ravage cruel enough, some goad keen enough, to arouse the enemy's sense of honor. For one day and two nights, the king patiently beheld from his hôtel St. Paul the flames of burning villages on every side of Paris. A numerous and brilliant chivalry—the Tancarvilles, Coucys, and Clissons were in the city, but he held them back. Indeed Clisson, whose courage was well known, encouraged this cruel prudence:—"Sire, why should you employ your men against these madmen? Let them go about their business. They cannot take your inheritance from you, nor drive you out of it by smoke."‡

As the army was drawing off, an English knight rode up to the barrier St. Jacques, which was open and thronged with knights, in order to fulfil a vow that he would strike the barrier of Paris with his lance. Our knights applauded him, and allowed him to depart.§ This insult to the walls of the city, to the honor of the *pomarium*, so sacred to the ancients, did not touch their feudal minds; and the Englishman was slowly retiring, when a brave butcher steps out on the road, and, with a heavy long-handled axe, strikes him between the shoulders, then repeats the blow, but on his head, and unhorses him.|| Three others came up, and the four hammer on the Englishman "as on an anvil." The knights posted at the barriers recovered his body, and had him buried in holy ground.

The prince of Wales encountered no more opposition to laying siege to Limoges, than Knolles had to insulting Paris. Duguesclin himself had recommended disbanding the army of the South, and had retained only two hundred lances for scouring the country. The

prince was the more embittered against its inhabitants from the fact, that their bishop, who had instigated them to their defection, had been his creature and gossip; and he had sworn by his father's soul that he would make the city dearly rue its treason. In their alarm, the citizens wished to surrender; but they were prevented by the French captains. However, the prince sprang a mine under the walls, and entered through the breach. He was too ill for horseback, and was conveyed in a car. His orders were to slay all,—men, women, and children; and he feasted his eyes with the sight of this butchery. "There was not that day in the city of Limoges any heart so hardened, or that thought on their God, who did not deeply bewail the unfortunate events passing before them."\* The prince of Wales remembered not his Maker. This sick, cadaverous man, who was so near to his final audit, this dying man could not satiate himself with the sight of death. Women and children threw themselves on their knees before him, exclaiming, "Mercy, mercy, sweet sir!" He was deaf. He spared only the bishop, that is, the only guilty person, and three French knights whose desperate resistance won them his favorable regard.†

This massacre, which rendered the name of Englishman hateful throughout France, taught the cities the necessity of stern defence. It was the leave-taking of the enemy. He treated the country as if it belonged to another, as if he felt that he should not return. Shortly afterwards, becoming worse, the prince was persuaded by his physicians to try the effect of his native fogs, and embarked for London.‡ No doubt, his brother, the duke of Lancaster, began to be odious in his sight. Hopeless of succeeding himself, he at least wished to secure the throne to his son.

To the joy of the whole kingdom, the king named Duguesclin constable.§ Raised to this, the highest office in the kingdom, the petty Breton knight ate at the king's table; a distinction calculated to awaken some surprise, when we see in Christine de Pisan,|| that the ceremonial of the French court was, that the king should be waited upon at table by his brothers.

The new constable was the only man who comprehended the kind of war that was to be waged with the English. Pitched battles were out of the question: Crecy and Poitiers awed men's minds. Strange—the French who, under Duguesclin, drove the English out of many

\* . . . "since you are not willing to accept the offer they have made you, three days hence, between nine and twelve in the morning, you, my lord duke of Bourbon, will see your lady-mother placed on horseback, and carried away . . . you will bear this from me to your masters, that if they will draw out fifty men, we will draw out the same number, and let the victory fall where it may." Froiss. b. i. c. 251. . . . "But they did not budge or stir," c. 621, p. 155, ed. Buchon.

† "Gentlemen, I am come to see you; for as you do not vouchsafe to come out beyond your barriers, I condescend to visit you." Froiss. b. i. c. 285.

‡ Id. ibid. c. 249.

§ "Get away! get away! thou hast well acquitted thyself." Id. ibid.

|| . . . "he met a butcher on the pavement in the suburbs, a very strong man, who had noticed him as he passed him. . . . As the knight was returning alone, and in a careless manner, the valiant butcher came on one side of him," &c. Id. ibid.

\* . . . "upwards of three thousand men, women, and children were put to death that day. God have mercy on their souls! for they were veritable martyrs." Id. ibid. c. 290.

† Id. ibid.; and Walsingham, p. 185.

‡ Id. ibid. c. 294.

§ . . . "as the most valiant, the best-informed, the most virtuous and fortunate in conducting affairs," &c. Id. ibid. c. 291.

|| For some account of this authoress, see book viii. c. i. of this history.

towns, feared to meet in the open field those whom they did not hesitate to attack, though under the cover of walls. They required to be at least two to one for the undertaking. But they began to regain confidence when Duguesclin, harassing Knolle's army on its retreat, at the head of four hundred French, contrived to cut off two hundred Englishmen.\*

But what served Charles V. better than Duguesclin, or than any one or aught besides, was the madness of the English—the vertigo which drove them on from error to error. They got the duke of Brittany to declare for them, but Brittany itself was against them. They found that they had called down ruin on Montfort, whom they had restored with so much trouble. The Bretons expelled their duke.†

Up to this time, Charles V. had derived little benefit from his alliance with Castile. The English took upon them to draw it closer and render it effective. In his extravagant ambition, the duke of Lancaster married Don Pedro's eldest, and the earl of Cambridge his second daughter. Never was such unheard-of, incredible infatuation. England, who had not been able to conquer France, undertook, in addition, the conquest of Spain.

The end of this new imprudence was to supply the French with a fleet. The king of Castile, who felt himself threatened by this marriage, sent a naval armament to Charles's aid. The heavy Spanish ships, amply provided with cannon, sank before Rochelle the small barks of the English, manned with archers.‡ Rochelle looked on approvingly, and drove out the conquered party. She opened her gates, but with favorable reservations and on cautious terms, so as to remain a republic, owning the royal authority.§

This great event decided the defection of all Poitou. Edward and the prince of Wales—the old, and the dying man—embarked, and attempted to take over reinforcements; but the sea would no more of them, and forced them back, in their own despite, on their own coasts. The city of Thouars surrendered. Duguesclin defeated the remaining English at Chizey. Brittany then threw off the yoke, and was Charles's after a siege or two.¶ The only captain who remained faithful to the English was a Gascon, the capitaine de Buch; one of the

best of the French captains was a Welshman,\* a descendant of the ancient princes of Wales, who avenged his ancestors by serving France. The Welshman took the Gascon; and Charles V. kept carefully in the tower of the Temple this important prisoner, and would never allow him to ransom himself.†

Edward's second son, the duke of Lancaster, the founder of that ambitious house of Lancaster which was the glory and the misfortune of England in the fifteenth century, had assumed the title of king of Castile; and he got himself named captain-general of the king of England in France, and his lieutenant in Aquitaine, where the English had scarcely anything. There is such force of pride in the English character, such obstinate passion, that after staking and losing so many men and so much money, they made a new venture to recover all, and furnished another large army for the use of their captain of Aquitaine. Disembarking at Calais, Lancaster traversed France without finding any thing to do, battle to fight, or town to take: all was close gates, and strict guard. He could only hold a few villages to ransom. As long as they were in the North, provisions were abundant: "they dined every day splendidly;" but as soon as they were in Auvergne, they could get neither provisions nor forage. Hunger and disease made dreadful havoc in the army. They had left Calais with thirty thousand horses; they arrived on foot in Guyenne.‡ They were an army of beggars; who begged from door to door their bread from the French.§

The arrival of this army at Bordeaux was attended with some result. The Gascons, who were no longer English, but who were in no hurry to become French, became emboldened, and told the constable of France that they would do homage to the conqueror. The day of battle was fixed for the 15th of April, at Moissac: it was adjourned by the English to the 15th of August; and then, they required that the ground should be shifted to Calais. The covenants in these transactions being lost,

\* "Evan of Wales, was the son of a prince of Wales, whom King Edward, for some reason I am ignorant of, had put to death, and seized his territories and principality, which he had given to his own prince of Wales." *Proton.* b. i. c. 206.

On this, Mr. Johnes observes, "By every thing I can find, this Evan was an impostor. Llewellyn, the last prince of Wales, was treacherously slain near Builth, in Edward I.'s reign." But the editor of the edition of Johnes's *Promart* & *de la vie* says, "Llewellyn left only one legitimate child, a daughter, afterwards married to Watcyn, earl of Fife; he also, it is said, left an illegitimate son called Madoc, but nothing is known of his history or fate. It is not improbable that this Evan was the son of Madoc." — *THOMAS LAYTON*.

† "The king was so much pleased with this peace, that he gave to the squire that had taken him twelve hundred francs." *INNOCENTIUS*.

‡ "They had hardly forty horses remaining." *Wals.* p. 529.

§ *Multis faminis et moribus delictis quantum et divites sustinuit mendicando pauperes priores.* The chronicler adds, *nec erat qui eis daret, and found none to give them any.* *Id.* p. 167.

\* *Id.* *ibid.* c. 292.

† "All the barons, knights, and squires of that country were thoroughly good Frenchmen, and addressed the duke in these words: 'Dear lord, as soon as we shall overtly perceive that you take any part with the king of England against the king of France, we will all quit you and the country of Brittany.'" *Id.* *ibid.* c. 293.

‡ "The engagement was very severe, and the English had enough to do, for the Spaniards who were in large numbers, had great bars of iron and huge stones which they hurled and flung from their ships in order to sink those of the English." *Id.* *ibid.* c. 293 & 294.

§ "... that the town should be allowed a mint, with money to coin florins, and black and white money, with the same alloy and form as those of Paris." *Id.* *ibid.* c. 311.

¶ *Proton.* c. 67 pp. 62, 64 ed. Huchon.

it is impossible to specify the arrangements agreed upon. However, on the 15th of August, the French repaired to Moissac, drew up in order of battle, waited, and no one came. On this, they compelled the Gascons to abide by their word. The only places left to the English in France, were Calais, Bayonne, and Bordeaux, (A. D. 1374.)\*

This effort, which had ended in nothing,—this blow struck in air, did them much mischief. The exhaustion that followed was so great, that Edward accepted the so oft-rejected mediation of the pope. He began to fear his people's growl of discontent. The savage bull-dog, so long lured on by the temptation of a prey which was further off every day, turned as if about to fly at its master. There was great difficulty in making the English stomach the war: England had been tired of it with Crécy. When the chancellor asked the commons, in order to touch their honor—"What! would you have constant peace?"† their naïve reply was, "Yes, we would."‡ They are then led to believe that all would be over with the taking of Calais. Next, came the triumph of Poitiers, which turned their head: they imagined that the ransom of the king of France would relieve them for ever from the burden of taxes. Next, they were kept amused with Spain, and Don Pedro's famous hidden treasures. The Spanish money not making its appearance, they were made to believe that they should have Spain herself.

In 1376, they made up their books, and found that they had nothing—nor money, nor Spain, nor France. Their discontent was extreme. They threw the whole blame on the king, and on the duke of Lancaster, whose influence was then paramount. His elder brother, the prince of Wales, ill though he was, favored the opposition. The parliament of 1376, called the *good parliament*, was not to be cajoled by high-sounding words; but inquired what had been done with all the money, the subsidies, the French and Scotch ransoms, and, attacking Edward in the most brutal manner, pitilessly tore off the veil from the royal weaknesses, and pursued him into the details of his domestic life, and even into his bedroom.

The aged monarch was governed by a young married woman, Alice Perrers, lady of the bed-chamber to the queen—beautiful, bold, and impudent.§ The poor queen, who saw all, had made her dying request to the king, "that he would be pleased to lie by her side at Westminster," hoping to have him to herself in death at least.

Alice had the queen's jewels. The favorite took or stole what was not given. She sold offices, and even verdicts; and would go to the

King's Bench to recommend the causes she favored. The clerical judges, the doctors of canon law, were exposed, while sitting, to the whispers of the fair Alice, who would come in person to pervert their judgments.\* The parliament called on the king to remove this woman and other evil counsellors.

The prince of Wales died, leaving an infant son; and, what between the infancy of this nephew and the years of his father, the duke of Lancaster found himself really king. The counsellors were recalled. Parliament was forced to vote a heavy sub. The duke, who needed much greater means still to pursue his conquest of Spain, proposed to lay hands on the goods of the clergy. Already had he launched against the priests the famous preacher, Wickliffe, whom he supported, together with all the great barons, against the bishop of London. But the Londoners, excited by an insolent speech of Lancaster's concerning their bishop, rose up, and were near tearing the duke in pieces.†

In the midst of this tumult, the aged Edward was dying at Eltham, left to the mercy of his Alice. She deceived him to the last, remaining by his bedside, flattering him with the hopes of speedy recovery, and preventing him from thinking of ghostly concerns. No sooner did speech fail him, than she tore the rings from his fingers,‡ and left him there.

Only a year had intervened between the death of son and father. Their names, to which such events as the foregoing are attached, are, perhaps, still the dearest of England's remembrances. Although the prince was mainly indebted to John Chandos for his victories of Poitiers and Najarra; although his pride fired the Gascons to insurrection and armed Castile against England, few are better deserving of their country's gratitude. We even, to whom he did so much evil,—we cannot look without respect on the surcoat of the great enemy of France, in Canterbury cathedral. Its sorry, worm-eaten tatters shine out conspicuously from among the rich scutcheons that deck the walls. Five hundred years has it survived the noble heart it covered.

When the French king heard of Edward's death, he observed that his had been a glorious reign, and that such a prince deserved to have his name remembered among heroes. He called together a number of prelates and of barons, and had his obsequies performed in the Sainte-Chapelle.§ In England, the mournful ceremony was disturbed. Four days after Edward's death the Castilian fleet, filled with French troops, ran down the whole coast, burning the

\* Illa nunc juxta justitiariorum regis residendo, nunc in foro ecclesiastico juxta doctores se collocando . . . pro defensione causarum suarum ac etiam contra postulare misime verebatur. Id. *Ibid.*

† Id. p. 192.

‡ Inverecunda pellex detrahit annulos à suis digitis et recessit. *Ibid.*

§ Froiss. b. I. c. 387.

\* Id. *ibid.*—Froiss. c. 689, p. 78, ed. Buchon.

† Hallam's Europe in the Middle Ages.

‡ *Militie parlamentales graviter inquesti sunt de quadam Alicia Peres appellata femina procacissima.* Wals. p. 189.

supports—Wight, Rye, Yarmouth, Dartmouth, Plymouth, and Winchelsea.\* While Edward and the prince of Wales were alive, England had never known such a disaster.

On all sides, the king of France carried on a war of negotiations. For five years he had prevented a son of Edward's marrying the heiress of Flanders, by standing in the way of his obtaining the papal dispensation; which he readily procured for his brother, the duke of Burgundy, who stood in the same degree of consanguinity to the young countess. Her father was averse to this marriage, and so were the cities of Flanders; but her grandmother, countess of Artois and of Franche-Comté, sent word to her son, the count of Flanders, that she would disinherit him if he did not give his daughter to the French prince: and the marriage took place to the despair of the English king, who saw this immense inheritance on the eve of falling in to the house of France. Mutilated on the west, France shaped out for herself her vast girdle of the east and north.

This check, and those which the English further experienced near Bordeaux, determined them to do what they should have done at once—ally themselves with the king of Navarre. They proposed giving him Bayonne and the adjoining country: he would have been their lieutenant in Aquitaine. The Navarrese, more cunning than able, sent his son to Paris, the better to deceive the king, while he treated with the English. It happened to him, as to Louis XI. at Peronne—he fell through over-cunning into the trap. The king kept his son, resumed possession of Montpellier, and seized his country of Evreux. His lieutenant Dutertre, and his counsellor, Du Rue, who were said to have come with intent to poison the king, were arrested. Charles-le-Mauvais had already been accused of poisoning the queen of France, the queen of Navarre, and others besides.† There was nothing improbable in the charge. Driven wild by a long succession of misfortunes, this petty prince might have endeavored to get back by crime and stratagem what force had taken from him. He had reason to hate his countrymen, as much as he did the enemy. His wife wronged him with the brave Gasco-English captain, the capital de Buch.‡ All Du Rue confessed was, that Charles-le-Mauvais thought he might poison the king through the agency of a young physician of Cyprus, who would easily make his way with Charles V., "because he spoke Latin well, and was a good dialectician." Dutertre and Du Rue were executed. From this process, the French monarch derived the advantage of degrading and dishonoring the king of Navarre, fixing the stigma of poisoner

upon him, and thus for ever barring his claims to the throne of France.

Charles-le-Mauvais lost every place in the North, except Cherbourg. On the South, he was threatened by the Castilians. He would even have lost Navarre, had not the English come to his assistance. Here the Gascons joined the English; who then endeavored to take St. Malo, with no better success than the attempt of the French to take Cherbourg. All this great warlike movement again ended in nothing. The French king could neither be forced to fight nor to surrender: he remained with nine points of the law in his favor—possession.\*

Charles's abilities, and the weakness of other states, had elevated France, at least in the opinion of the world. All Christendom once more looked up to her. The pope, Castile, Scotland, regarded her king as their protector; brother of the future count of Flanders, the ally of the Visconti, he saw the kings of Aragon and Hungary court his alliance. He received distant embassies from the king of Cyprus, and the sultan of Bagdad, who addressed him as the first prince among the Franks.† Even the emperor paid him a kind of homage, by visiting him at Paris; and, after having alienated the rights of the empire in Germany and Italy, he conferred on the dauphin the title to the kingdom of Arles.‡

The sudden restoration of the kingdom of France was a miracle, which all desired to see. From all parts, men came to admire this prince who had endured so much, and who had conquered by dint of declining battle—patient as Job, wise as Solomon. The fourteenth century had its eyes couched as to chivalry and heroic follies, to see and revere in Charles V. the hero of patience and of craft.

Naturally economical, this king of a ruined people astonished strangers by the number of his buildings. He reared around Paris the pleasure-houses—so they were styled—of Melun, Beauce, and St. Germain: but every house of that period was a fortress. He gave the town a new bridge—Pont-Neuf—walls, gates, and a good bastille. His trust was chiefly in walls.‡

\* "The French king so divided a reverse, that he would on no account hazard his people in battle, except they were as five to one." Froissart, vii. 113, ed. Buchan.

† "Comme un suberel prince des chrestiens." He offered to make him governor of his provinces, and master of his horse. "Christ de France, vi. p. 61.

‡ Ibid. p. 97.

§ "King Charles was very magnific and subtle, on his conduct shewed, for though he never quitted his closet or his amusements, he reconquered all that his predecessors had lost in the field, helmet on head and sword in hand." Froissart, b. ii. c. 38.

¶ "Shewing how king Charles was a good artist and learned in the sciences, and the fine buildings that he constructed—He founded St. Anthony's church, Paris. He repaired and enlarged St. Paul's church, and founded many other churches and chapels repairing the old ones and increasing the revenues. He enlarged his hotel St. Paul; he rebuilt the castle of the Louvre at Paris, built the bastille St. Anthony, as we now see it, and erected some strong and beautiful buildings over many of the game of Paris; also the

\* M. Ibid. c. 383.

† Beaune, Hist. de Charles le Mauvais, t. i. second part, p. 173.

‡ Lottin, Hist. du Comte d'Evreux, p. 12.—See the original documents, Archives du Royaume, t. 613.



Near his bastille he had raised, added to, and furnished, with the luxury of a king and the curious care of an invalid, the vast hôtel St. Paul.\* The magnificence of this palace, and the splendid hospitality which foreign princes and noblemen met with there, threw a deceptive veil over the state of the kingdom. The sire de la Rivière, the amiable and subtle counsellor of Charles, the finished gentleman of his day, did its honors,† and showed them over his master's noble residence, with its galleries, libraries, and sideboards laden with gold plate. They called him *the rich king*.‡

"He rose in the morning between six and seven. He gave audience, even to the meanest, who might boldly apply to him. Afterwards, when he had dressed his hair, and attired himself . . . his breviary was brought him; about eight o'clock, he went to mass; on leaving his chapel, all, of all ranks, might present him their petitions. After this, at the hour appointed, he attended the council, after which . . . about ten o'clock he sat down to table. . . . Like David, he was pleased to listen to gentle music after his meals.

"When he rose from table, at collation, strangers of all sorts had access to him. There were brought him news of all manner of countries, or reports of his wars . . . for the space of two hours; afterwards, he went to rest an hour. After his sleep, he whiled away a time with his most confidential intimates, looking at jewels or other costly things. Then he went to vespers. After this . . . in summer he walked in his gardens, where merchants would bring him velvets, cloth of gold, &c. In winter, he often employed himself in hearing read divers fine histories from Holy Scripture, or incidents from romances, or passages of morality from philosophers, or other points of knowledge, until supper-time, to which he sat down early, after which he trifled away an hour, and then withdrew. In order to prevent vain and empty words and thoughts, he had (at the queen's dinner) a learned man at the end of the table, who was ever recounting some virtuous act or other of the good of former days."§

The philosophers with whom the king loved to discourse, were his astrologers.¶ His official

astrologer, an Italian, Thomas, of Pisano, who had been expressly invited from Bologna, received a salary of a hundred livres a month. These folk, whatever their means of foreknowledge, were never much out, being subtle and sagacious in the extreme. When Charles V. placed the constable's sword in Duguesclin's hand, he presented him at the same time with an astrologer.\*

The little that we know of Charles, of his words, and of his judgments, indicates, as does the whole tenor of his reign, a cold, quiet wisdom, and, perhaps, some indifference as to the good or evil of the means employed.† "Taking into consideration," says his female historian, "human weakness, he never allowed husbands to *immure* their wives for infidelity, although repeatedly entreated to this end."‡ Three times he caught his barber in the act of picking his pocket, without anger, and without punishing him.§

Charles V. is, perhaps, the first king of this eminently volatile people, who could lay out plans of success in the remote perspective; the first who comprehended the slow, distant, but henceforward real influence of books on political affairs. The prior, Honoré Bonnor, wrote by his order the first essay on the law of peace and war: it bore the fantastic title of the *Tree of Battles*. His advocate-general, Raoul de Presles, translated the Bible into the vulgar tongue, all these years before Luther and Calvin. His ancient preceptor, Nicholas Oresme, translated that other bible of the day, Aristotle. Oresme, Raoul de Prèsles, and Philippe de Maizières, labored, perhaps jointly, at those large books, the *Songe du Verger*, the *Songe du Vieux Pèlerin*, a kind of encyclopedic romances, in which all the questions of the day were handled, and which paved the way for the abasement of the spiritual power, and the confiscation of the property of the Church. So, in the sixteenth century, Pithou, Passerat, and some others composed the *Ménippée* together.

Expenditure increased; the people were ruined; the Church alone had means of payment.

they durst not found castles, build churches, begin war, enter battle, put on a new dress, make a present of a jewel, undertake a journey, or quit their palace, without its sanction. Id. p. 308.

\* Id. p. 309.

† He did not condemn dissimulation unreservedly:—"To dissemble, said some one, is a sort of treason. Of a surety, observed the king, it is a circumstance which makes a thing good or evil; for dissimulation may be so employed as to be virtuous at one time, vicious at another: for instance, to oppose the fury of the wicked by dissembling, in the hour of need, is a mark of sense; but to dissemble and hold back until you have an opportunity of doing any one a mischief, may be called vice." Id. vi. 63.

‡ . . . "with great difficulty he was persuaded to allow the husband to keep her shut up in her room, if she were exceedingly irregular." Id. v. p. 307.

§ He only dismissed him when he had made the attempt the fourth time. Ibid. p. 297. Yet he himself had justice at heart, and would see it executed. A good woman having complained to him of a man-at-arms who had violated her daughter, he caused the guilty individual to be hung up on a tree before her eyes. Ibid. p. 290.

new and fine walls, and large and lofty towers round Paris. He ordered the building of the Pont Neuf. He built Beaulieu, (the house of Beauty;) the noble mansion, Plaisance; repaired the hôtel St. Oyn; added largely to the castle of St. German-en-Laye, to Creel, Montargis, the castle of Melun, and many other notable edifices." Christ. de Pisan. vi. 23.

\* See Appendix.

† Pour maintenir sa court en honneur, le roy avoit avec luy barons de son sang et autres chevaliers duls et apriés en toutes honneurs . . . ainsi messire Burel de la Rivière, beau chevalier, et qui certes ués gracieusement, largement et joyeusement savoit accueillir ceux que le roy vouloit festoyer et honorer. Christ. de Pisan, vi. 63.

‡ So Mathieu de Coucy called him. Observ. sur Christ. de Pisan, vi. 161, 163.

§ Id. p. 227.—292, 296.

¶ The Charles secular princes, according to a contemporary of Charles V., would not enter on any new undertaking unless authorized by it (astrology) and by its holy election;

This was the whole thought of the fourteenth century. In England, the duke of Lancaster, to hurry matters to a crisis, availed himself of Wickliffe and the Lollards, and was near throwing the whole kingdom into confusion. In France, Charles V. prepared for the change with skilful procrastination. Yet things pressed. The apparent restoration of France could not deceive the king. He was living on expedients only. He had been obliged to pay the judges with the very fines they had themselves imposed, to sell impunity to usurers, to throw himself into the hands of the Jews. In conformity with the monstrous privileges which king Jean had sold them for his ransom-money, they were exempt from taxes and from all jurisdiction, save that of a prince of the blood, named guardian of their privileges.\* No royal letters had force against them.† They promised to exact an interest of only four deniers a week on the livre. But, at the same time, their oath was to be taken against those of all their debtors.‡

The prince, their *protector*, was to assist them in the recovery of their debts; that is to say, the king turned bailiff to the Jews, for the sake of going halves with them. Money, extorted by such means, drained the people much more than it profited the king.§

If the priest could not be despoiled, there was no other resource than passing through the Jew's hands; for Jew and priest alone had money. Industry had not yet produced wealth, or commerce circulated it. Wealth consisted in hoards—the buried hoard of the Jew, noiselessly fed by usury; the hoard of the priest, only too plainly seen in the churches and the goods of the Church.

The temptation was strong, but the difficulty was great likewise. The priests had been his most zealous allies against the English. They had put him in possession of the greater part of Aquitaine, as they had formerly made Clouis its master.

There were two constant grounds of quarrel between the spiritual and the temporal powers—money and judicial authority—the last was an important element in the money question, or justice took care to pay herself.

The first complaints against the clergy begin with the barons, and not with the kings.

(A. D. 1205.)\* As founders and patrons of churches, the barons were much more directly interested in the question. In St. Louis's reign, they form a confederacy against the clergy, fix a certain sum for each to contribute, in order to carry on the contest, and appoint representatives to help with the strong hand such of their body as should be struck by ecclesiastical sentence.† In the famous pragmatic act of St. Louis, (A. D. 1270,) an act down to this time little understood, the king requires the election of bishops to be free, that is, to be left to royal and feudal influence.‡

Philippe-le-Bel had the barons on his side in his struggle with the pope; and they formed a new confederation, which alarmed the bishops, and put the Gallican church into the king's hands. The church his, he managed, through it, to extend his influence over the papacy as well. Yet, at the beginning and at the end of his reign, Philippe-le-Bel ventured on two boldly impartial blows—the maltôte, which struck the barons and priests as well as burghesses, and the suppression of the Temple, of the chivalry of the Church.

The crown, triumphant under Philippe-de-Valois, forced the pope to give it all it required, out of the revenues of the Gallican Church, and even aspired at levying the tenths for the crusade over all Christendom. By way of indemnification for the tenths, *regales*, &c., the churches sought to increase the profits of their own by encroaching on the lay jurisdictions, baronial or royal. Thus, the king seemed to wish to repress. On the 22d of December, 1329, a solemn pleading, conducted by Pierre Cugnières, advocate, on the part of the king and the barons,§ and by Pierre du Roger, archbishop of Sens, on that of the clergy, took place before him in the castle of Vincennes. The latter spoke on the text, "Fear God, honor the king," and he resolved this precept into the four following—"Serve God devoutly, give to him largely, honor his servants duly, render him his own wholly."||

I am inclined to think that the whole of this proceeding was got up by the king, simply by way of satisfaction to the barons, since he

\* Latitudes de l'Eglise, tome i. c. 1. p. 4.

† Ibid. c. 1. p. 19.

‡ He investigated not the excesses of the clergy. (Rome the hindrances arising from separate election of us and the violation of the French law of the king in without specifying what those laws were.) Ibid. c. 1. p. 19.

§ Among other things, Pierre Cugnières, insisted that a vessel, going to sea, should be permitted to be seized and mortgaged to the king, with the exception of the privilege that the Church might require, that a vessel should not be excommunicated for not being mortgaged to the king; that the revenues of the king should be paid before him, that the king should have the right to appoint and depose bishops, that the king should have the right to appoint and depose judges, and should have the right to appoint and depose judges in most cases; that priests who traded for the sake of money, or who were idle, should be punished; that if a priest had two wives, he should be punished more than by this and to such an extent as a priest &c.

|| Bunsen, ii. 7.

\* Ibid. in pp. 351, and 671. Compare iv. p. 532. Feb. 4 1204.

† Ibid. in p. 407. art. 26.

‡ They were not to end in a dispute, as pages 268, but they had secured an outlet for themselves. After the 20th of the privileges of the Jews, is the law. For four of things being deposited in their houses, which they were forbidden to sell to the alien, we must not forget that the king was to have any thing found there, except that he was to have the king of which the clergy should have the king.

§ Although Charles V. was a good constitution, some order into the public accounts, he did not see far into the matter. The use of Roman money, which was the most common time by the French, to destroy the currency, was a high business, and a high business.

|| The 26th of December, 1329, in 1329, expresses that justice, especially in France, brought in the clearest revenue to the Church.

closed it by saying, that far from abridging the Church's privileges, he would rather add to them.\* All that followed, was his issuing an ordinance, establishing his right of *regale* to the fruits of vacant benefices, (A. D. 1334.) Of the two pleaders, he who acted on behalf of the Church became pope; the advocate for the king and barons was, says a grave historian, universally hissed; and his name became proverbial for a bad wrangler.† Nor did he escape with this. There was in the cathedral of Notre-Dame a grotesque image of a damned person, just as we see elsewhere a representation of Dagobert pulled about by devils; and this foul-faced, flat-nosed image was called *M. Pierre du Coignet*; and all belonging to the cathedral—sub-deacons, sacristans, beadles, choristers young and old—used to stick their tapers under the poor devil's nose, or, to put them out, would dash them in his face.‡ For four hundred years he had to endure this vestry vengeance.

The churches were between hammer and anvil; between the king and the pope. When a bishopric had paid the *regales* to the king for a year or more, the newly elected bishop had to pay to the pope the *annats*, or his first year's revenue.§

But what the barons, as patrons of churches, and the canons or monks who voted in the chapters, most complained of, was the *réserves*. By a word, the pope could stop an election; he would declare that he had reserved to himself the nomination to such or such a bishopric or abbey. These *réserves*, by which a French or Italian pastor was often given to an English, German, or Spanish Church, were most odious. Nevertheless, they had often the advantage of withdrawing the great sees from the stupid feudal influences which would have placed in them worthless characters, younger brothers, or cousins of the barons; and the popes would sometimes draw out from the depths of a convent or the dust of universities, some learned and able clerk, to make him bishop, archbishop, or even primate of all Gaul, or of the Empire.

Generally speaking, the popes of Avignon did not entertain this lofty policy. Poor servants of the king of France, they left the papacy to chance, and only saw in the *réserves* a means of selling places, and carrying on simony by wholesale. John XXII. had the effrontery to declare, that for the first year of his pontificate he reserved to himself all the vacant bene-

fices in Christendom, out of hatred to simony.\* This son of a cobbler of Cahors left behind him a fortune of twenty-five millions of ducats. His contemporaries believed that he had discovered the philosopher's stone.†

Benedict XII. was so alarmed by the state in which he found the Church, and by the intrigues and corruption with which he was beset, that he preferred leaving the benefices vacant; he reserved the nominations to himself, and named no one.‡ On his death, the torrent resumed its course; and it is averred, that more than a hundred thousand clerks came to Avignon to purchase benefices, on the election of the prodigal and worldly Clement VI.§

To enter into all this, read Petrarch's dolorous lamentations on the state of the Church, his invectives against the western Babylon. He is at once Juvenal and Jeremiah. Avignon is to him as another labyrinth, but without its Ariadne or its liberating clue. He finds in it the cruelty of Minos, and infamy of the Minotaur.|| He paints with disgust the aged amours of the princes of the Church, those hoary-headed minions. . . . Scandalous stories circulated by thousands; and the absurd tale of pope Joan became probable.¶

Some distrust might be entertained of Petrarch's erudite indignation. Judgments, calculated to have more weight with the people at large, were passed by St. Bridget, and by the two Saints Catherine. St. Bridget puts into Jesus' own mouth this address to the pope of Avignon:—"Murderer of souls, worse than Pilate and Judas! Judas sold me alone; but thou sellest me and the souls of my elect too."\*\*

Clement the Sixth's successors were less sullied than he, but more ambitious. They made the Church a conqueror, and Italy a desert. Clement had purchased Avignon from queen Joanna, by giving her absolution for the murder of her husband. By the aid of the free companies, his successors regained all the patrimony of St. Peter. The exasperation of the Italians was wrought up to fury by this alliance

\* Baluze, Pap. Aven. l. p. 722. Omnia beneficia ecclesiastica quæ fuerunt—"and under whatever appellation they might go, and wherever they might fall vacant."

† See, above, p. 433.

‡ "Since he did not find any that came up to his ideas of fitness." Prima Vita Bened. XII. ap. Baluz. l. p. 364.

§ In Clemente clementia. . . . Tertia Vit. Clem. VI. Ibid. p. 284.

|| Petrarch. Ep. 10, de Tertia Babylone, et Quinto Labyrintho.

¶ The antipope, Nicholas V., had married Jeanne de Corbière, whom he divorced in order to turn Minorite. When he became pope, Jane, or Joan, pretended that the divorce was null. This gave rise to a thousand stories at Avignon, and hence the fable of—*Popeess Joan*. The tale has been referred to the year 848, and Marianus Festus and Sigebert de Gemblours been quoted in proof: but not a word of the kind is found in the old manuscripts of these authors. It was only at a later period that the gloss, which had been written in the margin, crept into the text. Baluz. iv. 240.

\*\* Tu peior Lucifero . . . tu injustior Pilato . . . tu immitior Juda, qui me solum vendidit; tu autem non solum me vendis, sed et animas electorum meorum. S. Brigide Revelationes, b. l. c. 41.

\* Sequæ jura ecclesiarum aucta potius quam immunitas esse velle. Id. Ibid. 222.

† Abilité in proverbium, ut quem scilicet et argutulum et deformem videmus, M. Petrum de Cuneris, vel corrupte, M. Pierre du Coignet vocitemus. Id. Ibid. Thus it seems, *Pierre du Coignet* (Peter in the corner?) was a corruption of his true name, Pierre Cugnieres.

‡ Libertés de l'Eglise Gallicane. Traité, Lettres de Brunet, p. 4.—Simulacrum ejus, simum et deformem . . . quod scholasticæ prætereuntes stylis suis scriptoris pugnissimè confodere et contendere solebant. Baluz. iv. 322.

§ The archbishops of Mentz and Cologne paid the pope, each, twenty-four thousand ducats for the *pallium*.

of the pope's with English and Breton brigades. The war became atrocious with outrages and barbarities. To the legates who bore them the bull of excommunication, the Visconti gave the choice of being drowned, or of eating it. At Milan, the priests were flung into heated ovens. At Florence, the populace wanted to bury them alive. The popes felt that Italy would be lost, if they did not quit Avignon.

No doubt, they were the less inclined to stay there, since they had been held to ransom by the free companies. The degradation of France left them at liberty to choose their place of residence. Urban V., the best of these popes, endeavored to establish himself at Rome, but could not. Gregory accomplished it; and died there.

On his death, the French had an assured majority in the conclave. However, this conclave was held at Rome. The cardinals heard furious cries rise around them of, "*Romano lo volemo o almeno Italiano*," (We will have a Roman, or, at least, an Italian for pope.) Of the sixteen cardinals who composed the conclave, only four were Italians; one was a Spaniard; the eleven others were French.\* The latter were divided among themselves. Two of the last popes, being from Limousin, had made several of their countrymen cardinals. These Limousins, finding the other Frenchmen desirous of barring them from the papacy, joined with the Italians to name an Italian, pope—thinking, at the same time, the individual fixed upon, the Calabrian Bartolomeo Prignano, a devoted adherent of France.

The result, just as at Clement the Fifth's election, proved the reverse of what had been anticipated; only, at this time, to the prejudice of French interests. Urban VI., a man of sixty years of age, and, till his election, considered a very moderate man, from that moment seems to have lost his head. He was anxious, he said, to reform the Church; but he began with the cardinals, and sought, among other things, to bring them down to but one dish at their table. They fled; declared the election a compulsory one; and chose another pope—a great baron, Robert of Geneva, son of the count of Geneva, who had displayed great audacity and ferocity in the wars of the Church. They named him Clement VII., no doubt after Clement VI., one of the most prodigal and worldly popes that ever dishonored the Church. In concert with queen Joanna of Naples, against whom Urban had declared himself, Clement and his cardinals took into their pay a company of Bretons, who were prowling in Italy. But these Bretons were defeated by Barbiano, a brave condottiero, who collected against the foreign companies the first Italian free company.† Clement fled to

France, to Avignon. So here are two popes, one at Avignon, the other at Rome, braving and excommunicating each other.

It was not to be expected that France, and the states under her influence, (Scotland, Navarre, and Castile,) would tamely suffer their hold on the popedom to be wrested from them. Charles V. recognised Clement. He thought, no doubt, that even if all Europe were on Urban's side, a French pope, a sort of patriarch whose motions he could govern, would be the best for him; and bitterly was he upbraided with this selfish policy. All the misfortunes that followed, Charles VI.'s insanity, and the triumphs of the English, were considered so many proofs of heavenly vengeance.\*

It is stated that the French cardinals at first entertained the idea of making Charles V. himself pope. He would have refused, as being half of one arm, and unable to celebrate mass.† A king of France, pope, would have had the whole world against him.

The king had some trouble to persuade the university to decide in Clement's favor. The faculties of law and of medicine readily declared for the king's pope; but that of *arts*, composed of the four nations, was divided in opinion. The French and Norman nations were for Clement VII.; the Picard and the English claimed to be neutral. As the university, being unable to come to a unanimous vote, required time,‡ the king took all upon himself. He wrote from Beauté-sur-Marne that he was clearly informed and satisfied that "Pope Clement VII. is the true pastor of the Church Universal . . . refusal or delay would be offensive to us."§

On this occasion, Charles V. acted with a vigor which was unusual with him; as if he had been ashamed and angry at not having anticipated all.

He was anxious to gain Flanders over to his pope's side, and England through Flanders. He sent word to the count of Flanders that Urban abused the English, and had said that after their conduct to the holy see, he considered them heretics.¶ Nevertheless, Flanders and England both recognised the pope of Rome, out of hatred to him of Avignon. Italy was

\* "Oh, what a scourge! what dolorous mischief, which still endures," &c. *Christ. de Fiesc.* vi. 116.—The following canticle was sung at the time—

Plange, regni republiken;  
Tua pars, et excommunication,  
Insultation.  
Nam pars ejus est iniqua,  
Et aliorum captivitas,  
Reputation &c.

*Bibl. du Roy.* vol. 7000. *Coll. des Mss.* v. 351.

(Monks, people of this realm, you are visited with damnation, for you are excommunicated! [the society of you is set down as wicked, the other, as unclean, &c.]

† *Leidat. Conc. de Fiesc.* p. 104.—Yet he yearly showed with his own hands the true cross to the people, in the Sainte Chapelle, in imitation of St. Louis. *Christ. de Fiesc.* p. 314.

‡ *Baluz.* iv. p. 325.

§ *Id. ibid.* p. 325.

¶ *Id. ibid.* p. 325.

\* *Baluz.* iv. p. 476.

† *Shamshi, Rep. Ital.* i. vii. p. 134.

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already Urban's. Germany, Hungary, and Aragon espoused his cause. The two popular saints, St. Catherine of Sienna, and St. Catherine of Sweden, recognised him, as well as the infant Pedro of Aragon, who was also looked upon as a saint. The opinion of the most celebrated juriconsult of the day, a thing unheard-of before, was required on the pope's election. Baldus declared Urban's election to be good and valid, speciously putting it that if the election had been compulsory, the cardinals had recovered their self-possession after the popular clamor had subsided, and were perfectly uncontrolled when they enthroned Urban.\*

An event, which it was impossible to foresee, had placed almost all Christendom in antagonism to France. Fortune had mocked wisdom. Queen Joanna of Naples, cousin and ally of the king, was soon afterwards deposed by Urban, dethroned by her adopted son, Charles of Durazzo, and strangled in punishment of a crime which had occurred thirty-five years before.

All Europe was in commotion. The movement was universal; but the causes widely different. The English Lollards seemed to endanger the Church, the throne, and property itself. At Florence, the Ciompi were making their revolution a democratic one. France seemed about to slip out of Charles's hands. Three provinces, the most eccentric but the most vital, perhaps, revolted.

Languedoc was the first to break out. Charles V., preoccupied by the North, and ever turning his anxious looks towards England, had made one of his brothers a kind of king of Languedoc, intrusting the province to the duke of Anjou. Through his agency, he seemed on the point of attaining Aragon and Naples, while through that of his other brother, the duke of Burgundy, Flanders seemed to be within his grasp. But France, drained and ruined, was incapable of undertaking distant conquests. Taxation, so heavy at that time upon the whole kingdom, grew in Languedoc into atrocious tyranny. The rich municipalities of the South, which could prosper only by commerce and freedom, were subjected to as un pitying *talliage* as a fief in the North. The feudal prince could not understand any thing of their privileges. He wanted, and quickly, money to enable him to invade Spain and Italy, in order to renew the famous conquests of Charles of Anjou.

Nîmes rose up, (A. D. 1378;) but finding herself alone, submitted.† The duke of Anjou heaped on heavier taxes: in March, 1379, a monstrous tax of five francs, ten gros, on each hearth; in October, a new tax of twelve gold francs yearly—a franc a month.‡ The raising of the last was an impossibility. So devasta-

ted had the province been, that in the course of thirty years the population had fallen from a hundred thousand families, to thirty thousand. The consuls of Montpellier refused to levy this last tax; and the people rose up and massacred the duke's officers. They did the same at Clermont-Lodève. But the other cities remained quiet. In their dismay, the inhabitants of Montpellier received the duke on their knees, waiting for him to pronounce their fate. His sentence was frightful: two hundred citizens were to be burnt alive; two hundred, hung; two hundred, decapitated; and eighteen hundred branded as infamous, and their property confiscated. The rest were visited with ruinous fines.\*

The duke of Anjou was with difficulty prevailed upon to mitigate the sentence. Charles V. felt the necessity of removing him from Languedoc, and sent commissioners to reform all abuses. Still, in the instructions which he gives them, we do not find a trace of manly or of kingly sentiment. He is thinking only of his treasury, and of his demesne rights: "As we have in the said country many arable lands, vines, forests, mills, and other heritages, which used to bring in great revenue and profit to us, which lands have been left desert, because the population has been so reduced by mortality, wars, and other causes, that there are none who can or will till them, or undertake the ancient charges and dues, we order our counselors to set them at a new rate." They were likewise to revoke all crown grants, and inquire into the conduct of the *seneschals*, *capitains*, *viguiers*,† &c.

Through the same narrow policy, only too apparent in these instructions, the king committed a great fault, the greatest of his reign. He drove Brittany to take up arms against him. His best soldiers were Bretons: he had loaded them with gifts, and thought that through them he had their country at command. But these mercenaries were not Brittany. Besides, they themselves were not satisfied with the king. He had ordered his men-at-arms to pay henceforward, not to sieze; and had created a *marshalsea* to repress their robberies, and provosts who scoured the country, judged, and hung.

He liked not Clisson. Although he appointed him constable on Duguesclin's death, he would have preferred the lord of Coucy.‡

A cousin of Duguesclin's, a Breton, Sévastre Budes, who had acquired much reputation in the Italian wars, was arrested, on some suspicion, by the French pope, Clement VII., and delivered over by him to the bailiff of Mâcon, who executed him, to the great grief of Duguesclin.§ The relatives of the Breton, bearing their complaints and protestations of his innocence to the throne, the king coldly observed, "If he died innocent, so much the less

\* Id. *ibid.* p. 464.

† Hist. du Languedoc, b. xxii. c. 91, p. 365.

‡ *ibid.* c. 95, p. 368.

\* *ibid.* c. 96, p. 369.

† Ord. vi. pp. 465 and 467.

‡ Froissart, b. ii. c. 48.

§ *ibid.* c. 58.



tions with the French king; the duke with the English. As Charles V. refused to listen to any arrangement, the Bretons admitted aid from England. The earl of Buckingham, a brother of Richard II., was sent with an army to Brittany, but by the route of Picardy, Champagne, the Beauce, the Blaisois, and Maine; that is, with orders to march it across the whole kingdom. He met with no obstacle. Charles V. persisted in refusing the duke of Burgundy permission to encounter him.

Duguesclin died on the 13th of July, (A. D. 1380.) The king died on the 16th of September; on which day he had abolished every tax not authorized by the States. This was returning to the point whence he had begun his reign.

On his death-bed, he advised the winning back of the Bretons at any cost.\* He had previously given orders that Duguesclin should be buried at St. Denis, next to his own tomb. His faithful counsellor, the sire de la Rivière, was interred at his feet.

This prince died young, (he was but forty-four years of age,) and without having brought any thing to a conclusion. A minority followed. Schism, the Breton war, the scarcely appeased revolt of Languedoc, the Flemish revolution† at its height—here were embarrassments enow for a young king, aged twelve. Although Charles V. had declared by ordinance, A. D. 1374, that kings were to arrive at their majority at fourteen, his son was fated to remain long a minor, even all his life.

Charles V. left two things—strongly-fortified towns and money. After all that he had had to give to the English and the free companies, he had found means to amass seventeen millions. This treasure he had concealed at Vincennes, (Melun!) within the thickness of a wall. But his son did not profit by it.

The king thought himself sure of the burghesses. He had confirmed and increased the privileges of all the towns which had abandoned the English party.‡ He had taken the right of asylum for criminals from his brother's hôtels, and submitted these hôtels to the jurisdiction of the provost. In compliance with the remonstrances of the parliament of Paris, he empowered it to carry its decrees into effect without delay, notwithstanding *all royal letters to the contrary*.§ He allowed the citizens of Paris to hold fiefs by the same title as the nobles, and to wear the same ornaments as the

knights. Thus he created in the centre of the kingdom a plebeian nobility, which was to degrade the other by its imitation of it. And, by degrees, all the lands of the Isle of France passed into the hands of burghesses; that is, became intimately dependent upon the monarch.

These distant advantages did not counterbalance present ills. The people were exhausted. The taxes were all the heavier, inasmuch as from the very beginning of his reign, the king had wisely imposed on himself as a rule not to tamper with the coinage. I know not but what this form of taxation was regretted. At an epoch in which there was little commerce, and the feudal rents were generally paid in kind, the alteration of the coin affected but a small number, and only those who could afford to lose; for instance, the usurers, Jews, Cahorcins, Lombards, bankers, and money-brokers of Rome or Avignon. Taxes, on the contrary, passed them over, to fall directly on the poor.

The Church property alone could help people and king; but it required time for the necessary boldness to lay hands upon it. To take their possessions from pious foundations, to make null and void the last wishes of founders whose families survived, to despoil the monasteries which were the patrimony of younger sons and of maidens of noble birth,\* was what no one could have attempted with impunity in the fourteenth century.

A proof of the great power the clergy still possessed, is the ease with which they effected the expulsion of the English from the cities of the South. The French king, whom the priests had just so well seconded, had to look twice before he embroiled himself with them.

The schism placed the pope of Avignon wholly at the king's command, and gave him, it is true, the uncontrolled disposal of benefices throughout the Gallican Church; but it placed France in a perilous position, isolating her, as it were, in the midst of Europe, and putting her out of the pale of Christian law.

Undoubtedly, it was much for the crown to have within two centuries concentrated in its hands the two powers of the middle age—the Church and feudalism. Henceforward, ecclesiastical dignities were assured to the king's servants, and fiefs either annexed to the crown, or became the appanage of princes of the blood. The great feudal houses, those living types of provincialities, became gradually extinct.† The differences of the middle age subsided into unity. But, as yet, this unity was weak.

If Charles V. could not effect much himself, he at least bequeathed to France the type of the king of modern times, whom before she

\* Froissart. vii. 366, ed. Buchon.

† The history of this revolution belongs, properly speaking, to Charles VI.'s reign. It will be handled in the succeeding book.

‡ The rapidity with which these towns were recovered may be traced, as I have noticed at p. 463, by the dates of the charters.—As regards the history of the communes, I would direct particular attention to the fifth volume of M. Guizot's *Histoire de la Civilisation*, &c. No one has analyzed the complicated *origines* of the Third Estate (Tiers-Etat) with greater judgment and precision. I shall return to the consideration of this great subject.

§ Ordonn. v. 333.

\* As late as 1794, the noblesse of Burgundy solicited the foundation of a chapter of Dames. *Archives du Roy aume. K., pieces relatives à la suppression du couvent de Marcigny.*

† See the details in Sismondi, *Hist. des Fr. t. xi. pp. 365, 366.*

how not. He taught the thoughtless warriors of Crécy and of Poitiers, what reflection, patience, and perseverance meant. This training had a tedious course to run, and repeated lessons were necessary to complete the education; but, at least, the end was distinctly marked to which France was to be conducted by Louis XI. and by Henri IV., by Richelieu and by Colbert.

The miseries of the fourteenth century led her to know herself better. And first, she recognised that she was not, and would not be English. At the same time, she lost something of the religious and chivalrous character which had confounded her with the rest of Christendom during the whole middle age, and saw herself for the first time in her national and prosaic aspect. At the first essay, she attained in Froissart the perfection of prose narrative.\* From Joinville to Froissart, the progress of our language is immense; from Froissart to Comines, hardly perceptible.

Froissart is the epitome of the France of that day, at bottom thoroughly prosaic, but chivalrous in form, and graceful in accent. The gallant chaplain, who supplied my lady Philippa with fine stories and with lays of love, tells us his history as carelessly as he chanted his mass. Friends or enemies, English or French, good or evil, are all one to the narrator. They who accuse him of partiality, do not understand him. If he sometimes seems fond of the English, it is that they are successful.† All is very immaterial to him, provided that he can follow his fancy by going from castle to castle, from abbey to abbey, telling and hearing fine stories, just as we see him, the joyous priest, journeying along to the Pyrenees, with the four greyhounds in leash that he is taking to the count of Foix.‡

\* Not to mention numerous other fine passages, there is nothing to my mind more exquisite in our language than the chapter—How King Edward told the countess of Salisbury that he must have her love, at which she was all astonished.

† Although Froissart lived so long in England, I have only met one word of his that seems borrowed from the English tongue—"Le roi de France pour ce jour eut jeune, et volontiers travaillait, et voyager, et ceageant." t. iv. p. 673, ed. Burban.

‡ . . . I considered in myself that grand deeds of arms would not fall out for a long space of time in the marches of Picardy and the country of Flanders, since there was peace in those parts; and it was very tiresome to me to be idle, for I well knew, that when the time shall come, when I shall be dead and rotten, this grand and noble history will be much in fashion, and all noble and valiant persons will take pleasure in it, and gain from it augmentation of profit. And moreover, since I had, God be thanked, sense and memory, and a good recollection of all past things, with a clear understanding to conserve all the facts of which I should be informed, touching my principal matters, and since I was of an age and constitution of body well fit to encounter difficulties, I determined not to delay pursuing my subject. And in order to know the truth of distant countries, without sending upon the inquiry any other in place of myself, I took an opportunity of visiting that high and renowned prince, Gaston Phœbus, count de Foix and de Béarn. . . . I began my journey inquiring on all sides for news, and, through the grace of God, continued it without peril or hurt, until I arrived at the count's castle of Urthe (Urthez). . . . In the year of grace, 1390. . . . So instant, when I put any question to him, answered it

A much less known work, and on which I should therefore be the more inclined to enlarge, is a treatise composed by command of the king for the use of the dwellers in the country, and entitled:—*Le Vrai Règne et Gouvernement des Bergers et Bergères, composé par le rustique Jehan de Bré, le Bon Berger.* (A. D. 1379.)\* In this little book, which is gracefully written and with much sweetness, an attempt is made to set off rural life, and to interest the peasant, disheartened after so many calamities, in his occupations. The idea is touching. It is clearly the king who turns peasant, and who, in this garb, comes among his people, lies down between the ox and the ass, gently exhorts them, and encourages and essays to inform them.

Apropos of the rearing of flocks, and amidst pastoral and veterinary receipts, Jehan finds means to say a few words on the great questions agitated at the time. The terms shepherd and fold lead the way to innumerable allusions; and we everywhere detect, amidst the affectation of rustic simplicity, the satirical spirit of the lawyers,† and their timid causticity with regard to the priests. This book is the next of kin to the advocate Patelin and the satire Menippée.

To return. In the apparent and admired order introduced by Charles V., and in the general system of the fourteenth century, there was involved a something weak and false. The new religion, on which the whole superstructure

most readily, saying, that the history I was employed on would in times to come be more sought after than any other; 'because,' added he, 'my fair sir, more gallant deeds of arms have been performed within these last fifty years, and more wonderful things have happened, than for three hundred years before.'" Froissart, b. iii. c. 1.

\* Jehan at first narrates how—"At the age when children begin to spit out their first teeth, when they still are giddy, puffed, and not accountable for their actions," he was deputed to take charge of the goose, then of the swine, then, after wards, "growing up to be promoted to several honors," he had the charge of the horses and cows. . . . and then he was given the cure of eighty prodigious and innocent lambs, which he was, as it were, their guardian and carer, for they were under age and minors. He did not debase himself like certain temporal or spiritual shepherds. . . . Ac- Then, the said Jehan de Bré, without ceremony, was appointed and instituted to bear the boys of the provision store. . . . of the hôtel de Meaux, belonging to one of the councillors of the king our lord, attached to the signets of his parliament at Paris. . . . When the said de Bré had taken his bachelor's and master's degree in the sciences of sheep tending, and was worthy to read in the street au Four de la Fosse, where the Paris schools were, near the stall for the calves, or under the shadow of an elm of lime, behind the sheep, then he went to live in the Palais royal in the hôtel of master Arnoul de Girampant, treasurer to the royal Maîtrise-Chapelle at Paris. . . . Firstly lambs which are young and tender should be kindly and gently treated, and ought not to be struck and beaten with wands, sticks, &c. . . . When the lambs are cut, then should the shepherd be without sin, and it is good that he confess, &c. &c."—This charming little work has not, I believe, been reprinted since the sixteenth century. I am acquainted with two editions of it, both printed at Paris: the one bears the date of 1562. (Bibl. de l'Arsenal; the other has no date. Bibl. Royale, p. 700.)

† The following passage is in the lawyer's off-hand—"They the lambs were under age and minors, and since the said Jean was not noble, nor of any lineage, he could not under take the lease, but only the charge, (il n'en put avoir le bail, mais il en eut la garde,) government, and ordering of them as far as concerned rearing them."



rested, the monarchy, was itself founded upon an equivocation. From feudal suzerainty it had become, under the influence of the legists, Roman, imperial monarchy. The Establishments of *France and of Orleans* had become the Establishments of *all France*. The monarch had unnerved feudalism, taken its arms out of its hands, and then, on the return of war, had desired to restore them. Feudalism, full of pride and weakness, still survived; resembling a gigantic armor which, hanging empty against the wall, yet threatens and brandishes the lance. As soon as touched, it falls to the ground—at Crécy and at Poitiers.

It was imperative, then, to have recourse to mercenaries, to hired soldiers; that is, to make war with money. But where get it? As yet, laying hands on the Church was not dreamed of, and productive industry was yet unborn. With all his political wisdom, Charles V. was here at a loss. At the last moment, every thing failed him at once. The English who marched through France in 1380, encountered no more resistance than they had met with in 1370: the king, having lost the Bretons, was still weaker than before.

Wisdom failing, folly was tried. Under the youthful Charles VI., France launched out into an extravagant imitation of the ancient chivalry, whose true character and even whose forms had lapsed from men's minds.\* This spurious imitation of the antique chose for its hero the famous leader of free companies who had delivered France from them, the able Duguesclin. The *épopée* founded on his deeds and actions†

\* So completely, that when, in Charles VI.'s time, the two sons of the duke of Anjou were solemnly admitted knights, all the spectators were asking what the various ceremonies meant.—See the following book.

† This poem presents a whimsical compound of two very opposite sets of ideas. Duguesclin is painted as a knight of the thirteenth century, but is made to be as ill-affected to the priests, as one was in the fourteenth. He will take nothing from the people; he only holds to ransom pope and churchmen. One would fancy one was reading the *Henriade*:—

... Le prévost d'Avignon  
Vint droit à Villeneuve, où la chevalerie  
De Bertran et des siens estoit adonc logie.  
Il a dit à Bertran que point ne le dettie:  
Sire, l'avoir est prest, je vous acertifie,  
Et la solution séelee et fournie,  
Come Jhesu donna le fils sainte Marie  
A Marie Magdalaine qui fut Jhesu amie.  
Et Bertran li a dit: Beau sire, je vous prie,  
Dont vint ycelz avoirs, ne me le relex mie?  
La pris li Apostoles en sa thesorerie?  
Nanli, Sire, dit-il, mais la debte est paie  
Du commun d'Avignon, a chascun sa partie.  
Dit Bertran Du Guesclin: Prevost, je vous aïe,  
Ja n'en arons deniers en jour de nostre vie,  
Se ce n'est de l'avoir venant de la clergie.  
Et volons que tuit cil qui la buile ont paiee,  
Aient tout lor argent, sans prendre une maille.  
Sire, dit li prevost, Dieux vous doit bonne vie!  
La pour gent arez forment esleesie, (*rejouie*)  
Amis, ce dit Bertran, au pape me direz,  
Que ces grans trezors soit ouvers et defermez,  
Ceuz qui l'ont paie, il lor soit retorez,  
Et dittes que jamais n'en soit nul reculez.  
Car, se le savez, ja ne vous en doubtez,

is a plain proof that the real character of the constable of Charles V. was utterly misunderstood.

The most successful part of this imitation of chivalry lay in the richness of the arms and surcoats worn, and in the splendor of the tournaments. Charles V. had left a ruined people; yet from this ruin was asked more than wealth had ever been able to pay. Once in the vortex of impossibilities, to ask costs nothing.

All Europe is similarly situated: the same vertigo prevails everywhere. Fortune devolves the government of most of the kingdoms on minors. Monarchy, the new divinity, prattles, or dotes. Three-quarters of the age of Charles-le-Sage, the first age of policy, have not passed away before its senses fail, and it turns mad. A generation of madmen have become kings. To the glorious Edward III. succeeds the giddy Richard II.; to the prudent Emperor Charles IV., the drunken Wenceslaus; to the wise Charles V., Charles VI., a raging bedlamite. Urban VI., Don Pedro of Castile, and John Visconti, all betrayed symptoms of mental derangement.

The petty negative wisdom which thought it had neutralized the great movement of the world, had already exhausted its resources. It thought it had done all; and all began again. The threads which the prudent fancied were in their hands to work with, grew more and more entangled. The contradictions of the world increased: reason, divine and human, seemed to have abdicated. "God," to use Luther's saying, "was wearied of the game, and flung the cards under the table."

A tragic moment is that in which one feels one's senses failing—the moment in which reason, glimmering with its last light, sees itself about to be extinguished.

"Oh, let me not be mad, not mad, sweet heaven!"

Exclaims King Lear,—

"Keep me from madness; I would not go mad."

Et je fusse oultre mer passez et bien alez,

Je seroie ainçois par deca retourner.

*Poeme de Duguesclin, MS. de la Bibl. Royale.*

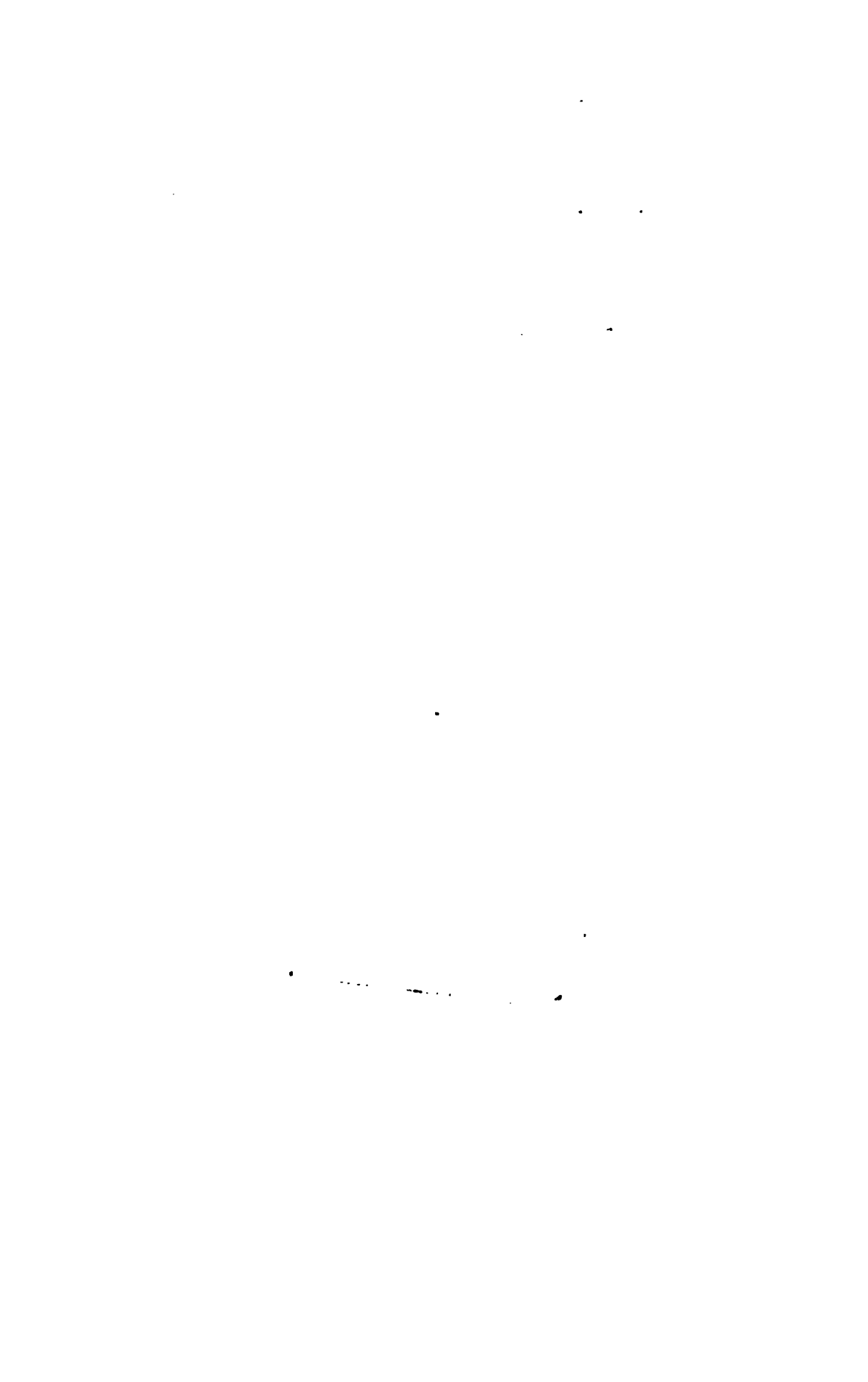
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(... The provost of Avignon came straight to Villeneuve, where were Bertrand and his knights. He tells Bertrand there is no delay. "My lord, the money, I give you notice, is ready, and the acquaintance sealed and duly drawn, even as Jesus, the son, gave St. Mary to Mary Magdalen, who was dear to Jesus (?)." And Bertrand said to him: "Fair sir, I pray you, whence does this money come? Conceal not the truth from me. Does it come out of the pope's treasury?" "By no means, my lord," he answers, "but the debt is paid by the commons of Avignon, each pays his quota." Says Bertrand Duguesclin, "Provost, I swear I will never have a penny of it to the last day of my life, except it comes out of the clergy. And it is my pleasure, that all who have paid this tax have back their money, every farthing of it." "My lord," says the provost, "God send you length of days: the poor people will be beside themselves with joy." "Friends," says Bertrand, "tell the pope from me to open and unlock his great treasures. They who have paid him shall have their money returned, and say that none must ever be kept back. For, if I hear of it, be assured though I were far beyond sea, I would return at once.")





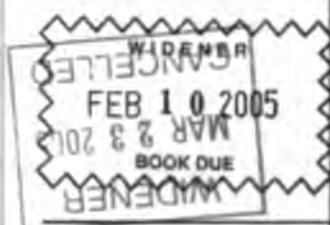




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